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OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE.

VOL. II.

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OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH

AN ESSAY,

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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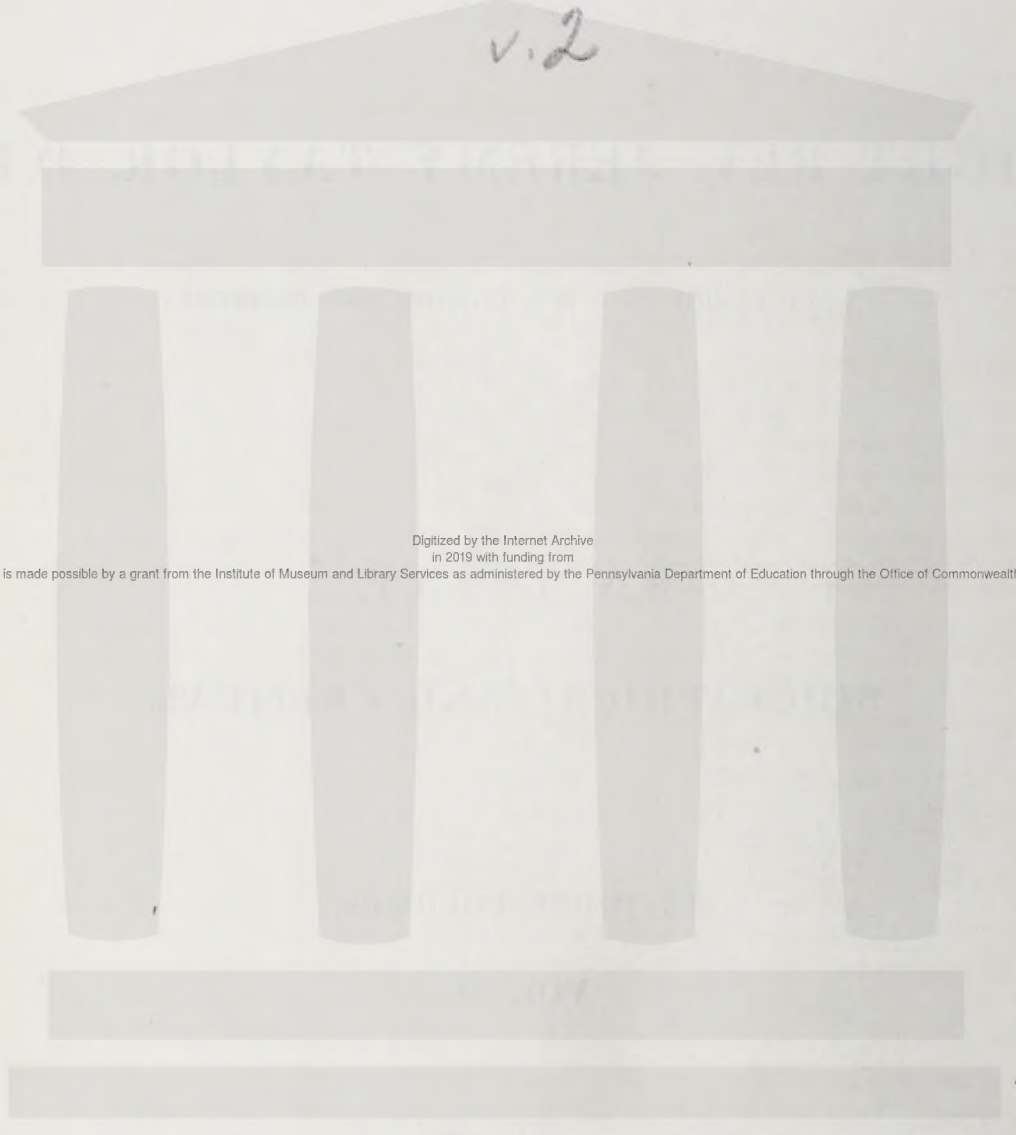
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A SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ,

OR

COURSE OF SERMONS FOR THE WHOLE YEAR:

BEING

ELEVEN SERMONS,

EXPLAINING

THE NATURE OF FAITH, AND OBEDIENCE, IN RELATION TO GOD, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR POWERS, RESPECTIVELY.

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS EVANGELICAL DESCRIBED;
THE CHRISTIAN'S CONQUEST OVER THE BODY OF SIN;
FIDES FORMATA, OR FAITH WORKING BY LOVE;

IN

THREE SERMONS,

PREACHED AT CHRIST-CHURCH, DUBLIN.

TO THE

MOST NOBLE AND VIRTUOUS PRINCESS,

THE

LADY DUCHESS OF ORMOND,

HER GRACE.

MADAM,

I PRESENT your Grace herewith a testimony of my obedience, and of your own zeal for the good of souls. You were in your great charity, not only pleased to pardon the weakness of this discourse, but to hope it might serve as a memorial to those that need it, of the great necessity of living virtuously, and by the measures of christianity. Madam, you are too great and too good to have any ambition for the things of this world; but I cannot but observe, that in your designs for the other world, you, by your charity and zeal, adopt yourself into the portion of those ecclesiastics, who humbly hope, and truly labour, for the reward that is promised to those wise persons who convert souls, if our prayers and your desires that every one should be profited in their eternal concerns, cast in a symbol towards this great work, and will give you a title to that great reward; but, Madam, when I received your commands for dispersing some copies of this sermon, I perceived it was too little to be presented to your eminence; and if it were accompanied with something else of the like nature, it might, with more profit, advance that end which your Grace so piously designed; and, therefore, I have taken this opportunity to satisfy the desire of some very honourable and very reverend personages, who required that the two following sermons should also be made fit for the use of those, who hoped to receive profit by them. I humbly lay them all at your Grace's feet, begging of God, that even as many may receive advantages by the perusing of them, as either your Grace will desire, or he that preached them did intend. And if your Grace will accept of this first testimony of my concurrence with all the world that know you, in paying those great regards, which your piety so highly merits, I will endeavour hereafter, in some greater instance, to pursue the intentions of your zeal of souls, and, by such a service, endeavour to do more benefit to others, and by it, as by that which is most acceptable to your Grace, endear the obedience and services of,

MADAM,

Your Grace's most humble

And obedient Servant,

JER. DOWN.

THREE SERMONS.

SERMON I.

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS EVANGELICAL DESCRIBED.

For I say unto you, that except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.—Matt. v. 20.

Rewards and punishments are the best sanction of laws; and although the guardians of laws strike sometimes with the softest part of the hand in their executions of sad sentences, yet in the sanction they make no abatements, but so proportion the duty to the reward, and the punishment to the crime, that by these we can best tell what value the lawgiver puts upon the obedience. Joshua put a great rate upon the taking of Kiriath-Sepher, when the reward of the service was his daughter and a dower. But when the young men ventured to fetch David the waters of Bethlehem, they had nothing but the praise of their boldness, because their service was no more than the satisfaction of a curiosity. But as lawgivers, by their rewards, declare the value of the obedience, so do subjects also, by the grandeur of what they expect, set a value on the law and the lawgiver, and do their services accordingly.

And, therefore, the law of Moses, whose endearment was nothing but temporal goods and transient evils, "could never make the comers thereunto perfect;" but the ἐπεισαγωγὴ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, "the superinduction of a better hope,"[a] hath endeared a more perfect obedience. When Christ brought life and immortality to light through the gospel, and hath promised to us things greater than all our explicit desires, bigger than the thoughts of our heart, then ἐγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ, saith the apostle, "then we draw near to God;" and by these we are enabled to do all that God requires, and then he requires all that we can do; more love and more obedience than he did of those who,—for want of these helps, and these revelations, and these promises, which we have, but they had not,—were but imperfect persons, and could do but little more than human services. Christ hath taught us more, and given us more, and promised to us more, than ever was in the world known or believed before him; and by the strengths and confidence of these, thrusts us forward in a holy and wise economy; and plainly declares, that we must serve him by the measures of a new love, do him honour by wise and material glorifications, be united to God by a new nature, and made alive by a new birth, and fulfil all righteousness; to be humble and meek as Christ, to be merciful as our heavenly Father is, to be pure as God is pure, to be partakers of the Divine nature, to be wholly renewed in the frame and temper of our mind, to become people of a new heart, a direct new creation, new principles, and a new being, to do better than all the world before us ever did, to love God more perfectly, to despise the world more generously, to contend for the faith more earnestly; for all this is but a proper and a just consequent of the great promises, which our blessed Lawgiver came to publish and effect for all the world of believers and disciples.

The matter which is here required, is certainly very great; for it is to be more righteous than the scribes and Pharisees; more holy than the doctors of the law, than the leaders of the synagogue, than the wise princes of the sanhedrim; more righteous than some that were prophets and high priests, than some that kept the ordinances of the law without blame; men that lay in sackcloth, and fasted much, and prayed more, and made religion and the study of the law the work of their lives: this was very much; but christians must do more.

> Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu
> Si fœtura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.

They did well, and we must do better; their houses were marble, but our roofs must be gilded and fuller of glory. But as the matter is very great, so the necessity of it is the greatest in the world. It must be so, or it will be much worse: unless it be thus, we shall never see the glorious face of God. Here it concerns us to be wise and fearful; for the matter is not a question of an oaken garland, or a circle of bays, and a yellow riband: it is not a question of money or land; nor of the vainer rewards of popular noises, and the undiscerning suffrages of the people, who are contingent judges of good and evil: but it is the great stake of life eternal. We cannot be christians, unless we be righteous by the new measures: the righteousness of the kingdom is now the only way to enter into it; for the sentence is fixed, and the judgment is decretory, and the Judge infallible, and the decree irreversible: "For I say unto you," said Christ, "unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Here, then, we have two things to consider. 1. What was the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees. 2. How far that is to be exceeded by the righteousness of christians.

1. Concerning the first. I will not be so nice

[a] Heb. vii. 19.

in the observation of these words, as to take notice that Christ does not name the Sadducees, but the scribes and Pharisees, though there may be something in it: the Sadducees were called "Caraim," from *cara*, "to read;" for they thought it religion to spend one third part of their day in reading their Scriptures, whose fulness they so admired, they would admit of no suppletory traditions: but the Pharisees were called "Thanaim," that is, δευτερώται, they added to the word of God words of their own, as the church of Rome does at this day; they and these fell into an equal fate; while they "taught for doctrines the commandments of men," they prevaricated the righteousness of God: what the church of Rome, to evil purposes, hath done in this particular, may be demonstrated in due time and place; but what false and corrupt glosses, under the specious title of the tradition of their fathers, the Pharisees had introduced, our blessed Saviour reproves, and are now to be represented as the ἀντιπαράδειγμα, that you may see that righteousness, beyond which all they must go, that intend that heaven should be their journey's end.

1. The Pharisees obeyed the commandments in the letter, not in the spirit: they minded what God spake, but not what he intended: they were busy in the outward work of the hand, but incurious of the affections and choice of the heart. Ὑμεῖς πάντα σαρκικῶς νενοήκατε, said Justin Martyr to Tryphon the Jew, "Ye understand all things carnally;" that is, they rested ἐν πλάσματι εὐσεβείας, as Nazianzen calls it, "in the outward work of piety," which not only Justin Martyr but St. Paul calls "carnality," not meaning a carnal appetite, but a carnal service.[b] Their error was plainly this: they never distinguished duties natural from duties relative; that is, whether it were commanded for itself, or in order to something that was better; whether it were a principal grace, or an instrumental action: so God was served in the letter, they did not much inquire into his purpose: and, therefore, they were curious to wash their hands, but cared not to purify their hearts; they would give alms, but hate him that received it; they would go to the temple, but did not revere the glory of God that dwelt there between the cherubims; they would fast, but not mortify their lusts; they would say good prayers, but not labour for the grace they prayed for. This was just as if a man should run on his master's errand, and do no business when he came there. They might easily have thought, that by the soul only a man approaches to God, and draws the body after it; but that no washing or corporal services could unite them and the shechinah together, no such thing could make them like to God, who is the Prince of Spirits. They did as the dunces in Pythagoras's school, who,—when their master had said "Fabis abstineto," by which he intended—"they should not ambitiously seek for magistracy,"—they thought themselves good Pythagoreans if they "did not eat beans;" and they would be sure to put their right foot first into the shoe, and their left foot into the water, and supposed they had done enough; though if they had not been fools, they would have understood their master's meaning to have been, that they should put more affections to labour and travel, and less to their pleasure and recreation; and so it was with the Pharisee: for as the Chaldees taught their morality by mystic words, and the Egyptians by hieroglyphics, and the Greeks by fables; so did God by rites and ceremonies external, leading them by the hand to the purities of the heart, and by the services of the body to the obedience of the spirit; which because they would not understand, they thought they had done enough in the observation of the letter.

2. In moral duties, where God expressed himself more plainly, they made no commentary of kindness, but regarded the prohibition so nakedly, and divested of all antecedents, consequents, similitudes, and proportions, that if they stood clear of that hated name which was set down in Moses's tables, they gave themselves liberty, in many instances, of the same kindred and alliance. If they abstained from murder, they thought it very well, though they made no scruple of murdering their brother's fame; they would not cut his throat, but they would call him fool, or invent lies in secret, and publish his disgrace openly: they would not dash out his brains, but they would be extremely and unreasonably angry with him: they would not steal their brother's money, but they would oppress him in crafty and cruel bargains. The commandment forbade them to commit adultery; but because fornication was not named, they made no scruple of that; and being commanded to honour their father and their mother, they would give them good words and fair observances; but because it was not named that they should maintain them in their need, they thought they did well enough to pretend "corban," and let their father starve.

3. The scribes and Pharisees placed their righteousness in negatives: they would not commit what was forbidden, but they cared but little for the included positive, and the omissions of good actions did not much trouble them; they would not hurt their brother in a forbidden instance, but neither would they do him good according to the intention of the commandment. It was a great innocence if they did not rob the poor,—then they were righteous men; but they thought themselves not much concerned to acquire that godlike excellency, a philanthropy and love to all mankind. Whosoever blasphemed God was to be put to death; but he that did not glorify God as he ought, they were unconcerned for him, and let him alone. He that spake against Moses, was to die without mercy; but against the ambitious and the covetous, against the proud man and the unmerciful they made no provisions.

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitiâ caruisse. HOR.

They accounted themselves good, not for doing good, but for doing no evil; that was the sum of their theology.

4. They had one thing more as bad as all this:

[b] Gal. iii. 3. and vi. 12, 13. Phil. iii. 31.

they broke Moses's tables into pieces, and, gathering up the fragments, took to themselves what part of duty they pleased, and let the rest alone; for it was a proverb among the Jews, "Qui operam dat præcepto, liber est à præcepto;" that is, "if he chooses one positive commandment for his business, he may be less careful in any of the rest." Indeed, they said also, "Quis multiplicat legem, multiplicat vitam;" "He that multiplies the law, increases life;" that is, if he did attend to more good things, it was so much the better, but the other was well enough; but as for universal obedience, that was not the measure of their righteousness; for they taught that God would put our good works and bad into the balance, and according to the heavier scale, give a portion in the world to come; so that some evil they would allow to themselves and their disciples, always provided it was less than the good they did. They would devour widows' houses, and make it up by long prayers; they would love their nation, and hate their prince; offer sacrifice, and curse Cæsar in their heart; advance Judaism, and destroy humanity.

Lastly: St. Austin summed up the difference between the Pharisaical and evangelical righteousness in two words; "Brevis differentia inter legem et evangelium; timor et amor." They served the God of their fathers "in the spirit of fear," and we worship the Father of our Lord Jesus "in the spirit of love," and by the spirit of adoption. And as this slavish principle of theirs was the cause of all their former imperfections, so it finally and chiefly expressed itself in these two particulars:—1. They would do all that they thought they lawfully could do. 2. They would do nothing but what was expressly commanded.

This was the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, and their disciples, the Jews;[c] which, because our blessed Saviour reproves, not only as imperfect then, but as criminal now, calling us on to a new righteousness, the righteousness of God, to the law of the Spirit of life, to the kingdom of God, and the proper righteousness thereof,—it concerns us in the next place to look after the measures of this, ever remembering that it is infinitely necessary that we should do so; and men do not generally know, or not consider, what it is to be a christian; they understand not what the christian law forbiddeth or commandeth. But as for this in my text, it is indeed our great measure; but it is not a question of good and better, but of good and evil, life and death, salvation and damnation; for unless our righteousness be weighed by new weights, we shall be found too light, when God comes to weigh the actions of all the world; and unless we be more righteous than they, we "shall in nowise," that is, upon no other terms in the world, "enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Now concerning this, we shall do very much amiss, if we take our measures by the manners and practices of the many who call themselves christians; for there are, as Nazianzen expresses it, the οἱ τότε καὶ νῦν Φαρισαῖοι, "the old and the new Pharisees." I wish it were no worse amongst us; and that all christians were indeed righteous as they were; "est aliquid prodire tenus:" it would not be just nothing. But I am sure that to bid defiance to the laws of Christ, to laugh at religion, to make a merriment at the debauchery and damnation of our brother, is a state of evil worse than that of the scribes and Pharisees; and yet, even among such men, how impatient would they be, and how unreasonable would they think you to be, if you should tell them, that there are no present hopes or possibility, that, in this state they are in, they can be saved!

> Omnes videmur nobis esse belluli
> Et festivi saperdæ, cùm simus σαπρόι. VAR.

But the world is too full of christians, whose righteousness is very little, and their iniquities very great; and now-a-days, a christian is a man that comes to church on Sundays, and on the week following will do shameful things;

> Passim corvos sequitur, testâque lutoque
> Securus quo pes ferat, atque ex tempore vivit;

being, according to the Jewish proverbial reproof, as so many Mephibosheths: "discipuli sapientum, qui incessu pudefaciunt præceptorem suum;" "their master teaches them to go uprightly, but they still show their lame leg, and shame their master;" as if a man might be a christian, and yet be the vilest person in the world, doing such things for which the laws of men have provided smart and shame, and the laws of God have threatened the intolerable pains of an insufferable and never-ending damnation. Example here cannot be our rule, unless men were much better; and as long as men live at the rate they do, it will be to little purpose to talk of exceeding the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees; but because it must be much better with us all, or it will be very much worse with us at the latter end, I shall leave complaining, and go to the rule, and describe the necessary and unavoidable measures of the righteousness evangelical, without which we can never be saved.

1. Therefore, when it is said our "righteousness must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees," let us first take notice, by way of precognition, that it must at least be so much; we must keep the letter of the whole moral law; we must do all that lies before us, all that is in our hand: and therefore ὀργιάζεσθαι, which signifies "to be religious," the grammarians derive ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖρας ὀρέγεσθαι, "from reaching forth the hand:" the outward work must be done; and it is not enough to say, "My heart is right, but my hand went aside." Prudentius saith, that St. Peter wept so bitterly, because he did not confess Christ openly, whom he loved secretly.

> Flevit negator denique
> Ex ore prolapsum nefas,
> Cùm mens maneret innocens,
> Animusque servârit fidem.

A right heart alone will not do it; or rather, the heart is not right, when the hand is wrong. "If a man strikes his neighbour, and says, Am not I in

[c] Sed Beelzebulis callida commenta Christus destruit.

jest? it is folly and shame to him," said Solomon. For, once for all, let us remember this, that christianity is the most profitable, the most useful, and the most bountiful institution in the whole world; and the best definition I can give of it is this;—It is the wisdom of God brought down among us, to do good to men, and therefore we must not do less than the Pharisees, who did the outward work; at least, let us be sure to do all the work that is laid before us in the commandments. And it is strange that this should be needful to be pressed amongst christians, whose religion requires so very much more. But so it is, upon a pretence that we must serve God with the mind, some are such fools as to think that it is enough to have a good meaning. "Iniquum perpol verbum est, 'bene vult,' nisi qui bene facit." And because we must serve God in the spirit, therefore they will not serve God with their bodies; and because they are called upon to have the power and the life of godliness, they abominate all external works as mere forms; and because the true fast is to abstain from sin, therefore they will not abstain from meat and drink, even when they are commanded; which is just as if a Pharisee, being taught the circumcision of the heart, should refuse to circumcise his flesh; and as if a christian, being instructed in the excellencies of spiritual communion, should wholly neglect the sacramental; that is, because the soul is the life of man, therefore it is fitting to die in a humour, and lay aside the body. This is a taking away the subject of the question; for our inquiry is,—how we should keep the commandments? how we are to do the work that lies before us, by what principles, with what intention, in what degrees, after what manner, "ut bonum bene fiat," "that the good thing be done well." This, therefore, must be presupposed: we must take care that even our bodies bear a part in our spiritual services. Our voice and tongue, our hands and our feet, and our very bowels must be servants of God, and do the work of the commandments.

This being ever supposed, our question is, how much more we must do? and the first measure is this,—whatsoever can be signified and ministered to by the body, the heart and the spirit of a man must be the principal actor. We must not give alms without a charitable soul, nor suffer martyrdom, but in love and in obedience; and when we say our prayers, we do but mispend our time, unless our mind ascend up to God upon the wings of desire.

Desire is the life of prayer; and if you indeed desire what you pray for, you will also labour for what you desire; and if you find it otherwise with yourselves, your coming to church is but like the Pharisees going up to the temple to pray. If your heart be not present, neither will God; and then there is a sound of men and women between a pair of dead walls, from whence, because neither God nor your souls are present, you must needs go home without a blessing.

But this measure of evangelical righteousness is of principal remark in all the rites and solemnities of religion; and intends to say this, that christian religion is something that is not seen, it is the hidden man of the heart; *ἐστὶ τὶς Θεὸς ἔνδον*, "it is God that dwells within;" and true christians are men, who, as the Chaldee oracle said, are *πολὺν ἐσσάμενοι νοῦν*, "clothed with a great deal of mind." And, therefore, those words of the prophet Hosea, "Et loquar ad cor ejus," "I will speak unto his heart," is a proverbial expression, signifying to speak spiritual comforts, and, in the mystical sense, signifies *εὐαγγελίζειν*, "to preach the gospel:" where the Spirit is the preacher, and the heart is the disciple, and the sermon is of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Our service to God must not be in outward works and scenes of religion, it must be something by which we become like to God; the Divine prerogative must extend beyond the outward man, nay, even beyond the mortification of corporal vices; the Spirit of God must go "in trabis crassitudinem," and mollify all our secret pride, and ingenerate in us a true humility, and a christian meekness of spirit, and a Divine charity. For in the gospel, when God enjoins any external rite or ceremony, the outward work is always the less principal. For there is a bodily and a carnal part, an outside, and a cabinet of religion in christianity itself. When we are baptized, the purpose of God is, that we cleanse ourselves from all pollution of the flesh and spirit, and then we are, indeed, *καθαροὶ ὅλοι*, "clean all over." And when we communicate, the commandment means that we should be made one spirit with Christ, and should live on him, believing his word, praying for his Spirit, supported with his hope, refreshed by his promises, recreated by his comforts, and wholly, and in all things, conformable to his life; that is the true communion. The sacraments are not made for sinners, until they do repent; they are the food of our souls, but our souls must be alive unto God, or else they cannot eat. It is good to "confess our sins," as St. James says, and to open our wounds to the ministers of religion; but they absolve none but such as are truly penitent.

Solemn prayers, and the sacraments, and the assemblies of the faithful, and fasting days, and acts of external worship, are the solemnities and rites of religion: but the religion of a christian is in the heart and spirit. And this is that by which Clemens Alexandrinus defined the righteousness of a christian, *Δικαιοσύνη συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν*· "all the parts and faculties that make up a man, must make up our religion:" but the heart is "domus principalis," it is "the court" of the great King; and he is properly served with interior graces and moral virtues, with a humble and a good mind, with a bountiful heart, and a willing soul, and these will command the eye, and give laws to the hand, and make the shoulders stoop; but "anima cujusque est quisque;" "a man's soul is the man," and so is his religion; and so you are bound to understand it.

True it is, God works in us his graces by the sacrament; but we must dispose ourselves to a reception of the Divine blessing by moral instruments.

The soul is *συνεργὸς τῷ Θεῷ*, "it must work together with God;" and the body works together with the soul: but no external action can purify the soul, because, its nature and operations being spiritual, it can no more be changed by a ceremony or an external solemnity, than an angel can be caressed with sweetmeats, or a man's belly with music or long orations. The sum is this: no christian does his duty to God but he that serves him with all his heart: and although it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness, even the external also; yet that which makes us gracious in his eyes, is not the external, it is the love of the heart and the real change of the mind and obedience of the spirit; that is the first great measure of the righteousness evangelical.

2. The righteousness evangelical must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees by extension of our obedience to things of the same signification: "Leges non ex verbis, sed ex mente intelligendas," says the law.[d] There must be a commentary of kindness in the understanding the laws of Christ. We must understand all God's meaning; we must secure his service, we must be far removed from the dangers of his displeasure. And, therefore, our righteousness must be the purification and the perfection of the spirit. So that it will be nothing for us not to commit adultery, unless our eyes and hands be chaste, and the desires be clean. A christian must not look upon a woman to lust after her. He must hate sin in all dimensions, and in all instances, and in every angle of its reception. A christian must not sin, and he must not be willing to sin if he durst. He must not be lustful, and therefore he must not feed high, nor drink deep, for these make provisions for lust: and, amongst christians, great eatings and drinkings are acts of uncleanness as well as of intemperance, and whatever ministers to sin, and is the way of it; it partakes of its nature and its curse.

For it is remarkable that in good and evil the case is greatly different. Mortification (e. g.) is a duty of christianity; but there is no law concerning the instruments of it. We are not commanded to roll ourselves on thorns, as St. Benedict did; or to burn our flesh, like St. Martinian; or to tumble in snows, with St. Francis; or in pools of water, with St. Bernard. A man may chew aloes, or lie upon the ground, or wear sackcloth, if he have a mind to it, and if he finds it good in its circumstances and to his purposes of mortification; but, it may be, he may do it alone by the instrumentalities of fear and love; and so the thing be done, no special instrument is under a command. But although the instruments of virtue are free, yet the instruments and ministries of vice are not. Not only the sin is forbidden, but all the ways that lead to it. The instruments of virtue are of themselves indifferent, that is, not naturally, but good only for their relation's sake, and in order to their end. But the instruments of vice are of themselves vicious; they are part of the sin, they have a share in the fantastic pleasure, and they begin to estrange a man's heart from God, and are directly in the prohibition. For we are commanded to fly from temptation, to pray against it, "to abstain from all appearances of evil," "to make a covenant with our eyes," "to pluck them out" if there be need. And if christians do not understand the commandments to this extension of signification, they will be innocent only by the measures of human laws, but not by the righteousness of God.

3. Of the same consideration it is also that we understand Christ's commandments to extend our duty, not only to what is named, and what is not named of the same nature and design; but that we abstain from all such things as are like to sins. Of this nature there are many. All violences of passion, irregularities in gaming, prodigality of our time, indecency of action, doing things unworthy of our birth or our profession, aptness to go to law; "ambitus," or a fierce prosecution even of honourable employments; misconstruction of the words and actions of our brother; easiness to believe evil of others, willingness to report the evil which we hear; curiosity of diet, peevishness towards servants, indiscreet and importune standing for place, and all excess in ornaments; for even this little instance is directly prohibited by the christian and royal law of charity. For *ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται*, saith St. Paul; the word is a word hard to be understood; we render it well enough, "charity *vaunteth* not itself;" and upon this St. Basil says, that an ecclesiastic person (and so every christian in his proportion) ought not to go in splendid and vain ornaments; *Πᾶν γὰρ ὁ μὴ διὰ χρείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται περπερείας ἔχει κατηγορίαν*· "Every thing that is not wisely useful or proportioned to the state of the christian, but ministers only to vanity, is a part of this *περπερεύεσθαι*," it is a "vaunting," which the charity and the grace of a christian does not well endure. These things are like to sins; they are of a suspicious nature, and not easily to be reconciled to the righteousness evangelical. It is no wonder if christianity be nice and curious; it is the cleanness and the purification of the soul, and Christ intends to present his church to God *ἄσπιλον καὶ ἀμώμητον*, "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." N. B. *or any such thing.* If there be any irregularity that is less than a wrinkle, the evangelical righteousness does not allow it. These are such things which if men will stand to defend, possibly a modest reprover may be more ashamed than an impudent offender. If I see a person apt to quarrel, to take every thing in an ill sense, to resent an error deeply, to reprove it bitterly, to remember it tenaciously, to repeat it frequently, to upbraid it unhandsomely, I think I have great reason to say, that this person does not do what becomes the sweetness of a christian spirit. If it be replied, It is no where forbidden to chide an offending person, and that it cannot be a fault to understand when a thing is said or done amiss; I cannot return an answer, but by saying, that suppose nothing of it were a sin, yet that every thing of it is so like a sin, that it is the worse for it; and that it were better not to do so; at least I think so, and so ought you too, if you be curious of your eternal interest: a little more tenderness here would

[d] De Legibus l. scire.

do well. I cannot say that this dress, or this garment, or this standing for place, is the direct sin of pride; but I am sure it looks like it in some persons; at least the letting it alone is much better, and is very like humility. And certain it is, that he is dull of hearing who understands not the voice of God, unless it be clamorous in an express and a loud commandment, proclaimed with trumpets and clarions upon mount Sinai; but a willing and an obedient ear understands the still voice of Christ, and is ready to obey his meaning at half a word; and that is the righteousness evangelical. It not only abstains from sins named, and sins implied, but from the beginnings and instruments of sin; and from whatsoever is like it. The Jews were so great haters of swine upon pretensions of the Mosaic rites, that they would not so much as name a swine, but called it דבר אחר daber acher, another thing. And thus the Romans, in their auguries, used "alterum" for "non bonum." The simile of this St. Paul translates to a christian duty: "Let not fornication be so much as named amongst you, ὡς πρέπον ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, as is comely amongst christians;" that is, come not near a foul thing; speak not of it, let it be wholly banished from all your conversation; for this niceness and curiosity of duty "becometh saints," and is an instance of the righteousness evangelical.

I have now done with the first sort of measures of the christian righteousness; these which are the matter of our negative duty; these are the measures of our caution and our first innocence. But there are greater things behind, which although I must crowd up into a narrow room, yet I must not wholly omit them: therefore,

4. The fourth thing I shall note to you is, that whereas the righteousness of the Pharisees was but a fragment of the broken tables of Moses; the pursuance of some one grace, "lacinia sanctitatis," "a piece of the robe of righteousness;" the righteousness evangelical must be like Christ's seamless coat, all of a piece from the top to the bottom; it must invest the whole soul: Misma, Dumah, Massah, said the proverb of the Rabbins; it is this, and it is the other, and it must be all, it must be a universal righteousness;[c] not a little knot of holy actions scattered in our lives, and drawn into a sum at the day of judgment, but it must be a state of holiness. It was said of the Paphlagonian pigeons, διπλῆν ὁρᾶσθαι τὴν καρδίαν, "every one of them had two hearts;" but that in our mystical theology signifies a wicked man. So said Solomon, "the perverse or wicked man (derachaim) he is a man of two ways; ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, so St. James expresses an unbeliever; a man that will and will not; something he does for God, and something for the world; he hath two minds: and in a good fit, in his well days he is full of repentance, and overflows in piety; but the paroxysm will return in the day of temptation, and then he is gone infallibly. But know this, that in the righteousness evangelical, one duty cannot be exchanged for another, and three virtues will not make amends for one remaining vice. He that oppresses the poor cannot make amends by giving good counsel; and if a priest be simoniacal, he cannot be esteemed righteous before God by preaching well, and taking care of his charge. To be zealous for God and for religion is good, but that will not legitimate cruelty to our brother. It is not enough for a man to be a good citizen, unless he be also a good man; but some men build their houses with half a dozen cross sticks, and turf is the foundation, and straw is the covering, and they think they dwell securely; their religion is made up of two or three virtues, and they think to comute with God, some good for some bad, πολλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ· as if one deadly wound were not enough to destroy the most healthful constitution in the world. Deceive not yourselves. It is all one on which hand we fall:

> ———Unum operantur
> Et calor et frigus, sic hoc, sic illud adurit;
> Sic tenebræ visum, sic sol contrarius aufert.

The moon may burn us by night as well as the sun by day: and a man may be made blind by the light of the sun as well as by the darkness of the evening, and any one great mischief is enough to destroy one man. Some men are very meek and gentle naturally, and that they serve God withal, they pursue the virtue of their nature: that is, they tie a stone at the bottom of the well, and that is more than needs; the stone will stay there without that trouble; and this good inclination will of itself easily proceed to issue; and, therefore, our care and caution should be more carefully employed in mortification of our natures, and acquist of such virtues to which we are more refractory, and then cherish the other too, even as much as we please: but, at the same time we are busy in this, it may be, we are secret adulterers, and that will spoil our confidences in the goodness of the other instance: others are greatly bountiful to the poor, and love all mankind, and hurt nobody but themselves; but it is a thousand pities to see such loving good-natured persons to perish infinitely by one crime, and to see such excellent good things thrown away to please an uncontrolled and a stubborn lust; but so do some escape out of a pit, and are taken in a trap at their going forth: and stepping aside to avoid the hoarfrost, fall into a valley full of snow. The righteousness evangelical is another kind of thing: it is a holy conversation, a godlike life, an universal obedience, a keeping nothing back from God, a sanctification of the whole man, and keeps not the body only, but the soul and the spirit, unblamable to the coming of the Lord Jesus.

5. And lastly: the pharisaical righteousness was the product of fear, and, therefore, what they must needs do, that they would do; but no more: but the righteousness evangelical is produced by love, it is managed by choice, and cherished by delight and fair experiences. Christians are a willing people; "homines bonæ voluntatis," "men of good will;" arbores Domini:" so they are mystically represented in Scripture; "the trees of the Lord are full of sap:" among the Hebrews the trees of the Lord did signify such trees as grew of themselves; and all that are of God's planting, are such as have

[c] Prov. xxviii. 14.

a vital principle within, and grow without constraint. Πείθονται τοῖς ὡρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βιοῖς νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους, one said it of christians: "They obey the laws, and by the goodness of their lives exceed the laws;" and certain it is, no man hath the righteousness evangelical, if he resolves always to take all his liberty in every thing that is merely lawful; or if he purposes to do no more than he must needs, that is, no more than he is just commanded. For the reasons are plain.

1. The christian that resolves to do every thing that is lawful, will many times run into danger and inconvenience; because the utmost extremity of lawful is so near to that which is unlawful, that he will often pass into unlawful undiscernibly. Virtues and vices have not, in all their instances, a great landmark set between them, like warlike nations separate by prodigious walls, vast seas, and portentous hills; but they are oftentimes like the bounds of a parish; men are fain to cut a cross upon the turf, and make little marks and annual perambulations for memorials: so it is in lawful and unlawful, by a little mistake a man may be greatly ruined. He that drinks till his tongue is as full as a sponge, and his speech a little stammering and tripping, hasty and disorderly, though he be not gone as far as drunkenness, yet he is gone beyond the severity of a christian; and when he is just past into unlawful, if he disputes too curiously, he will certainly deceive himself for want of a wiser curiosity.

But 2. He that will do all that he thinks he may lawfully, had need have an infallible guide always by him, who should, without error, be able to answer all cases of conscience, which will happen every day in a life so careless and insecure; for if he should be mistaken, his error is his crime, and not his excuse. A man in this case had need be very sure of his proposition; which because he cannot be, in charity to himself, he will quickly find that he is bound to abstain from all things that are uncertainly good, and from all disputable evils, from things which, although they may be in themselves lawful, yet, accidentally, and that from a thousand causes, may become unlawful. "Pavidus quippe et formidolosus est christianus," saith Salvian, "atque in tantum peccare metuens, ut interdum et non timenda formidet:" "A christian is afraid of every little thing; and he sometimes greatly fears that he hath sinned, even then when he hath no other reason to be afraid, but because he would not do so for all the world."

3. He that resolves to use all his liberty, cannot be innocent, so long as there are in the world so many bold temptations, and presumptuous actions, so many scandals, and so much ignorance in the things of God, so many things that are suspicious, and so many things that are of evil report; so many ill customs and disguises in the world, with which if we resolve to comply in all that is supposed lawful, a man may be in the regions of death, before he perceive his head to ache; and, instead of a staff in his hand, may have a splinter in his elbow.

4. Besides all this; he that thus stands on his terms with God, and so carefully husbands his duty, and thinks to make so good a market of obedience, that he will quit nothing which he thinks he may lawfully keep, shall never be exemplar in his life, and shall never grow in grace, and therefore shall never enter into glory. He, therefore, that will be righteous by the measures evangelical, must consider not only what is lawful, but what is expedient; not only what is barely safe, but what is worthy; that which may secure, and that which may do advantage to that concern that is the greatest in the world.

And 2. The case is very like with them that resolve to do no more good than is commanded them. For 1. It is infinitely unprofitable as to our eternal interest, because no man does do all that is commanded at all times; and, therefore, he that will not sometimes do more, besides that he hath no love, no zeal of duty, no holy fires in his soul; besides this, I say, he can never make any amends towards the reparation of his conscience. "Let him that stole, steal no more;" that is well; but that is not well enough; for he must, if he can, make restitution of what he stole, or he shall never be pardoned; and so it is in all our intercourse with God. To do what is commanded is the duty of the present; we are tied to this in every present, in every period of our lives; but, therefore, if we never do any more than just the present duty, who shall supply the deficiencies, and fill up the gaps, and redeem what is past? This is a material consideration in the righteousness evangelical.

But then, 2. We must know that in keeping of God's commandments, every degree of internal duty is under the commandments; and, therefore, whatever we do, we must do it as well as we can. Now he that does his duty with the biggest affection he can, will also do all that he can; and he can never know that he hath done what is commanded, unless he does all that is in his power. For God hath put no limit but love and possibility; and therefore whoever says, Hither will I go, and no further; this I will do, and no more; thus much will I serve God, but that shall be all; he hath the affections of a slave, and the religion of a Pharisee, the craft of a merchant, and the falseness of a broker; but he hath not the proper measures of the righteousness evangelical. But so it happens in the mud and slime of the river Borborus, when the eye of the sun hath long dwelt upon it, and produces frogs and mice which begin to move a little under a thin cover of its own parental matter, and if they can get loose to live half a life, that is all; but the hinder parts, which are not formed before the setting of the sun, stick fast in their beds of mud, and the little moiety of a creature dies before it could be well said to live; so it is with those christians, who will do all that they think lawful, and will do no more than what they suppose necessary; they do but peep into the light of the Sun of righteousness; they have the beginnings of life; but their hinder parts, their passions and affections, and the desires of the lower man, are still unformed; and he that dwells in this state, is just so much of

a christian, as a sponge is of a plant, and a mushroom of a shrub; they may be as sensible as an oyster, and discourse at the rate of a child, but are greatly short of the righteousness evangelical.

I have now done with those parts of the christian righteousness, which were not only an ὑπεροχὴ, or, "excess," but an ἀντιστοιχείωσις to the pharisaical: but because I ought not to conceal any thing from you that must integrate our duty, and secure our title to the kingdom of heaven; there is this to be added, that this precept of our blessed Saviour is to be extended to the direct degrees of our duty. We must do more duties, and we must do them better. And in this, although we can have no positive measures, because they are potentially infinite, yet therefore we ought to take the best, because we are sure the greatest is not too big; and we are not sure that God will accept a worse, when we can do a better. Now although this is to be understood of the internal affection only, because that must never be abated, but God is at all times to be loved and served with all our heart; yet concerning the degrees of external duty, as prayers, and alms, and the like, we are certainly tied to a greater excellency in the degree, than was that of the scribes and Pharisees. I am obliged to speak one word for the determination of this inquiry, viz. to how much more of external duty christians are obliged, than was in the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees. In order to this, briefly thus.

I remember that Salvian, speaking of old men summing up their repentances, and making amends for the sins of their whole life, exhorts them to alms and works of piety; but inquiring how much they should do towards the redeeming of their souls, answers with a little sarcasm, but plainly enough to give a wise man an answer: "A man," says he, "is not bound to give away all his goods, unless, peradventure, he owes all to God; but, in that case, I cannot tell what to say; for then the case is altered. A man is not bound to part with all his estate; that is, unless his sins be greater than his estate; but if they be, then he may consider of it again, and consider better. And he need not part with it all, unless pardon be more precious to him than his money, and unless heaven be worth it all, and unless he knows justly how much less will do it. If he does, let him try his skill, and pay just so much and no more than he owes to God; but if he does not know, let him be sure to do enough." His meaning is this: not that a man is bound to give all he hath, and leave his children beggars; he is bound from that by another obligation. But as when we are tied to pray continually, the meaning is, we should consecrate all our time by taking good portions out of all our time for that duty; the devoutest person being like the waters of Siloam,[f] a perpetual spring, but not a perpetual current; that is always in readiness, but actually thrusting forth his waters at certain periods every day. So out of all our estate we must take for religion and repentance such portions as the whole estate can allow; so much as will consecrate the rest; so much as is fit to bring when we pray for a great pardon, and deprecate a mighty anger, and turn aside an intolerable fear, and will purchase an excellent peace, and will reconcile a sinner. Now in this case a christian is to take his measures according to the rate of his contrition and his love, his religion and his fear, his danger and his expectation, and let him measure his amends wisely; his sorrow pouring in, and his fear thrusting it down, and it were very well, if his love also would make it run over. For, deceive not yourselves, there is no other measure but this; so much good as a man does, or so much as he would do, if he could,—so much of religion, and so much of repentance he hath, and no more: and a man cannot ordinarily know that he is in a savable condition, but by the testimony which a divine philanthropy and a good mind always gives, which is to omit no opportunity of doing good in our several proportions and possibilities.

There was an alms which the scribes and Pharisees were obliged by the law to give, the tenth of every third year's increase; this they always paid, and this sort of alms is called δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness" or "justice;" but the alms which christians ought to give, is χάρις, and it is ἀγάπη, it is "grace," and it is "love," and it is abundance; and so the old rabbins told: "Justitia propriè dicitur in iis quæ jure facimus; benignitas in iis quæ præter jus." It is more than righteousness, it is bounty and benignity, for that is the christian measure. And so it is in the other parts and instances of the righteousness evangelical. And, therefore, it is remarkable that the saints in the Old Testament were called εὐθεῖς, "right men;" and the book of Genesis, as we find it twice attested by St. Jerome, was called by the ancient Hellenists, βίβλος εὐθέων, "the book of right or just men," the book of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.[g] But the word for christians is χρηστοὶ, "good" men, harmless, and profitable; men that are good, and men that do good. In pursuance of which it is further observed by learned men, that the word ἀρετὴ, or "virtue," is not in the four gospels; for the actions of Christ's disciples should not be in "gradu virtutis" only, virtuous and laudable; such as these Aristotle presses in his "Magna Moralia;" they must pass on to a further excellency than so: the same which he calls πράξεις τῶν ἡρώων, they must be sometimes, and as often as we can, in "gradu heroico;" or, that I may use the christian style, they must be "actions of perfection." "Righteousness" was the συνώνυμον for "alms" in the Old Testament,—and τελειότης, or "perfection," was the word for "alms" in the New; as appears by comparing the fifth of St. Matthew and the sixth of St. Luke together; and that is the full state of this difference in the inquiries of the righteousness pharisaical and evangelical.

I have many more things to say, but ye cannot hear them now, because the time is past. One thing indeed were fit to be spoken of, if I had any time left; but I can only name it, and desire your

[f] S. Hier. in Comment. Isa. viii. Isidor. lib. xiii. Orig. cap. 13.

[g] Comment. in Isa. xii. and lib. vi. in Ezek. xviii.

consideration to make it up. This great rule that Christ gives us, does also, and that principally too, concern churches and commonwealths, as well as every single christian. Christian parliaments must exceed the religion and government of the sanhedrim. Your laws must be more holy, the condition of the subjects be made more tolerable, the laws of Christ must be strictly enforced; you must not suffer your great Master to be dishonoured, nor his religion dismembered by sects, or disgraced by impiety: you must give no impunity to vicious persons, and you must take care that no great example be greatly corrupted; you must make better provisions for your poor than they did, and take more care even of the external advantages of Christ's religion and his ministers, than they did of the priests and Levites; that is, in all things you must be more zealous to promote the kingdom of Christ, than they were for the ministries of Moses.

The sum of all is this: the righteousness evangelical is the same with that, which the ancients called ἀποστολικὴν διάγειν πολίτειαν, "to live an apostolical life;" that was the measure of christians; the οἱ ἐναρέτως καὶ ϑεαρέστως βιοῦντες, "men that desired to please God;" that is, as Apostolius most admirably describes it,[h] men who are curious of their very eyes, temperate in their tongue, of a mortified body, and an humble spirit, pure in their intentions, masters of their passions; men who, when they are injured, return honourable words; when they are lessened in their estates, increase in their charity; when they are abused, they yet are courteous, and give entreaties; when they are hated, they pay love; men that are dull in contentions, and quick in loving-kindnesses, swift as the feet of Asahel,[i] and ready as the chariots of Amminadib.[k] True christians are such as are crucified with Christ, and dead unto all sin, and finally place their whole love on God, and, for his sake, upon all mankind: this is the description of a christian, and the true state of the righteousness evangelical; so that it was well said of Athenagoras, Οὐδεὶς χριστιανὸς πονηρὸς, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον, "No christian is a wicked man, unless his life be a continual lie,"[l] unless he be false to God and his religion. For the righteousness of the gospel is, in short, nothing else but a transcript of the life of Christ: "De matthana nahaliel; de nahaliel Bamoth," said R. Joshua; Christ is the image of God, and every christian is the image of Christ, whose example is imitable; but it is the best, and his laws are the most perfect, but the most easy; and the promises by which he invites our greater services, are most excellent, but most true; and the rewards shall be hereafter, but they shall abide for ever; and, that I may take notice of the last words of my text, the threatenings to them that fall short of this righteousness, are most terrible, but most certainly shall come to pass; "they shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven;" that is, their portion shall be shame and an eternal prison, ἀσφαλτῶδες ῥεῦμα, "a flood of brimstone," and a cohabitation with devils to eternal ages; and if this consideration will not prevail, there is no place left for persuasion, and there is no use of reason, and the greatest hopes and the greatest fears can be no argument or sanction of laws; and the greatest good in the world is not considerable, and the greatest evil is not formidable: but if they be, there is no more to be said; if you would have your portion with Christ, you must be righteous by his measures: and these are they that I have told you of.

[h] Ἐστι δὲ αὐτὴ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀκρίβεια, γλώσσης ἐγκράτεια, σώματος δουλαγωγία, φρόνημα ταπεινὸν, ἐννοίας καθαρότης, ὀργῆς ἀφανισμὸς· ἀγγαρευόμενος προτίθει, ἀποστερούμενος μὴ δικάζου, μισούμενος ἀγάπα, βιαζόμενος ἀνέχου, βλασφημούμενος παρακάλει, νεκρώϑητι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, συσταυρώϑητι τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅλην τὴν ἀγάπην μετάϑες ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον. Legat. pro Christianis.

[i] 2 Sam. ii. 18.

[k] Song of Sol. vi. 12.

SERMON II.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONQUEST OVER THE BODY OF SIN.

For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.—Rom. vii. 19.

WHAT the eunuch said to Philip, when he read the book of the prophet Isaiah, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself, or some other man?" the same question I am to ask concerning the words of my text: Does St. Paul mean this of himself, or of some other? It is hoped that he speaks it of himself; and means, that though his understanding is convinced that he ought to serve God, and that he hath some imperfect desires to do so, yet the law of God without is opposed by a law of sin within. We have a corrupted nature, and a body of infirmity, and our reason dwells in the dark, and we must go out of the world before we leave our sin. For besides that some sins are esteemed brave and honourable, and he is a baffled person that dares not kill his brother like a gentleman; our very tables are made a snare, and our civilities are direct treasons to the soul. You cannot entertain your friend, but excess is the measure; and that you may be very kind to your guest, you step aside, and lay away the christian; your love cannot be expressed, unless you do him an ill turn, and civilly invite him to a fever. Justice is too often taught to bow to great interests, and men cannot live without flattery: and there are some trades that minister to sin, so that without a sin we cannot maintain our families; and if you mean to live, you must do as others do. Now so long as men see they are like to be undone by innocence, and that they can no way live but by compliance with the evil customs of the world, men conclude practically, because they must live, they must sin; they must live handsomely, and, therefore, must do some things unhandsomely, and so upon the whole matter sin is unavoidable. Fain they would, but cannot tell how to help it. But since it is no

better, it is well it is no worse. For it is St. Paul's case, no worse man: he would and he would not, he did and he did not; he was willing, but he was not able; and, therefore, the case is clear, that if a man strives against sin, and falls unwillingly, it shall not be imputed to him; he may be a regenerate man for all that. A man must, indeed, wrangle against sin when it comes, and, like a peevish lover, resist and consent at the same time, and then all is well; for this not only consists with, but is a sign of the state of regeneration.

If this be true, God will be very ill served. If it be not true, most men will have but small hopes of being saved, because this is the condition of most men. What then is to be done? Truth can do us no hurt; and, therefore, be willing to let this matter pass under examination; for if it trouble us now, it will bring comfort hereafter. And, therefore, before I enter into the main inquiry, I shall, by describing the state of the man of whom St. Paul speaks here, tell you plainly, who it is that is in this state of sad things; and then do ye make your resolutions, according as you shall find it necessary for the saving of your souls, which, I am sure, ought to be the end of all preaching.

1. The man St. Paul speaks of, is one that is "dead,"[a] one that was "deceived" and "slain,"[b] one in whom "sin was exceeding sinful,"[c] that is, highly imputed, greatly malicious, infinitely destructive: he is one who is "carnal, and sold under sin;"[d] he is one that sins against his "conscience and his reason;"[e] he is one in whom "sin dwells," but the Spirit of God does not dwell; for "no good thing dwells in him;"[f] he is one who is "brought into captivity to the law of sin;" he is a servant of uncleanness, with his "flesh and members serving the law of sin."[g] Now if this be a state of regeneration, I wonder what is, or can be, a state of reprobation! for though this be the state of nature, yet it cannot be the state of one redeemed by the Spirit of Christ; and, therefore, flatter not yourselves any more, that it is enough for you to have good desires and bad performances: never think that any sin can reign in you, and yet you be servants of God; that sin can dwell in you, and at the same time the Spirit of God can dwell in you too; or that life and death can abide together. The sum of affairs is this: "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live;"[h] but not else upon any terms whatsoever.

My text is one of the hard places of St. Paul, which, as St. Peter says, "the ignorant and the unstable wrest to their own damnation." But because in this case the danger is so imminent, and the deception would be so intolerable, St. Paul, immediately after this chapter, (in which, under his own person, as was usual with him to do, he describes the state of a natural man advanced no further than Moses's law, and not redeemed by the blood of Christ, or enlightened by the Spirit of God, and taught by the wiser lessons and sermons of the gospel,) immediately spends the next chapter in opposing the evangelical state to the legal, the spiritual to the carnal, the christian to the natural; and tells us plainly, he that is redeemed by the blood of Christ, is redeemed from the power of sin: he that is Christ's freed-man, is not a slave of sin, not captive to the devil at his will: he that is in "the flesh, cannot please God," but every servant of Christ is freed from sin, and is a servant of righteousness, and redeemed from all his vain conversation: for this is the end of Christ's coming, and cannot be in vain, unless we make it so. He came to bless us by turning every one of us from our iniquities. Now concerning this, besides the evidence of the thing itself, that St. Paul does not speak these words of himself, but by a μετασχηματισμὸς, under his own borrowed person he describes the state of a carnal, unredeemed, unregenerate person, is expressly affirmed by St. Irenæus and Origen, by Tertullian and St. Basil, by Theodoret and St. Chrysostom, by St. Jerome, and sometimes by St. Austin, by St. Ambrose and St. Cyril, by Macarius and Theophylact; and is indeed that true sense and meaning of these words of St. Paul, which words none can abuse or misunderstand, but to the great prejudice of a holy life, and the patronage of all iniquity.

But for the stating of this great case of conscience, I shall first in short describe to you what are the proper causes, which place men and keep them in this state of a necessity of sinning; and 2. I shall prove the absolute necessity of coming out of this condition, and quitting all our sin. 3. In what degree this is to be effected. 4. By what instruments this is to be done; and all these being practical, will, of themselves, be sufficient use to the doctrines, and need no other applicatory but a plain exhortation.

1. What are the causes of this evil, by which we are first placed, and so long kept, in a necessity of sinning, so that we cannot do what good we would, nor avoid the evil that we hate?

The first is the evil state of our nature. And, indeed, he that considers the daily experiment of his own weak nature, the ignorance and inconstancy of his soul, being like a sick man's legs, or the knees of infants, reeling and unstable by disease or by infirmity, and the perpetual leaven and germinations, the thrustings forth and swelling of his senses, running out like new wine into vapours and intoxicating activities, will readily confess, that though even in nature there may be many good inclinations to many instances of the Divine commandments; yet it can go no further than this "velleity," this desiring to do good, but is not able. And it is upon this account that Lactantius brings in the pagan or natural man complaining, "Volo equidem non peccare, sed vincor, indutus enim sum carne fragili et imbecillâ." This is very true; and I add only this caution: there is not in the corruption of our nature so much as will save us harmless, or make us excusable, if we sin against God. Natural corruption can make us criminal, but not innocent; for though by him that willingly abides in the state of mere

[a] Ver. 9. [b] Ver. 11.
[c] Ver. 13. [d] Ver. 14.
[e] Ver. 16. [f] Ver. 18.
[g] Ver. 25. [h] Rom. viii. 13.

nature, sin cannot be avoided, yet no man is in that state longer than he loves to be so; for the grace of God came to rescue us from this evil portion, and is always present, to give us a new nature, and create us over again: and, therefore, though sin is made necessary to the natural man by his impotency and fond loves, that is, by his unregenerate nature; yet, in the whole constitution of affairs, God hath more than made it up by his grace, if we will make use of it. "In pueris elucet spes plurimorum, quæ ubi emoritur ætate, manifestum est, non defecisse naturam, sed curam," said Quintilian.[i] We cannot tell what we are, or what we think, in our infancy; and, when we can know our thoughts, we can easily observe that we have learned evil things by evil examples, and the corrupt manners of an evil conversation: "Et ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxêre, naturæ infirmitas accusatur;"[k] that, indeed, is too true: "We grow lazy, and wanton, and we lose our time, and abuse our parts, and do ugly things, and lay the fault wholly upon our natural infirmities:" but we must remember, that, by this time, it is a state of nature, a state of flesh and blood, which cannot enter into heaven. The natural man and the natural child are not the same thing in true divinity. The natural child indeed can do no good; but the natural man cannot choose but do evil; but it is because he will do so; he is not born in the second birth, and renewed in the baptism of the Spirit.

2. We have brought ourselves into an accidental necessity of sinning by the evil principles, which are sucked in by great parts of mankind. We are taught ways of going to heaven without forsaking our sins; of repentance without restitution; of being in charity without hearty forgiveness and without love; of believing our sins to be pardoned before they are mortified; of trusting in Christ's death without conformity to his life; of being in God's favour upon the only account of being of such an opinion; and that when we are once in, we can never be out. We are taught to believe that the events of things do not depend upon our crucifying our evil and corrupt affections, but upon eternal and unalterable counsels; that the promises are not the rewards of obedience, but graces pertaining only to a few predestinates, and yet men are saints for all that; and that the laws of God are of the race of the giants, not to be observed by any grace or by any industry: this is the catechism of the ignorant and the profane: but, without all peradventure, the contrary propositions are the way to make the world better: but certainly they that believe these things, do not believe it necessary that we should eschew all evil: and no wonder then, if when men upon these accounts slacken their industry and their care, they find sin still prevailing, still dwelling within them, and still unconquerable by so slight and disheartened labours. For Ἰδιώτης πᾶς καὶ ἀπαίδευτος τρόπον τινα παῖς ἐστι· "Every fool and every ignorant person is a child still:" and it is no wonder that he who talks foolishly should do childishly and weakly.

3. To our weak and corrupted nature, and our foolish discourses, men do daily superinduce evil habits and customs of sinning. "Consuetudo mala tanquam hamus infixus animæ," said the father; "An evil custom is a hook in the soul," and draws it whither the devil pleases. When it comes to the καρδία γεγυμνασμένη πλεονεξίαις, as St. Peter's word is, "a heart exercised with covetous practices," then it is also ἀσθενὴς, it is "weak" and unable to do the good it fain would, or to avoid the evil, which, in a good fit, it pretends to hate. This is so known, I shall not insist upon it; but add this only, that wherever a habit is contracted, it is all one what the instance be; it is as easy as delicious, as unalterable in virtue as in vice; for what helps nature brings to a vicious habit, the same and much more the Spirit of God, by his power and by his comforts, can do in a virtuous; and then we are well again. You see by this who are, and why they are, in this evil condition. The evil natures, and the evil principles, and the evil manners of the world, these are the causes of our imperfect willings and weaker actings in the things of God; and as long as men stay here, sin will be unavoidable. For even meat itself is loathsome to a sick stomach, and it is impossible for him that is heart-sick to eat the most wholesome diet; and yet he that shall say eating is impossible, will be best confuted by seeing all the healthful men in the world eat heartily every day.

2. But what then? Cannot sin be avoided? Cannot a christian mortify the deeds of the body? Cannot Christ redeem us, and cleanse us from all our sins? Cannot the works of the devil be destroyed? That is the next particular to be inquired of: Whether or no it be not necessary, and, therefore, very possible, for a servant of God to pass from this evil state of things, and not only hate evil, but avoid it also?

"He that saith he hath not sinned, is a liar;" but what then? Because a man hath sinned, it does not follow he must do so always. "Hast thou sinned? do so no more," said the wise Bensirach; and so said Christ to the poor paralytic, "Go, and sin no more."—They were excellent words spoken by a holy prophet: "Let not the sinner say he hath not sinned; for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, that saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned." Well! that case is confessed; "All men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." But is there no remedy for this? Must it always be so? and must sin for ever have the upper hand, and for ever baffle our resolutions, and all our fierce and earnest promises of amendment? God forbid. There was a time then, to come, and, blessed be God, it hath been long come; "Yet a little while," saith that prophet, "and iniquity shall be taken out of the earth, and righteousness shall reign among you." For that is in the day of Christ's kingdom, the manifestation of the gospel. When Christ reigns in our hearts by his Spirit, Dagon and the ark cannot stand together; we cannot serve Christ and Belial. And as in the state of nature no good thing dwells within us; so when Christ rules

[i] Gesner. [k] Sall.

in us, no evil thing can abide; "For every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up," and cast away into the fires of consumption or purification. But how shall this come to pass, since we all find ourselves so infinitely weak and foolish? I shall tell you. "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven," saith Christ. It is impossible to nature; it is impossible to them that are given to vanity; it is impossible for them that delight in the evil snare: but Christ adds, "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible." What we cannot do for ourselves, God can do for us, and with us. What nature cannot do, the grace of God can. So that the thing may be done; not indeed by ourselves, but "gratia Dei mecum," saith St. Paul; God and man together can do it. But if it can be done any way that God has put into our powers, the consequent is this; no man's good will shall be taken in exchange for the real and actual mortification of his sins. He that sins, and would fain not sin, but sin is present with him whether he will or no, let him take heed; for the same is "the law of sin," and "the law of death," saith the apostle; and that man's heart is not right with God. For it is impossible men should pray for deliverance, and not be heard; that they should labour, and not be prosperous; unless they pray amiss, and labour falsely. Let no man, therefore, please himself with talking of great things, with perpetual conversation in pious discourses, or with ineffective desires of serving God: he that does not practice as well as he talks, and do what he desires, and what he ought to do, confesses himself to sin greatly against his conscience; and it is a prodigious folly to think that he is a good man, because though he does sin, yet it was against his mind to do so. A man's conscience can never condemn him, if that be his excuse, to say that his conscience checked him: and that will be but a sad apology at the day of judgment. Some men talk like angels, and pray with fervour, and meditate with deep recesses, and speak to God with loving affections, and words of union, and adhere to him in silent devotion, and when they go abroad are as passionate as ever, peevish as a frighted fly, vexing themselves with their own reflections: they are cruel in their bargains, unmerciful to their tenants, and proud as a barbarian prince: they are, for all their fine words, impatient of reproof, scornful to their neighbours, lovers of money, supreme in their own thoughts, and submit to none; all their spiritual life they talk of, is nothing but spiritual fancy and illusion; they are still under the power of their passions, and their sin rules them imperiously, and carries them away infallibly. Let these men consider, there are some men think it impossible to do as much as they do: the common swearer cannot leave that vice, and talk well; and these men that talk thus well, think they cannot do as well as they talk; but both of them are equally under the power of their respective sins, and are equally deceived, and equally not the servants of God. This is true; but it is equally as true, that there is no necessity for all this; for it ought, and it may be otherwise if we please: for, I pray, be pleased to hear St. Paul; "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh;" there is your remedy: "For the Spirit lusteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the Spirit; there is the cause of it; ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε, "so that ye may not, or cannot, do the things ye would;"[l] that is the blessed consequent and product of that cause. That is plainly,—As there is a state of carnality, of which St. Paul speaks in my text, so that in that state a man cannot but obey the flesh,—so there is also a state of spirituality, when sin is dead, and righteousness is alive; and, in this state, the flesh can no more prevail than the Spirit could do in the other.—Some men cannot choose but sin; "for the carnal mind is not subject to God, neither, indeed, can be,"[m] saith St. Paul; but there are, also, some men that cannot endure any thing that is not good. It is a great pain for a temperate man to suffer the disorders of drunkenness, and the shames of lust are intolerable to a chaste and modest person. This also is affirmed by St. John: "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him."[n] So that, you see, it is possible for a good man not to commit the sin to which he is tempted. But the apostle says more: "He doth not commit sin, neither indeed can he, because he is born of God."

And this is agreeable to the words of our blessed Saviour: "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, and a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;"[o] that is, as the child of hell is carried to sin, "pleno impetu," he does not check at it, he does it, and is not troubled; so, on the other side, a child of God is as fully convinced of righteousness, and that which is unrighteous is as hateful to him as colocynths to the taste, or the sharpest punctures to the pupil of the eye. We may see something of this in common experiences. What man of ordinary prudence and reputation can be tempted to steal? or, for what price would he be tempted to murder his friend? If we did hate all sins as we hate these, would it not be as easy to be as innocent in other instances, as most men are in these? and we should have as few drunkards as we have thieves. In such as these, we do not complain in the words of my text, "What I would not, that I do; and what I would, I do not." Does not every good man overcome all the power of great sins? and can he, by the Spirit of God and right reason, by fear and hope, conquer Goliath, and beat the sons of the giant; and can he not overcome the children of Gath? or is it harder to overcome a little sin than a great one? Are not the temptations to little sins very little? and yet are they greater and stronger than a mighty grace? Could the poor demoniac, that lived in the graves, by the power of the devil break his iron chains in pieces? and cannot he, who hath the Spirit of God, dissolve the chains of sin? "Through Christ that strengthens me, I can do all things," saith St. Paul; "Satis sibi copiarum cum Publio

[l] Gal. v. 16. [m] Rom. viii. 7. [n] 1 John iii. 9. [o] Matt. vii. 18.

Decio, et nunquam nimium hostium fore," said one in Livy; which is best rendered by St. Paul—"If God be with us, who can be against us?" Nay, there is an *ὑπερνικῶμεν* in St. Paul, "We are more than conquerors." For even amongst an army of conquerors there are degrees of exaltation; some serve God like the centurion, and some like St. Peter; some like Martha, and some like Mary; *μετ' εὐκολίας ἁπάσης, ἄνευ πόνων καὶ ἱδρώτων*, all good men conquer their temptations, but some with more ease, and some with a clearer victory; and more than thus,—"Non solùm viperam terimus, sed ex eâ antidotum conficimus," "We kill the viper, and make treacle of him;" that is, not only escape from, but get advantages by temptations. But we, commonly, are more afraid than hurt: "Let us, therefore, lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us:"[p] so we read the words of the apostle; but St. Chrysostom's rendition of them is better; for the word *εὐπερίστατος* is a perfect passive, and cannot signify the strength and irresistibility of sin upon us, but quite the contrary, *εὐπερίστατος ἁμαρτία* signifies "the sin that is so easily avoided," as they that understand that language know very well. And if we were so wise and valiant as not to affright ourselves with our own terrors, we should quickly find, that by the help of the Spirit of God, we can do more than we thought we could. It was said of Alexander, "Benè ausus est vana contemnere,"[q] he did no great matter in conquering the Persians, because they were a pitiful and a soft people; only he understood them to be so, and was wise and bold enough not to fear such images and men of clouts. But men, in the matter of great sins and little, do as the magicians of Egypt: when Moses turned his rod into a serpent, it moved them not; but when they saw the lice and the flies, then they were afraid. We see, that, by the grace of God, we can escape great sins; but we start at flies, and a bird out of a bush disorders us; the lion in the way troubles us not, but a frog and a worm affrights us. Remember the saying of St. Paul, "Christ came to redeem to himself a church, and to present it, pure and spotless, before the throne of grace;" and, if you mean to be of this number, you must endeavour to be under this qualification, that is, as Paul laboured to be, "void of offence, both towards God and towards man." And so I have done with the second proposition. It is necessary that all sin, great and little, should be mortified and dead in us, and that we no longer abide in that state of slavery, as to say, "The good that I would I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do."

3. In the next place we are to inquire in what degree this is to be effected; for though in negatives, properly, there are no degrees, yet, unless there be some allays in this doctrine, it will not be so well, and it may be, your experiences will for ever confute my arguments; for, "Who can say that he is clean from his sin?" said the wise man. And as our blessed Saviour said, "He that is innocent among you all, let him throw the first stone at the sinner," and spare not.

[p] Heb. xii. 1. [q] Liv.

To this I answer, in the words of St. Gregory, All man's righteousness will be found to be unrighteous, if God should severely enter into judgment; but, therefore, even after our innocence we must pray for pardon, "ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex judicis pietate convalescat," "that our innocence, which, in strictness of Divine judgment, would be found spotted and stained, by the mercy of our Saviour may be accepted." St. Bernard expresses this well: "Nostra siqua est humilis justitia, recta forsitan, sed non pura;" "Our humble righteousness is, perhaps, right in the eyes of God, but not pure;" that is, accepted by his mercy, but it is such as dares not contend in judgment. For as no man is so much a sinner, but he sometimes speaks a good word, or does some things not ill, and yet that little good interrupts not that state of evil; so it is amongst very good men, from whom, sometimes, may pass something that is not commendable; and yet their heart is so habitually right towards God, that they will do nothing, I do not say which God in justice cannot, but which in mercy he will not, impute to eternal condemnation. It was the case of David; "he was a man after God's own heart;" nay, it is said, "he was blameless, save in the matter of Uriah;" and yet we know he numbered the people, and God was angry with him, and punished him for it, but, because he was a good man, and served God heartily, that other fault of his was imputed to him no further. God set a fine upon his head for it; but it was "salvo contenemento," "the main stake was safe."

For concerning good men, the question is not, whether or no God could not, in the rigour of justice, blame their indiscretion, or impute a foolish word, or chide them for a hasty answer, or a careless action, for a less devout prayer, or weak hands, for a fearful heart, or a trembling faith. These are not the measures by which God judges his children; "for he knoweth whereof we are made, and he remembers that we are but dust."—But the question is, whether any man that is covetous or proud, false to his trust, or a drunkard, can, at the same time, be a child of God? No, certainly he cannot. But then we know that God judges us by Jesus Christ, that is, with the allays of mercy, with an eye of pardon, with the sentences of a father, by the measures of a man, and by analogy, to all our unavoidable abatements. God could enter with us into a more severe judgment, but he would not; and no justice tied him from exercising that mercy. But, according to the measures of the gospel, "he will judge every man according to his works."—Now what these measures are, is now the question. To which I answer, first, in general, and then more particularly.

1. In general, thus:—A christian's innocence is always to be measured by the plain lines and measures of the commandments; but is not to be taken into account by uncertain and fond opinions, and the scruples of zealous and timorous persons. My meaning is this: Some men tell us that every natural inclination to a forbidden object is a sin; which they that believe, finding them to be natural,

do also confess that such sins are unavoidable. But if these natural and first motions be sins, then a man sins whether he resists them, or resists them not, whether he prevails, or prevails not; and there is no other difference but this,—he that fights not against, but always yields to his desires, sins greatest; and he that never yields, but fights always, sins oftenest. But then, by this reckoning, it will indeed be impossible to avoid millions of sins; because the very doing of our duty does suppose a sin. If God should impute such first desires to us as sins, we were all very miserable; but if he does not impute them, let us trouble ourselves no further about them, but to take care that they never prevail upon us. Thus men are taught, that they never say their prayers but they commit a sin. Indeed that is true but too often; but yet it is possible for us, by the grace of God, to please him in saying our prayers, and to be accepted of him. But, indeed, if God did proceed against us as we do against one another, no man could abide innocent for so much as one hour. But God's judgment is otherwise; he inquires if the heart be right, if our labour be true, if we love no sin, if we use prudent and efficacious instruments to mortify our sin, if we go about our religion as we go about the biggest concerns of our life, if we be sincere and real in our actions and intentions. For this is the *ἀναμαρτησία* that God requires of us all; this is that "sinless state," in which if God does not find us, we shall never see his glorious face; and if he does find us, we shall certainly be saved by the blood of Jesus. For, in the style of Scripture, to be *εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι* is the same thing: "to be sincere and to be without offence," is all one. Thus David spake heartily, "I am utterly purposed that my mouth shall not offend; and thou shalt find no wickedness in me." He that endeavours this, and hopes this, and does actions and uses means accordingly, not being deceived by his own false heart, nor abused by evil propositions,—this man will stand upright in the congregations of the just; and, though he cannot challenge heaven by merit, yet he shall receive it as a gift by promise and by grace. "Lex nos innocentes esse jubet, non curiosos," said Seneca. For God takes no judgment of us by any measures, but of the commandment without, and the heart and the conscience within; but he never intended his laws to be a snare to us, or to entrap us with consequences and dark interpretations, by large deductions and witty similitudes of faults; but he requires of us a sincere heart, and a hearty labour in the work of his commandments; he calls upon us to avoid all that which his law plainly forbids, and which our consciences do condemn. This is the general measure. The particulars are briefly these.

1. Every christian is bound to arrive at that state, that he have remaining in him no habit of any sin whatsoever. "Our old man must be crucified,"—"the body of sin must be destroyed,"—"he must no longer serve sin,"—"sin shall not have the dominion over you."—All these are the apostle's words; that is, plainly, as I have already declared, you must not be at that pass, that though ye would avoid sin, ye cannot. For he that is so, is a most perfect slave, and Christ's freedman cannot be so. Nay, he that loves sin, and delights in it, hath no liberty indeed, but he hath more show of it than he that obeys it against his will.

> ———Libertatis servaveris umbram,
> Si quidquid jubeare velis. LUCAN.

He that loves to be in the place, is a less prisoner than he that is confined against his will.

2. He that commits any one sin by choice and deliberation, is an enemy to God, and is under the dominion of the flesh. In the case of deliberate sins, one act does give the denomination; he is an adulterer, that so much as once foully breaks the holy laws of marriage. "He that offends in one, is guilty of all," saith St. James. St. Peter's denial, and David's adultery, had passed on to a fatal issue, if the mercy of God, and a great repentance, had not interceded. But they did so no more, and so God restored them to grace and pardon. And in this sense are the words of St. John, *Ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*, "*He that does a sin*, is of the devil," and "he that is born of God," *ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ*, "*does not commit a sin*;"[r] he chooses none, he loves none, he endures none, "talia quæ non faciet bonæ fidei et spei Christianus;" they do no great sin, and love no little one. A sin chosen and deliberately done, is, as Tertullian's expression is, "crimen devoratorium salutis;" "it devours salvation." For as there are some sins which can be done but once,—as a man can kill his father but once, or himself but once, so in those things which can be repeated, a perfect choice is equivalent to a habit; it is the same in principle, that a habit is in the product. In short, he is not a child of God, that, knowingly and deliberately, chooses any thing that God hates.

3. Every christian ought to attain to such a state of life, as that he never sin, not only by a long deliberation, but also not by passion. I do not say that he is not a good christian, who by passion is suddenly surprised, and falls into folly; but this I say, that no passion ought to make him choose a sin. For, let the sin enter by anger or by desire, it is all one, if the consent be gained. It is an ill sign, if a man, though on the sudden, consents to a base action. Thus far every good man is tied, not only to endeavour, but to prevail against his sin.

4. There is one step more, which, if it be not actually effected, it must, at least, be greatly endeavoured, and the event be left to God; and that is, that we strive for so great a dominion over our sins and lust, as that we be not surprised on a sudden. This, indeed, is a work of time, and it is well if it be ever done; but it must always be endeavoured. But in this particular even good men are sometimes unprosperous. St. Epiphanius and St. Chrysostom grew once into choler, and they passed too far, and lost more than their argument; they lost their reason, and they lost their patience; and Epiphanius wished that St. Chrysostom might not die a bishop; and he in a peevish exchange, wished that Epiphanius might never return to his bishopric: when

[r] 1 John iii. 8.

they had forgotten their foolish anger, God remembered it, and said "Amen" to both their cursed speakings. Nay, there is yet a greater example of human frailty; St. Paul and Barnabas were very holy persons; but once, in a heat, they were both to blame; they were peevish, and parted company. This was not very much; but God was so displeased, even for this little fly in their box of ointment, that their story says, they never saw one another's face again. These earnest emissions and transportations of passion do sometime declare the weakness of good men; but that, even here, we ought at least to endeavour to be more than conquerors, appears in this, —because God allows it not, and by punishing such follies, does manifest that he intends that we should get victory over our sudden passions, as well as our natural lusts. And so I have done with the third inquiry, in what degree God expects our innocence; and now I briefly come to the last particular, which will make all the rest practicable. I am now to tell you how all this can be effected, and how we shall get free from the power and dominion of our sins.

4. The first great instrument is faith. He that hath faith like a grain of mustard-seed, can remove mountains; the mountains of sin shall fall flat at the feet of the faithful man, and shall be removed into the sea, the sea of Christ's blood, and penitential waters. "Faith overcometh the world," saith St. John; and "walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh." There are two of our enemies gone,—the world and the flesh, by faith and the Spirit, by the spirit of faith; and, as for the devil, put on the shield of faith, and "resist the devil, and he will flee from you," saith the apostle; and the powers of sin seem insuperable to none, but to them that have not faith: we do not believe that God intends we should do what he seems to require of us; or else we think, that though God's grace abounds, yet sin must superabound, expressly against the saying of St. Paul; or else we think, that the evil spirit is stronger than the good Spirit of God. Hear what St. John saith: "My little children, ye are of God, and have overcome the evil one; for the Spirit that is in you, is greater than that which is in the world."[s] Believest thou this? If you do, I shall tell you what may be the event of it. When the father of the boy possessed with the devil told his sad story to Christ, he said, Master, if thou canst do any thing, I pray help me. Christ answered him, If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.[t] N. B. And therefore, if you do believe this, go to your prayers, and go to your guards, and go to your labour, and try what God will do for you. "For whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them." Now consider; Do not we every day pray, in the Divine hymn called "Te Deum," "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin?" And in the collect at morning prayer,—"and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that which is righteous in thy sight?" Have you any hope, or any faith, when you say that prayer? And if you do your duty as you can, do you think the failure will be on God's part? Fear not that, if you can trust in God, and do accordingly; "though your sins were as scarlet, yet they shall be as white as snow," and pure as the feet of the holy Lamb. Only let us forsake all those weak propositions, which cut the nerves of faith, and make it impossible for us to actuate all our good desires, or to come out from the power of sin.

2. He that would be free from the slavery of sin, and the necessity of sinning, must always watch. Aye, that is the point; but who can watch always? Why every good man can watch always; and, that we may not be deceived in this, let us know, that the running away from a temptation is a part of our watchfulness, and every good employment is another great part of it, and a laying in provisions of reason and religion beforehand, is yet a third part of this watchfulness; and the conversation of a christian is a perpetual watchfulness; not a continual thinking of that one, or those many things, which may endanger us; but it is a continual doing something, directly or indirectly, against sin. He either prays to God for his Spirit, or relies upon the promises, or receives the sacrament, or goes to his bishop for counsel and a blessing, or to his priest for religious offices, or places himself at the feet of good men to hear their wise sayings, or calls for the church's prayers, or does the duty of his calling, or actually resists temptation, or frequently renews his holy purposes, or fortifies himself by vows, or searches into his danger by a daily examination; so that, in the whole, he is for ever upon his guards. This duty and caution of a christian is like watching, lest a man cut his finger. Wise men do not often cut their fingers, and yet every day they use a knife; and a man's eye is a tender thing, and every thing can do it wrong, and every thing can put it out; yet, because we love our eyes so well, in the midst of so many dangers, by God's providence, and a prudent natural care, by winking when any thing comes against them, and by turning aside when a blow is offered, they are preserved so certainly, that not one man in ten thousand does, by a stroke, lose one of his eyes in all his life-time. If we would transplant our natural care to a spiritual caution, we might, by God's grace, be kept from losing our souls, as we are from losing our eyes; and, because a perpetual watchfulness is our great defence, and the perpetual presence of God's grace is our great security, and that this grace never leaves us unless we leave it, and the precept of a daily watchfulness is a thing not only so reasonable, but so many easy ways to be performed,—we see upon what terms we may be quit of our sins, and more than conquerors over all the enemies and impediments of salvation.

3. If you would be in the state of the liberty of the sons of God, that is, that you may not be servants of sin in any instance, be sure, in the mortifications of sin, willingly or carelessly to leave no remains of it, no nest-egg, no principles of it, no affections to it; if any thing remains, it will prove

[s] 1 John iv. 4. [t] Mark ix. 23.

to us as manna to the sons of Israel on the second day; it will breed worms, and stink. Therefore, labour against every part of it, reject every proposition that gives it countenance, pray to God against it all. And what then? Why then, "ask, and you shall have," said Christ. Nay, say some, it is true, you shall be heard, but in part only; for God will leave some remains of sin within us, lest we should become proud, by being innocent. So vainly do men argue against God's goodness, and their own blessing and salvation; *μετὰ πλείονος τέχνης καὶ παρασκευῆς, καὶ πραγματείας ἀπόλλυνται*, as St. Basil says; "they contrive witty arts to undo themselves," being entangled in the periods of ignorant disputations. But as to the thing itself, if by the remains of sin, they mean the propensities and natural inclinations to forbidden objects, there is no question but they will remain in us, so long as we bear our flesh about us; and, surely, that is a great argument to make us humble. But these are not the sins which God charges on his people. But if, by remains, we mean any part of the habit of sin, any affection, any malice or perverseness of the will, then it is a contradiction to say that God leaves in us such remains of sin, lest, by innocence, we become proud; for how should pride spring in a man's heart, if there be no remains of sin left? And is it not the best, the surest way, to cure the pride of our hearts, by taking out every root of bitterness, even the root of pride itself? Will a physician purposely leave the relics of a disease, and pretend he does it to prevent a relapse? And is it not more likely he will relapse, if the sickness be not wholly cured? But besides this, if God leaves any remains of sin in us, what remains are they, and of what sins? Does he leave the remains of pride? If so, that were a strange cure, to leave the remains of pride in us, to keep us from being proud. But, if not so, but that all the remains of pride be taken away by the grace of God blessing our endeavours, what danger is there of being proud, the remains of which sin are, by the grace of God, wholly taken away? But then, if the pride of the heart be cured, which is the hardest to be removed, and commonly is done last of all,—who can distrust the power of the Spirit of God, or his goodness, or his promises, and say that God does not intend to cleanse his sons and servants from all unrighteousness; and, according to St. Paul's prayer, "keep their bodies, and souls, and spirits, unblamable to the coming of the Lord Jesus?" But, however, let God leave what remains he please, all will be well enough on that side; but let us be careful, as far as we can, that *we* leave none; lest it be severely imputed to us, and the fire break out, and consume us.

4. Let us, without any further question, put this argument to a material issue; let us do all that we can do towards the destruction of the whole body of sin; but let us never say we cannot be quit of our sin, till we have done all that we can do towards the mortification of it. For till that be done, how can any man tell where the fault lies, or whether it can be done or no? If any man can say that he hath done all that he could do, and yet hath failed of his duty,—if he can say truly, that he hath endured as much as is possible to be endured,—that he hath watched always, and never nodded when he could avoid it,—that he hath loved as much as he could love,—that he hath waited till he can wait no longer;—then, indeed, if he says true, we must confess that it is not to be understood. But is there any man in the world that does all that he can do? If there be, that man is blameless; if there be not, then he cannot say but it is his own fault that his sin prevails against him. It is true, that no man is free from sin; but it is as true, that no man does as much as he can against it; and, therefore, no man must go about to excuse himself by saying, No man is free from his sin; and, therefore, no man can be, no, not by the powers of grace: for he may as well argue thus,—No man does do all that he can do against it, and, therefore, it is impossible he should do what he can do. The argument is apparently foolish, and the excuse is weak, and the deception visible, and sin prevails upon our weak arguings; but the consequence is plainly this,—when any man commits a sin, he is guilty before God, and he cannot say he could not help it; and God is just in punishing every sin, and very merciful when he forgives us any. But he that says he cannot avoid it, that he cannot overcome his lust,—confesses himself a servant of sin, and that he is not yet redeemed by the blood of the holy Lamb.

5. He that would be advanced beyond the power and necessity of sinning, must take great caution concerning his thoughts and secret desires; "for lust, when it is conceived, bringeth forth sin;" but, if it be suppressed in the conception, it comes to nothing; but we find it hard to destroy the serpent, when the egg is hatched into a cockatrice. The thought is *ἀμάρτυρος ἁμαρτία*; no man takes notice of it, but lets it alone till the sin be too strong;[u] and then we complain we cannot help it. "Nolo sinas cogitationem crescere," "Suffer not your thoughts to grow up;" for they usually come *ἄφνω, ὡσακόπως, ἀπραγματεύτως*, as St. Basil says, "suddenly, and easily, and without business;" but take heed that you nurse them not; but, if you chance to stumble, mend your pace, and if you nod, let it awaken you; for he only can be a good man, that raises himself up at the first trip, that strangles his sin in the birth: *Τοιοῦται τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ, πρὶν ἔπεσαν, ἀνίστανται*, "Good men rise up again, even before they fall," saith St. Chrysostom. Now, I pray, consider, that when sin is but in the thought, it is easily suppressed, and, if it be stopped there, it can go no further; and what great mountain of labour is it, then, to abstain from our sin? Is not the adultery of the eye easily cured by shutting the eye-lid? and cannot the thoughts of the heart be turned aside by doing business, by going into company, by reading, or by sleeping? A man may divert his thoughts by shaking of his head, by thinking any thing else, by thinking nothing. "Da mihi christianum," saith St. Austin, "et intelligit quod dico." Every man that loves God, understands

[u] Ille laudatur, qui, ut cœperint, statim interficit cogitata, et allidit ad petram.

this, and more than this, to be true. Now if things be thus, and that we may be safe in that which is supposed to be the hardest of all, we must needs condemn ourselves, and lay our faces in the dust, when we give up ourselves to any sin; we cannot be justified by saying we could not help it. For as it was decreed by the fathers of the second Arausican council, "Hoc etiam secundum fidem catholicam credimus," &c. "This we believe according to the catholic faith," that have received baptismal grace; all that are baptized by the aid and co-operation of Christ, must and can, if they will labour faithfully, perform and fulfil those things, which belong unto salvation.

6. And lastly: if sin hath gotten the power of any one of us, consider in what degree the sin hath prevailed: if but a little, the battle will be more easy, and the victory more certain; but then be sure to do it thoroughly, because there is not much to be done: but if sin hath prevailed greatly, then indeed you have very much to do; therefore begin betimes, and defer not this work, till old age shall make it extremely difficult, or death shall make it impossible.

> Nam quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno
> Vertentem sese, frustra sectabere canthum,
> Cum rota posterior curras, et in axe secundo. PERS.

If thou beest cast behind; if thou hast neglected the duties of thy vigorous age, thou shalt never overtake that strength; "the hinder wheel, though bigger than the former, and measures more ground at every revolution, yet shall never overtake it;" and all the second counsels of thy old age, though undertaken with greater resolution, and acted with the strengths of fear and need, and pursued with more pertinacious purposes than the early repentances of young men, yet shall never overtake those advantages, which you lost when you gave your youth to folly, and the causes of a sad repentance.

However, if you find it so hard a thing to get from the power of one master-sin; if an old adulterer does dote,—if an old drunkard be further from remedy than a young sinner,—if covetousness grows with old age,—if ambition be still more hydropic and grows more thirsty for every draught of honour,—you may easily resolve that old age, or your last sickness, is not so likely to be prosperous in the mortification of your long prevailing sins. Do not all men desire to end their days in religion, to die in the arms of the church, to expire under the conduct of a religious man? When ye are sick or dying, then nothing but prayers and sad complaints, and the groans of a tremulous repentance, and the faint labours of an almost impossible mortification: then the despised priest is sent for; then he is a good man, and his words are oracles, and religion is truth, and sin is a load, and the sinner is a fool; then we watch for a word of comfort from his mouth, as the fearful prisoner for his fate upon the judge's answer. That which is true then, is true now; and, therefore, to prevent so intolerable a danger, mortify your sin betime, for else you will hardly mortify it at all. Remember that the snail outwent the eagle, and won the goal, because she set out betimes.

To sum up all: every good man is a new creature, and christianity is not so much a Divine institution, as a Divine frame and temper of spirit,—which if we heartily pray for, and endeavour to obtain, we shall find it as hard and as uneasy to sin against God, as now we think it impossible to abstain from our most pleasing sins. For as it is in the spermatic virtue of the heavens, which diffuses itself universally upon all sublunary bodies, and subtilely insinuating itself into the most dull and inactive element, produces gold and pearls, life and motion, and brisk activities in all things that can receive the influence and heavenly blessing:—so it is in the Holy Spirit of God, and the word of God, and the grace of God, which St. John calls "the seed of God;" it is a law of righteousness, and it is a law of the Spirit of life, and changes nature into grace, and dulness into zeal, and fear into love, and sinful habits into innocence, and passes on from grace to grace, till we arrive at the full measures of the stature of Christ, and into the perfect liberty of the sons of God; so that we shall no more say, The evil that I would not, that I do;—but we shall hate what God hates, and the evil that is forbidden we shall not do; not because we are strong of ourselves, but because Christ is our strength, and he is in us; and Christ's strength shall be perfected in our weakness, and his grace shall be sufficient for us; and he will, of his own good pleasure, work in us, not only to will, but also to do, "velle et perficere," saith the apostle, "to will and to do it thoroughly" and fully, being sanctified throughout, to the glory of his holy name, and the eternal salvation of our souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with the Father, &c.

SERMON III.

FIDES FORMATA: OR, FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

You see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.—James ii. 24.

THAT we are "justified by faith," St. Paul tells us;[a] that we are also "justified by works," we are told in my text; and both may be true. But that this justification is wrought by faith without works, "to him that worketh not, but believeth," saith St. Paul: that this is not wrought without works, St. James is as express for his negative as St. Paul was for his affirmative; and how both these should be true, is something harder to unriddle. But, "affirmanti incumbit probatio," "he that affirms must prove;" and, therefore, St. Paul proves his doctrine by the example of Abraham, to whom faith was imputed for righteousness; and, therefore, not by works. And what can be answered to this? Nothing but this, that St. James uses the very same argu-

[a] Rom. iii. 28. iv. 5. v. 1. x. 10. Gal. ii. 16.

ment to prove that our justification is by works also; "For our father Abraham was justified by works, when he offered up his son Isaac." [b] Now which of these says true? Certainly both of them; but neither of them have been well understood; insomuch that they have not only made divisions of heart among the faithful, but one party relies on faith to the disparagement of good life, and the other makes works to be the main ground of our hope and confidence, and consequently to exclude the efficacy of faith: the one makes christian religion a lazy and inactive institution; and the other, a bold presumption on ourselves; while the first tempts us to live like heathens, and the other recalls us to live the life of Jews; while one says "I am of Paul," and another, "I am of St. James," and both of them put it in danger of evacuating the institution and the death of Christ; one looking on Christ only as a Lawgiver, and the other only as a Saviour. The effects of these are very sad, and by all means to be diverted by all the wise considerations of the Spirit.

My purpose is not with subtle arts to reconcile them that never disagreed; the two apostles spake by the same Spirit, and to the same last design, though to differing intermedial purposes; but because the great end of faith, the design, the definition, the state, the economy of it, is that all believers should not live according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit. Before I fall to the close handling of the text, I shall premise some preliminary considerations, to prepare the way of holiness, to explicate the differing senses of the apostles, to understand the question and the duty, by removing the causes of the vulgar mistakes of most men in this article; and then proceed to the main inquiry.

1. That no man may abuse himself or others by mistaking of hard words, spoken in mystery, with allegorical expressions to secret senses, wrapt up in a cloud; such as are, "faith, and justification, and imputation, and righteousness, and works," be pleased to consider, that the very word "faith" is, in Scripture, infinitely ambiguous, insomuch that in the Latin concordances of St. Jerome's Bible, published by Robert Stephens, you may see no less than twenty-two several senses and acceptations of the word "faith," set down with the several places of Scripture referring to them; to which if, out of my own observation, I could add no more, yet these are an abundant demonstration, that whatsoever is said of the efficacy of faith for justification, is not to be taken in such a sense as will weaken the necessity and our carefulness of good life, when the word may, in so many other senses, be taken to verify the affirmation of St. Paul, of "justification by faith," so as to reconcile it to "the necessity of obedience."

2. As it is in the word "faith," so it is in "works;" for by works is meant sometimes the thing done,—sometimes the labour of doing,—sometimes the good will;—it is sometimes taken for a state of good life,—sometimes for the covenant of works;—it sometimes means the works of the law,—sometimes the works of the gospel;—sometimes it is taken for a perfect, actual, unsinning obedience,—sometimes for a sincere endeavour to please God;—sometimes they are meant to be such who can challenge the reward as of debt;—sometimes they mean only a disposition of the person to receive the favour and the grace of God. Now since our good works can be but of one kind, (for ours cannot be meritorious, ours cannot be without sin all our life, they cannot be such as need no repentance,) it is no wonder if we must be justified without works in this sense; for by such works no man living can be justified: and these St. Paul calls the "works of the law," and sometimes he calls them "our righteousness;" and these are the covenant of works. But because we came into the world to serve God, and God will be obeyed, and Jesus Christ came into the world to save us from sin, and "to redeem to himself a people zealous of good works," and hath, to this purpose, revealed to us all his Father's will, and destroyed the words of the devil, and gives us his Holy Spirit, and by him we shall be justified in this obedience; therefore, when works signify a sincere, hearty endeavour to keep all God's commands, out of a belief in Christ, that if we endeavour to do so we shall be helped by his grace, and if we really do so we shall be pardoned for what is past, and if we continue to do so we shall receive a crown of glory;—therefore, it is no wonder that it is said we are to be justified by works; always meaning, not the works of the law, that is, works that are meritorious, works that can challenge the reward, works that need no mercy, no repentance, no humiliation, and no appeal to grace and favour;—but always meaning works, that are an obedience to God by the measures of good will, and a sincere endeavour, and the faith of the Lord Jesus.

3. But thus also it is in the word "justification:" for God is justified, and wisdom is justified, and man is justified, and a sinner is not justified as long as he continues in sin; and a sinner is justified when he repents, and when he is pardoned; and an innocent person is justified when he is declared to be no criminal; and a righteous man is justified when he is saved; and a weak christian is justified when his imperfect services are accepted for the present, and himself thrust forward to more grace; and he that is justified may be justified more; and every man that is justified to one purpose, is not so to all; and faith, in divers senses, gives justification in as many; and, therefore, though to every sense of faith there is not always a degree of justification in any, yet when the faith is such that justification is the product and correspondent,—as that faith may be imperfect, so the justification is but begun, and either must proceed further, or else, as the faith will die, so the justification will come to nothing. The like observation might be made concerning imputation, and all the words used in this question; but these may suffice till I pass to other particulars.

4. Not only the word "faith," but also "charity," and "godliness," and "religion," signify sometimes particular graces; and sometimes they suppose universally, and mean conjugations and

[b] James ii. 9.

unions of graces, as is evident to them that read the Scriptures with observation. Now when justification is attributed to faith, or salvation to godliness, they are to be understood in the aggregate sense; for, that I may give but one instance of this, when St. Paul speaks of faith as it is a particular grace, and separate from the rest, he also does separate it from all possibility of bringing us to heaven: "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing:" [c] when faith includes charity, it will bring us to heaven; when it is alone, when it is without charity, it will do nothing at all.

5. Neither can this *φαινόμενον* be solved by saying, that though faith alone does justify, yet when she does justify, she is not alone, but good works must follow; for this is said to no purpose:

1. Because if we be justified by faith alone, the work is done, whether charity does follow or no; and, therefore, that want of charity cannot hurt us.

2. There can be no imaginable cause why charity and obedience should be at all necessary, if the whole work can be done without it.

3. If obedience and charity be not a condition of our salvation, then it is not necessary to follow faith; but if it be, it does as much as faith, for that is but a part of the condition.

4. If we can be saved without charity and keeping the commandments, what need we trouble ourselves for them? If we cannot be saved without them, then either faith without them does not justify; or if it does, we are never the better, for we may be damned for all that justification.

The consequent of these observations is briefly this:—

1. That no man should fool himself by disputing about the philosophy of justification, and what causality faith hath in it, and whether it be the act of faith that justifies, or the habit? Whether faith as a good work, or faith as an instrument? Whether faith as it is obedience, or faith as it is an access to Christ? Whether as a hand, or as a heart? Whether by its own innate virtue, or by the efficacy of the object? Whether as a sign, or as a thing signified? Whether by introduction, or by perfection? Whether in the first beginnings, or in its last and best productions? Whether by inherent worthiness, or adventitious imputation? "Uberiùs ista, quæso, &c." (that I may use the words of Cicero,[d]) "hæc enim spinosiora, prius, ut confitear, me cogunt, quam ut assentiar:" these things are knotty, and too intricate to do any good; they may amuse us, but never instruct us; and they have already made men careless and confident, disputative and troublesome, proud and uncharitable, but neither wiser nor better. Let us, therefore, leave these weak ways of troubling ourselves or others, and directly look to the theology of it, the direct duty, the end of faith, and the work of faith, the conditions and the instruments of our salvation, the just foundation of our hopes, how our faith can destroy our sin, and how it can unite us unto God; how by it we can be made partakers of Christ's death, and imitators of his life. For since it is evident, by the premises, that this article is not to be determined or relied upon by arguing from words of many significations, we must walk by a clearer light, by such plain sayings and dogmatical propositions of Scripture, which evidently teach us our duty, and place our hopes upon that which cannot deceive us, that is, which require obedience. which call upon us to glorify God, and to do good to men, and to keep all God's commandments with diligence and sincerity.

For since the end of our faith is, that we may be disciples and servants of the Lord Jesus, advancing his kingdom here, and partaking of it hereafter; since we are commanded to believe what Christ taught, that it may appear as reasonable as it is necessary to do what he hath commanded; since faith and works are in order one to the other, it is impossible that evangelical faith and evangelical works should be opposed one to the other in the effecting of our salvation. So that as it is to no purpose for christians to dispute whether we are justified by faith or the works of the law, that is, the covenant of works, without the help of faith and the auxiliaries and allowances of mercy on God's part, and repentance on ours; because no christian can pretend to this,—so it is perfectly foolish to dispute whether christians are to be justified by faith, or the works of the gospel; for I shall make it appear that they are both the same thing. No man disparages faith but he that says, faith does not work righteousness; for he that says so, says indeed it cannot justify; for he says that faith is alone: it is "faith only," and the words of my text are plain: "You *see*," saith St. James, that is, it is evident to your sense, it is as clear as an ocular demonstration, "that a man is justified by works, and not by faith only."

My text hath in it these two propositions; a negative and an affirmative. The negative is this, 1. "By faith only" a man is not justified. The affirmative, 2. "By works also" a man is justified.

When I have briefly discoursed of these, I shall only add such practical considerations as shall make the doctrines useful, and tangible, and material.

1. By faith only a man is not justified. By *faith only*, here is meant, faith without obedience. For what do we think of those that detain the faith in unrighteousness? They have faith, they could not else keep it in so ill a cabinet: but yet the apostle reckons them amongst the reprobates; for the abominable, the reprobates, and the disobedient, are all one; and, therefore, such persons, for all their faith, shall have no part with faithful Abraham: for none are his children but they that do the works of Abraham. Abraham's faith, without Abraham's works, is nothing; for of him "that hath faith, and hath not works," St. James asks, "Can faith save him?" [e] meaning, that it is impossible. For what think we of those, that did miracles in Christ's name, and in his name cast out devils? Have not they faith? Yes, "omnem fidem," "all faith," that is, alone, for "they could remove mountains:" but yet to many of them Christ will say, "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know

[c] 1 Cor. xiii. 2. [d] Tuscul. i. [e] Chap. ii. 14.

you not." Nay, at last, what think we of the devils themselves? Have not they faith? Yes; and this faith is not "fides miraculorum" neither; but it is an operative faith, it works a little; for it makes them tremble; and it may be, that is more than thy faith does to thee: and yet dost thou hope to be saved by a faith that does less to thee than the devil's faith does to him? That is impossible. For "faith without works is dead," saith St. James. It is "manus arida," saith St. Austin; "it is a withered hand;"—and that which is dead cannot work the life of grace in us, much less obtain eternal life for us. In short, a man may have faith, and yet do the works of unrighteousness; he may have faith and be a devil; and then what can such a faith do to him or for him? It can do him no good in the present constitution of affairs. St. Paul, from whose mistaken words much noise hath been made in this question, is clear in this particular: "Nothing in Christ Jesus can avail, but faith working by charity;"[f] that is, as he expounds himself once and again, "nothing but a new creature, nothing but keeping the commandments of God."[g] If faith be defined to be any thing that does not change our natures, and make us to be a new creation unto God: if keeping the commandments be not in the definition of faith, it avails nothing at all. Therefore deceive not yourselves; they are the words of our blessed Lord himself: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," that is, not every one that confesses Christ, and believes in him, calling Christ Master and Lord, shall be saved; "but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven." These things are so plain, that they need no commentary; so evident, that they cannot be denied: and to these I add but this one truth; that faith alone without a good life is so far from justifying a sinner, that it is one of the greatest aggravations of his condemnation in the whole world. For no man can be so greatly damned as he that hath faith; for unless he knows his Master's will, that is, by faith be convinced, and assents to the revelations of the will of God, "he can be beaten but with few stripes:" but he that believes, hath no excuse; he is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, "condemned by the sentence of his own heart," and therefore *πολλαὶ πληγαὶ*, "many stripes," the greater condemnation shall be his portion. Natural reason is a light to the conscience, but faith is a greater; and therefore if it be not followed, it damns deeper than the hell of the infidels and uninstructed. And so I have done with the negative proposition of my text; a man is not justified by faith alone, that is, by faith which hath not in it charity and obedience.

2. If faith alone will not do it, what will? The affirmative part of the text answers; not faith alone; but works must be an ingredient: "a man is justified by works:" and that is now to be explicated and proved. It will be absolutely to no purpose to say that faith alone does justify, if, when a man is justified, he is never the nearer to be saved. Now that without obedience no man can go to heaven, is so evident in Holy Scripture, that he that denies it, hath no faith. "There is no peace, saith my God, unto the wicked;"[h] and "I will not justify a sinner,"[i] saith God; unless faith purges away our sins, it can never justify. Let a man believe all the revelations of God; if that belief ends in itself, and goes no further, it is like physic taken to purge the stomach; if it do not work, it is so far from bringing health, that itself is a new sickness. Faith is a great purger and purifier of the soul; "purifying your hearts by faith," saith the apostle. It is the best physic in the world for a sinful soul; but if it does not work, it corrupts in the stomach, it makes us to rely upon weak propositions and trifling confidences, it is but a dreaming *μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*, "a phantastic dream," and introduces pride or superstition, swelling thoughts and presumptions of the Divine favour: but what saith the apostle? "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man can see God:"[k] mark that. If faith does not make you charitable and holy, talk no more of justification by it, for you shall never see the glorious face of God. Faith indeed is a title and relation to Christ; it is a naming of his names; but what then? Why then, saith the apostle, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

For let any man consider, can the faith of Christ and the hatred of God stand together? Can any man be justified that does not love God? Or can any man love God and sin at the same time? And does not he love sin, that falls under its temptation, and obeys it in the lusts thereof, and delights in the vanity, and makes excuses for it, and returns to it with passion, and abides with pleasure? This will not do it; such a man cannot be justified for all his believing. But, therefore, the apostle shows us a more excellent way: "This is a true saying, and I will that thou affirm constantly, that they who have believed in God, be careful to maintain good works."[l] The apostle puts great force on this doctrine, he arms it with a double preface; the saying is "true," and it is to be "constantly affirmed;" that is, it is not only true, but necessary; it is like Pharaoh's dream, doubled, because it is bound upon us by the decree of God; and it is unalterably certain, that every believer must do good works, or his believing will signify little; nay more than so, every man must be careful to do good works; and more yet, he must carefully maintain them; that is, not do them by fits and interrupted returns, but *προίστασθαι*, to be incumbent upon them, to dwell upon them, to maintain good works, that is, to persevere in them. But I am yet but in the general: be pleased to go along with me in these particular considerations.

1. No man's sins are pardoned, but in the same measure in which they are mortified, destroyed, and taken away; so that if faith does not cure our sinful natures, it never can justify, it never can procure our pardon. And therefore it is, that as soon as ever faith in the Lord Jesus was preached,

[f] Gal. v. 6. [g] Gal. vi. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 19.
[h] Isaiah lvii. 21. [i] Exod. xxv. 7. [k] Heb. xii. 14.
[l] Titus iii. 8.

at the same time also they preached repentance from dead works: insomuch that St. Paul reckons it among the fundamentals and first principles of christianity;[m] nay, the Baptist preached repentance and amendment of life as a preparation to the faith of Christ. And I pray consider; can there be any forgiveness of sins without repentance? But if an apostle should preach forgiveness to all that believe, and this belief did not also mean that they should repent and forsake their sin,—the sermons of the apostle would make christianity nothing else but the sanctuary of Romulus, a device to get together all the wicked people of the world, and to make them happy without any change of manners. Christ came to other purposes; he came "to sanctify us and to cleanse us by his word:"[n] the word of faith was not for itself, but was a design of holiness, and the very "grace of God did appear" for this end; that "teaching us to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live holily, justly, and soberly in this present world:"[o] he came to gather a people together; not like David's army, when Saul pursued him, but the armies of the Lord, "a faithful people, a chosen generation;" and what is that? The Spirit of God adds, "a people zealous of good works." Now as Christ proved his power to forgive sins, by curing the poor man's palsy, because a man is never pardoned but when the punishment is removed; so the great act of justification of a sinner, the pardoning of his sins, is then only effected, when the spiritual evil is taken away: that is the best indication of a real and an eternal pardon, when God takes away the hardness of the heart, the love of sin, the accursed habit, the evil inclination, the sin that doth so easily beset us: and when that is gone, what remains within us that God can hate? Nothing stays behind, but God's creation, the work of his own hands, the issues of his Holy Spirit. The faith of a christian is πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετική, "it destroys the whole body of sin;" and to suppose that Christ pardons a sinner, whom he doth not also purge and rescue from the dominion of sin, is to affirm that he justifies the wicked; that he calls good evil, and evil good; that he delights in a wicked person; that he makes a wicked man all one with himself; that he makes the members of a harlot at the same time also the members of Christ: but all this is impossible, and, therefore, ought not to be pretended to by any christian. Severe are those words of our blessed Saviour, "Every plant in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away:"[p] faith ingrafts us into Christ; by faith we are inserted into the vine; but the plant that is ingrafted, must also be parturient and fruitful, or else it shall be quite cut off from the root, and thrown into the everlasting burning: and this is the full and plain meaning of those words so often used in Scripture for the magnification of faith, "The just shall live by faith:" no man shall live by faith but the just man; he indeed is justified by faith, but no man else; the unjust and the unrighteous man hath no portion in this matter. That is the first great consideration in this affair; no man is justified in the least sense of justification, that is, when it means nothing but the pardon of sins, but when his sin is mortified and destroyed.

2. No man is actually justified, but he that is in some measure sanctified. For the understanding and clearing of which proposition we must know, that justification, when it is attributed to any cause, does not always signify justification actual. Thus, when it is said in Scripture, "We are justified by the death of Christ," it is but the same thing as to say, "Christ died for us;" and he rose again for us too, that we might indeed be justified in due time, and by just measures and dispositions; "he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification;" that is, by his death and resurrection he hath obtained this power, and effected this mercy, that if we believe him and obey, we shall be justified and made capable of all the blessings of the kingdom. But that this is no more but a capacity of pardon, of grace, and of salvation, appears not only by God's requiring obedience as a condition on our parts, but by his expressly attributing this mercy to us at such times, and in such circumstances, in which it is certain and evident, that we could not actually be justified; for so saith the scripture: "We, when we were enemies, were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; and while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;"[q] that is, then was our justification wrought on God's part; that is, then he intended this mercy to us, then he resolved to show us favour, to give us promises, and laws, and conditions, and hopes, and an infallible economy of salvation; and when faith lays hold on this grace, and this justification, then we are to do the other part of it; that is, as God made it potential by the death and resurrection of Christ, so we, laying hold on these things by faith, and working the righteousness of faith, that is, performing what is required on our parts, we, I say, make it actual; and for this very reason it is, that the apostle puts more emphasis upon the resurrection of Christ than upon his death, "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again."[r] And "Christ was both delivered for our sins, and is risen again for our justification;"[s] implying to us, that as it is in the principal, so it is in the correspondent; our sins indeed are potentially pardoned, when they are marked out for death and crucifixion; when, by resolving and fighting against sin, we die to sin daily, and are so made conformable to his death; but we must partake of Christ's resurrection before this justification can be actual; when we are "dead to sin, and are risen again unto righteousness," then, as we are "partakers of his death," so we shall "be partakers of his resurrection," saith St. Paul; that is, then we are truly, effectually, and indeed justified; till then we are not.

"He that loveth gold, shall not be justified," saith the wise Bensirach;[t] he that is covetous, let his faith be what it will, shall not be accounted righteous before God, because he is not so in himself, and

[m] Heb. vi. 1.
[n] 1 John iii. 8.
[o] Eph. v. 25. Tit. ii. 11.
[p] John xv. 2.
[q] Rom. v. 8, 10.
[r] Rom. viii. 28.
[s] Rom. iv. 25.
[t] Ecclus. xxxi.

he is not so in Christ, for he is not in Christ at all; he hath no righteousness in himself, and he hath none in Christ; for if we be in Christ, or "if Christ be in us, the body is dead by reason of sin, and the spirit is life because of righteousness:" [u] for this is the τὸ πιστὸν, "that faithful thing," that is, the faithfulness is manifested; the "emun," from whence comes "emunah," which is the Hebrew word for "faith," from whence "amen" is derived. "Fiat quod dictum est hinc inde; hoc fidum est;" when God and we both say amen to our promises and undertakings. "Fac fidelis sis fideli; cave fidem fluxam geras," said he in the comedy; [x] God is faithful, be thou so too; for if thou failest him, thy faith hath failed thee. "Fides sumitur pro eo, quod est inter utrumque placitum," says one; and then it is true which the prophet and the apostle said, "the just shall live by faith," in both senses: "ex fide meâ vivet, ex fide suâ:" "we live by God's faith, and by our own;" by his fidelity, and by ours. When the righteousness of God becomes "your righteousness, and exceeds the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees;" when the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us, "by walking not after the flesh, but after the Spirit;" then we are justified by God's truth and by ours, by his grace and our obedience. So that now we see that justification and sanctification cannot be distinguished but as words of art signifying the various steps of progression in the same course; they may be distinguished in notion and speculation, but never when they are to pass on to material events; for no man is justified but he that is also sanctified. They are the express words of St. Paul: "Whom he did foreknow, them he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son," to be like to Christ; and then it follows, "Whom he hath predestinated," so predestinated, "them he hath also called, and whom he hath called, them he hath also justified:" and then it follows, "Whom he hath justified, them he hath also glorified." [y] So that no man is justified, that is, so as to signify salvation, but sanctification must be precedent to it; and that was my second consideration ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, "that which I was to prove."

3. I pray consider, that he that does not believe the promises of the gospel, cannot pretend to faith in Christ; but the promises are all made to us upon the conditions of obedience, and he that does not believe them as Christ made them, believes them not at all. "In well-doing commit yourselves to God as unto a faithful Creator;" there is no committing ourselves to God without well-doing: "For God will render to every man according to his deeds: to them that obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath; but to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, to them eternal life." [z] So that if faith apprehends any other promises, it is illusion, and not faith; God gave us none such, Christ purchased none such for us; search the Bible over, and you shall find none such. But if faith lays hold on these promises that are, and as they are, then it becomes an article of our faith, that without obedience and a sincere endeavour to keep God's commandments, no man living can be justified; and, therefore, let us take heed, when we magnify the free grace of God, we do not exclude the conditions, which this free grace hath set upon us. Christ freely died for us, God pardons us freely in our first access to him; we could never deserve pardon, because when we need pardon we are enemies, and have no good thing in us; and he freely gives us of his Spirit, and freely he enables us to obey him; and for our little imperfect services he freely and bountifully will give us eternal life; here is free grace all the way, and he overvalues his pitiful services, who thinks that he deserves heaven by them; and that if he does his duty tolerably, eternal life is not a free gift to him, but a deserved reward.

Conscius est animus meus, experientia testis,
Mystica quæ retuli dogmata vera scio.
Non tamen idcirco scio me fore glorificandum,
Spes mea crux Christi, gratia, non opera.

It was the meditation of the wise chancellor of Paris: "I know that without a good life, and the fruits of repentance, a sinner cannot be justified; and, therefore, I must live well, or I must die for ever; but if I do live holily, I do not think that I deserve heaven, it is the cross of Christ that procures me grace; it is the Spirit of Christ that gives me grace; it is the mercy and the free gift of Christ that brings me unto glory." But yet he that shall exclude the works of faith from the justification of a sinner by the blood of Christ, may as well exclude faith itself; for faith itself is one of the works of God; it is a good work, so said Christ to them that asked him, "What shall we do to work the works of God? Jesus said, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." [a] Faith is not only the foundation of good works, but itself is a good work; it is not only the cause of obedience, but a part of it; it is not only, as the son of Sirach calls it, "initium adhærendi Deo," "a beginning of cleaving unto God," but it carries us on to the perfection of it. Christ is the Author and Finisher of our faith; and when faith is finished, a good life is made perfect in our kind: let no man therefore expect events, for which he hath no promise; nor call for God's fidelity without his own faithfulness; nor snatch at a promise without performing the condition; nor think faith to be a hand to apprehend Christ, and to do nothing else; for that will but deceive us, and turn religion into words, and holiness into hypocrisy, and the promises of God into a snare, and the truth of God into a lie. For when God made a covenant of faith, he made also the νόμος πίστεως, "the law of faith;" and when he admitted us to a covenant of more mercy than was in the covenant of works, or of the law, he did not admit us to a covenant of idleness, and an incurious walking in a state of disobedience; but the mercy of God leadeth us to repentance, and when he gives us better promises, he intends we should pay him a better obedience; when he forgives us what is past, he intends we should sin no

[u] Rom. viii. 10. [x] Plaut. Captiv. [y] Rom. viii. 29. [z] Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8. [a] John vi. 28, 29.

more; when he offers us his graces, he would have us to make use of them; when he causes us to distrust ourselves, his meaning is we should rely upon him; when he enables us to do what he commands us, he commands us to do all that we can. And, therefore, this covenant of faith and mercy is also a covenant of holiness, and the grace that pardons us does also purify us: for so saith the apostle, "He that hath this hope purifies himself, even as God is pure." And when we are so, then we are justified indeed; this is the *νόμος πίστεως*, "the law of faith;" and by works in this sense, that is, by the works of faith, by faith working by love, and producing fruits worthy of amendment of life, we are justified before God. And so I have done with the affirmative proposition of my text; you see that "a man is justified by works."

But there is more in it than this matter yet amounts to: for St. James does not say, "we are justified by works, and are not justified by faith;" that had been irreconcilable with St. Paul; but we are so justified by works, that it is not by faith alone; it is faith and works together: that is, it is by the *ὑπακοὴ πίστεως*, "by the obedience of faith," by the works of faith, by the law of faith, by righteousness evangelical, by the conditions of the gospel, and the measures of Christ. I have many things to say in this particular; but because I have but a little time left to say them in, I will sum it all up in this proposition, that in the question of justification and salvation, faith and good works are no part of a distinction, but members of one entire body. Faith and good works together work the righteousness of God: that is, that I may speak plainly, justifying faith contains in it obedience; and if this be made good, then the two apostles are reconciled to each other, and both of them to the necessity, the indispensable necessity of a good life.

Now that justifying and saving faith must be defined by something more than an act of understanding, appears not only in this, that St. Peter reckons faith as distinctly from knowledge as he does from patience, or strength, or brotherly kindness: saying, "Add to your faith, virtue; to virtue, knowledge;"[b] but in this also, because an error in life, and whatsoever is against holiness, is against faith: and, therefore, St. Paul reckons the lawless and the disobedient, murderers of parents, man-stealing, and such things, to be against sound doctrines; for the doctrine of faith is called *ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία*, "the doctrine that is according to godliness." And when St. Paul prays against ungodly men, he adds this reason, *οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις*, "for all men have not faith:"[c] meaning that wicked men are infidels and unbelievers; and particularly he affirms of him "that does not provide for his own, that he hath denied the faith."[d] Now from hence it follows that faith is godliness, because all wickedness is infidelity, it is an apostasy from the faith. "Ille erit, ille nocens qui me tibi fecerat hostem;" he that sins against God, he is the enemy to the faith of Jesus Christ; and therefore we deceive ourselves, if we place faith in the understanding only; it is not that, and it does not well there, but *ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει*, saith the apostle; the mystery of faith is kept no where, it dwells no where but "in a pure conscience."

For I consider, that, since all mortal habits are best defined by their operation, we can best understand what faith is by seeing what it does. To this purpose hear St. Paul: "By faith, Abel offered up to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain. By faith, Noah made an ark. By faith, Abraham left his country, and offered up his son. By faith, Moses chose to suffer affliction, and accounted the reproach of Christ greater than all the riches of Egypt."[e] In short, the children of God, "by faith, subdued kingdoms, and wrought righteousness." To work righteousness is as much the duty and work of faith as believing is. So that now we may quickly make an end of this great inquiry, whether a man is justified by faith, or by works, for he is so by both: if you take it alone, faith does not justify: but take it in the aggregate sense, as it is used in the question of justification by St. Paul, and then faith does not only justify, but it sanctifies too; and then you need to inquire no further; obedience is a part of the definition of faith, as much as it is of charity. This is love, saith St. John, "that we keep his commandments." And the very same is affirmed of faith too by Bensirach, "He that believeth the Lord, will keep his commandments."[f]

I have now done with all the propositions expressed and implied in the text. Give me leave to make some practical considerations; and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

The rise I take from the words of St. Epiphanius,[g] speaking in the praise of the apostolical and purest ages of the church. There was, at first, no distinction of sects and opinions in the church; she knew no difference of men, but good and bad; there was no separation made, but what was made by piety or impiety, or, says he, which is all one, by fidelity and infidelity; *πίστις μὲν ἐπέχουσα τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ εἰκόνα· ἀπιστία δὲ ἐπέχουσα τόν ἀσεβείας χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρανομίας*· "for faith hath in it the image of godliness engraven, and infidelity hath the character of wickedness and prevarication." A man was not then esteemed a saint, for disobeying his bishop or an apostle, nor for misunderstanding the hard sayings of St. Paul about predestination; to kick against the laudable customs of the church, was not then accounted a note of the godly party; and to despise government was but an ill mark and weak indication of being a good christian. The kingdom of God did not then consist in words, but in power, the power of godliness; though now we are fallen into another method; we have turned all religion into faith, and our faith is nothing but the productions of interest or disputing,—it is adhering to a party, and a wrangling against all the world beside; and when it is asked of what religion he is of, we understand the meaning to be, what faction does he follow: what are the articles of his

[b] 2 Pet. i. 5. [c] 2 Thess. iii. 2.
[d] 1 Tim. v. 8. [e] Heb. xi.
[f] Ecclus. xxxii. 24. [g] Panar. lib. i. edit. Basil. p. 8. l. 46.

sect, not what is the manner of his life: and if men be zealous for their party and that interest, then they are precious men, though otherwise they be covetous as the grave, factious as Dathan, schismatical as Corah, or proud as the fallen angels. Alas! these things will but deceive us; the faith of a christian cannot consist in strifes about words, and perverse disputings of men. These things the apostle calls "profane and vain babblings;"[h] and, mark what he says of them, these things will increase ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσεβείας· They are, in themselves, ungodliness, and will produce more,—"they will increase unto more ungodliness." But the faith of a christian had other measures; that was faith then which made men faithful to their vows in baptism. The faith of a christian was the best security in contracts, and a christian's word was as good as his bond, because he was faithful that promised, and a christian would rather die than break his word, and was always true to his trust; he was faithful to his friend, and loved as Jonathan did David. This was the christian faith then: their religion was, to hurt no man, and to do good to every man, and so it ought to be. "True religion is to visit the fatherless and widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted of the world." That is a good religion that is "pure and undefiled." So St. James: and St. Chrysostom defines εὐσέβειαν, "true religion," to be πίστιν καθαρὰν καὶ ὀρθὸν βίον, "a pure faith and a godly life;" for they make up the whole mystery of godliness; and no man could then pretend to faith, but he that did do valiantly, and suffer patiently, and resist the devil, and overcome the world. These things are as properly the actions of faith, as alms is of charity; and therefore, they must enter into the moral definition of it. And this was truly understood by Salvian, that wise and godly priest of Massilia: what is faith, and what is believing, saith he; "hominem fideliter Christo credere est fidelem Deo esse, h. e. fideliter Dei mandata servare:" "That man does faithfully believe in Christ, who is faithful unto God,—who faithfully keeps God's commandments;" and, therefore, let us measure our faith here, by our faithfulness to God, and by our diligence to do our Master's commandments; for "Christianorum omnis religio sine scelere et maculâ vivere," said Lactantius; "The whole religion of a christian is to live unblamably,"[i] that is, in all holiness and purity of conversation.

2. When our faith is spoken of as the great instrument of justification and salvation, take Abraham's faith as your best pattern, and that will end the dispute, because that he was justified by faith, when his faith was mighty in effect; when he trusted in God, when he believed the promises, when he expected a resurrection of the dead, when he was strong in faith, when he gave glory to God, when against hope he believed in hope; and when all this passed into an act of a most glorious obedience, even denying his greatest desires, contradicting his most passionate affections, offering to God the best thing he had, and exposing to death his beloved Isaac, his laughters, all his joy, at the command of God. By this faith he was justified, saith St. Paul; "by these works he was justified," saith St. James; that is, by this faith working this obedience. And then all the difficulty is over; only remember this, your faith is weak, and will do but little for you, if it be not stronger than all your secular desires and all your peevish angers. Thus we find, in the holy gospels, this conjunction declared necessary, "Whatsoever things ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them."[k] Here is as glorious an event promised to faith as can be expressed; faith shall obtain any thing of God. True; but it is not faith alone, but faith in prayer; faith praying, not faith simply believing. So St. James; the "prayer of faith shall save the sick;" but adds, it must be "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man;" so that faith shall prevail, but there must be prayer in faith, and fervour in prayer, and devotion in fervour, and righteousness in devotion; and then impute the effect to faith if you please, provided that it be declared, that effect cannot be wrought by faith unless it be so qualified. But Christ adds one thing more: "When ye stand praying, forgive; but if ye will not forgive, neither will your Father forgive you." So that it will be to no purpose to say a man is justified by faith, unless you mingle charity with it; for without the charity of forgiveness, there can be no pardon, and then justification is but a word, when it effects nothing.

3. Let every one take heed, that by an importune adhering to and relying upon a mistaken faith, he do not really make a shipwreck of a right faith. Hymenæus and Alexander lost their faith by putting away a good conscience; and what matter is it of what religion or faith a man be, if he be a villain and a cheat, a man of no truth, and of no trust, a lover of the world, and not a lover of God? But, I pray, consider, can any man have faith that denies God? That is not possible: and cannot a man as well deny God by an evil action, as by an heretical proposition? Cannot a man deny God by works, as much as by words? Hear what the apostle says: "They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."[l] Disobedience is a denying God, "Nolumus hunc regnare," is as plain a renouncing of Christ, as "Nolumus huic credere." It is to no purpose to say we believe in Christ and have faith, unless Christ reign in our hearts by faith.

4. From these premises we may see but too evidently, that though a great part of mankind pretend to be saved by faith, yet they know not what it is, or else wilfully mistake it, and place their hopes upon sand, or the more unstable water. Believing is the least thing in a justifying faith; for faith is a conjugation of many ingredients, and faith is a covenant, and faith is a law, and faith is obedience, and faith is a work, and indeed it is a sincere cleaving to and closing with the terms of the gospel in every instance, in every particular. Alas! the niceties of a spruce understanding, and the curious

[h] 2 Tim. ii. 16. [i] Instit. lib. v. c. 9.

[k] Mark xii. 24. [l] Tit. i. 16.

nothings of useless speculation, and all the opinions of men that make the divisions of heart, and do nothing else, cannot bring us one drop of comfort in the day of tribulation, and therefore are no parts of the strength of faith. Nay, when a man begins truly to fear God, and is in the agonies of mortification, all these new nothings and curiosities will lie neglected by, as baubles do by children when they are deadly sick. But that only is faith that makes us to love God, to do his will, to suffer his impositions, to trust his promises, to see through a cloud, to overcome the world, to resist the devil, to stand in the day of trial, and to be comforted in all our sorrows. This is that precious faith so mainly necessary to be insisted on, that by it we may be sons of the free woman, "liberi à vitiis ac ritibus;" that the true Isaac may be in us, which is Christ according to the Spirit, the wisdom and power of God, a divine vigour and life, whereby we are enabled, with joy and cheerfulness, to walk in the way of God. By this you may try your faith, if you please, and make an end of this question: Do you believe in the Lord Jesus, yea or no? God forbid else; but if your faith be good, it will abide the trial. There are but three things that make the integrity of christian faith; believing the words of God, confidence in his goodness, and keeping his commandments.

For the first, it is evident that every man pretends to it; if he calls himself christian, he believes all that is in the canon of the Scriptures; and if he did not, he were indeed no christian. But now consider, what think we of this proposition? "All shall be damned who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness."[m] Does not every man believe this? Is it possible they can believe there is any such thing as unrighteousness in the world, or any such thing as damnation, and yet commit that which the Scriptures call unrighteousness, and which all laws and all good men say is so? Consider how many unrighteous men there are in the world, and yet how few of them think they shall be damned. I know not how it comes to pass, but men go upon strange principles, and they have made christianity to be a very odd institution, if it had not better measures than they are pleased to afford it. There are two great roots of all evil, covetousness and pride, and they have infected the greatest parts of mankind, and yet no man thinks himself to be either covetous or proud; and, therefore, whatever you discourse against these sins, it never hits any man, but, like Jonathan's arrows to David, they fall short, or they fly beyond. Salvian complained of it in his time: "Hoc ad crimina nostra addimus, ut cum in omnibus rei simus, etiam bonos nos et sanctos esse credamus:" "This we add unto our crimes, we are the vilest persons in the world, and yet we think ourselves to be good people," and, when we die, make no question but we shall go to heaven.[n] There is no cause of this, but because we have not so much faith as believing comes to; and yet most men will pretend not only to believe, but to love Christ all this while. And how do they prove this? Truly they hate the memory of Judas, and curse the Jews that crucified Christ, and think Pilate a very miserable man, and that all the Turks are damned, and to be called Caiaphas is a word of reproach; and, indeed, there are many that do not much more for Christ than this comes to; things to as little purpose, and of as little signification. But so the Jews did hate the memory of Corah as we do of Caiaphas, and they built the sepulchre of the prophets; and we also are angry at them that killed the apostles and the martyrs; but, in the mean time, we neither love Christ nor his saints; for we neither obey him, nor imitate them. And yet we should think ourselves highly injured, if one should call us infidels, and haters of Christ. But, I pray, consider; what is hating of any man, but designing and doing him all the injury and spite we can? Does not he hate Christ that dishonours him, that makes Christ's members the members of a harlot, that doth not feed and clothe these members? If the Jews did hate Christ when they crucified him, then so does a christian too, when he crucifies him again. Let us not deceive ourselves; a christian may be damned as well as a Turk; and christians may with as much malice crucify Christ, as the Jews did: and so does every man that sins wilfully; he spills the blood of Christ, making it to be spent in vain. "He that hateth you, hateth me; he that receives you, receives me," said Christ to his apostles. I wish the world had so much faith as to believe that; and by this try whether we love Christ, and believe in him, or no. I shall, for the trial of our faith, ask one easy question: Do we believe that the story of David and Jonathan is true? Have we so much faith as to think it possible that two rivals of a crown should love so dearly? Can any man believe this, and not be infinitely ashamed to see christians, almost all christians, to be irreconcilably angry, and ready to pull their brother's heart out, when he offers to take our land or money from us? Why do almost all men that go to law for right, hate one another's persons? Why cannot men with patience hear their titles questioned? But, if christianity be so excellent a religion, why are so very many christians so very wicked? Certainly they do not so much as believe the propositions and principles of their own religion. For the body of christians is so universally wicked, that it would be a greater change to see christians generally live according to their profession, than it was at first from infidelity to see them turn believers. The conversion from christian to christian, from christian in title to christian in sincerity, would be a greater miracle than it was, when they were converted from heathen and Jew to christian. What is the matter? Is not "repentance from dead works" reckoned by St. Paul[o] as one of the fundamental points of christian religion? Is it not a piece of our catechism, the first thing we are taught, and is it not the last thing that we practise? We had better be without baptism than without repentance, and yet both are necessary; and, therefore, if we were not without faith, we should be without

[m] 2 Thess. ii. 12. [n] Lib. iii.

[o] Heb. vi.

neither. Is not repentance a forsaking all sin, and an entire returning unto God? Who can deny this? And is it not plainly said in Scripture, "Unless ye repent, ye shall all perish?" But show me the man that believes these things heartily; that is, show me a true penitent, he only believes the doctrines of repentance.

If I had time, I should examine your faith by your confidence in God, and by your obedience. But, if we fall in the mere believing, it is not likely we should do better in the other. But because all the promises of God are conditional, and there can be no confidence in the particular without a promise or revelation, it is not possible that any man that does not live well, should reasonably put his trust in God. To live a wicked life, and then to be confident that in the day of our death God will give us pardon, is not faith, but a direct want of faith. If we did believe the promises upon their proper conditions, or believe that God's commandments were righteous and true, or that the threatenings were as really intended as they are terribly spoken,—we should not dare to live at the rate we do. But "wicked men have not faith," saith St. Paul; and then the wonder ceases.

But there are such palpable contradictions between men's practices and the fundamentals of our faith, that it was a material consideration of our blessed Saviour, "When the Son of man comes, shall he find faith upon earth?" meaning it should be very hard and scant: "Every man shall boast of his own goodness; 'sed virum fidelem,' (saith Solomon,) but 'a faithful man,' who can find?" Some men are very good when they are afflicted.

> Hanc tibi virtutem fractâ facit urceus ansâ,
> Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus;
> Et teges et cimex, et nudi sponda grabati,
> Fit brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga. MARTIAL.

When the gown of the day is the mantle of the night, and cannot at the same time cover the head and make the feet warm; when they have but one broken dish and no spoon, then they are humble and modest; then they can suffer an injury and bear contempt: but give them riches, and they grow insolent; fear and pusillanimity did their first work, and an opportunity to sin undoes it all. "Bonum militem perdidisti, imperatorem pessimum creâsti," said Galba: "You have spoiled a good trooper, when you made me a bad commander." Others can never serve God but when they are prosperous; if they lose their fortune, they lose their faith, and quit their charity: "Non rata fides, ubi jam melior fortuna ruit;" if they become poor, they become liars and deceivers of their trust, envious and greedy, restless and uncharitable; that is, one way or other they show that they love the world, and by all the faith they pretend to cannot overcome it.

Cast up, therefore, your reckonings impartially; see what is, what will be required at your hands; do not think you can be justified by faith, unless your faith be greater than all your passions; you have not the learning, not so much as the common notices of faith, unless you can tell when you are covetous, and reprove yourself when you are proud; but he that is so, and knows it not, (and that is the case of most men,) hath no faith, and neither knows God nor knows himself.

To conclude. He that hath true justifying faith, believes the power of God to be above the powers of nature; the goodness of God above the merit and disposition of our persons; the bounty of God above the excellency of our works; the truth of God above the contradiction of our weak arguings and fears; the love of God above our cold experience and ineffectual reason; and the necessities of doing good works above the faint excuses and ignorant pretences of disputing sinners: but want of faith makes us so generally wicked as we are, so often running to despair, so often baffled in our resolutions of a good life; but he whose faith makes him more than conqueror over these difficulties, to him Isaac shall be born even in his old age; the life of God shall be perfectly wrought in him; and by this faith, so operative, so strong, so lasting, so obedient, he shall be justified, and he shall be saved.

SERMON IV.

PREACHED AT THE

CONSECRATION OF TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND TEN BISHOPS,

IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK, IN DUBLIN,

January 27, 1660.

Sal liquefit, ut condiat.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

My obedience to the commands of the Right Honourable the Lord Justices, and the most Reverend and Learned Primate, and to the desires of my Reverend Brethren, put it past my inquiry, whether I ought to publish this following Sermon. I will not, therefore, excuse it, and say it might have advantages in the delivery which it would want in the reading; and the ear would be kind to the piety of it, which was apparent in the design, when the eye would be severe in its censure of those arguments, which, as they could not be longer in that measure of time, so would have appeared more firm, if they could have had liberty to have been pursued to their utmost issue: but reason lies in a little room, and obedience in less; and although what I have here said, may not stop the mouths of men resolved to keep up a faction, yet I have said enough to the sober and pious, to them who love order, and hearken to the voice of the spouse of Christ, to the loving and to the obedient: and for those that are not so, I have no argument fit to be used, but prayer, and readiness to give them a reason when they shall modestly demand it. In the mean time, I shall only desire them to make use of those truths which the more learned of their party have, by the evidence of fact, been forced to confess. Rivet affirms, that it descended "ex veteris ævi reliquiis," that presbyters should be assistants or conjoined to the bishops (who is by this confessed to be the principal) in the imposition of hands for ordination. Walo Messalinus acknowledges it to be "rem antiquissimam," "a most ancient thing," that these two orders, viz., of bishops and presbyters, should be distinct, even in the middle, or in the beginning of the next age after Christ. David Blondel places it to be thirty-five years after the death of St. John. Now, then, episcopacy is confessed to be of about one thousand six hundred years' continuance; and if, before this, they can show any ordination by mere presbyters, by any but an apostle, or an apostolical man; and if there were not visibly a distinction of powers and persons relatively in the ecclesiastical government; or if they can give a rational account why they, who are forced to confess the honour and distinct order of episcopacy, for about sixteen ages, should, in the dark interval of thirty-five years, in which they can pretend to no monument or record to the contrary, yet make unlearned scruples of things they cannot colourably prove; if, I say, they can reasonably account for these things, I, for my part, will be ready to confess, that they are not guilty of the greatest, the most unreasonable and inexcusable schism in the world; but else they have no colour to palliate the unlearned crime: for will not all wise men in the world conclude, that the church of God, which was then holy, not in title only and design, but practically and materially, and persecuted, and not immerged in secular temptations, could not, all in one instant, join together to alter that form of church government, which Christ and his apostles had so recently established, and, without a Divine warrant, destroy a Divine institution, not only to the confusion of the hierarchy, but to the ruin of their own souls? It were strange that so great a change should be, and no good man oppose it: "In toto orbe decretum est;" so St. Jerome: "All the world consented" in the advancement of the episcopal order: and, therefore, if we had no more to say for it, yet in prudence and piety we cannot say they would innovate in so great a matter.

But I shall enter no further upon this inquiry: only I remember that it is not very many months since the bigots of the popish party cried out against us vehemently, and inquired, "Where is your church of England, since you have no unity? for your ecclesiastic head of unity, your bishops, are gone:" and if we should be desirous to verify their argument, so as indeed to destroy episcopacy, we should too much advantage popery, and do the most imprudent and most impious thing in the world. But blessed be God, who hath restored that government, for which our late king, of glorious memory, gave his blood; and that,

methinks, should very much weigh with all the king's true-hearted subjects, who should make it religion not to rob that glorious prince of the greatest honour of such a martyrdom. For my part, I think it fit to rest in these words of another martyr, St. Cyprian: "Si quis cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse:" "He that is not with the bishop, is not in the church:" * that is, he that goes away from him, and willingly separates, departs from God's church; and whether he can then be with God, is a very material consideration, and fit to be thought on by all that think heaven a more eligible good than the interests of a faction and the importune desire of rule can countervail.

However, I have, in the following papers, spoken a few things, which, I hope, may be fit to persuade them that are not infinitely prejudiced: and although two or three good arguments are as good as two or three hundred, yet my purpose here was to prove the dignity and necessity of the office and order episcopal, only that it might be as an economy to convey notice and remembrances of the great duty incumbent upon all them that undertake this great charge. The dignity and the duty take one another by the hand, and are born together; only every sheep of the flock must take care to make the bishop's duty as easy as it can, by humility and love, by prayer and by obedience. It is, at the best, very difficult; but they who oppose themselves to government, make it harder and uncomfortable: but take heed, if thy bishop hath cause to complain to God of thee, for thy perverseness and uncharitable walking, thou wilt be the loser; and for us, we can only say, in the words of the prophet, "We will weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people:" † but our comfort is in God: for we can do nothing without him, but in him we can do all things: and, therefore, we will pray, "Domine, dabis pacem nobis; omnia enim opera nostra operatus es in nobis:" "God hath wrought all our works within us; and therefore he will give us peace, and give us his Spirit."‡

"Finally: Brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you; and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men; for all men have not faith."§

SERMON.

And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?

Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing.—Luke xii. 42, 43.

Τίς ἐστιν ἄρα πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος οἰκονόμος.

THESE words are not properly a question, though they seem so; and the particle τὶς is not interrogative, but hypothetical, and extends "who" to "whosoever;" plainly meaning, that whoever is a steward over Christ's household, of him God requires a great care, because he hath trusted him with a great employment. Every steward ὃν καθέστήκεν ὁ Κύριος, so it is in St. Matthew;[a] ὃν καταστήσει ὁ Κύριος, so it is in my text; every steward whom the Lord *hath* or *shall* appoint over the family, to rule it and to feed it, now and in all generations of men, as long as this family shall abide on earth; that is, the apostles, and they who were to succeed the apostles in the stewardship, were to be furnished with the same power, and to undertake the same charge, and to give the same strict and severe accounts.

In these words here is something insinuated, and much expressed.

1. That which is insinuated only is, who these stewards are, whom Christ had, whom Christ would appoint over his family, the church: they are not here named, but we shall find them out by their proper direction and indigitation by and by.

2. But that which is expressed, is the office itself, in a double capacity. 1. In the dignity of it, it is a rule and a government; "whom the lord shall make ruler over his household." 2. In the care and duty of it, which determines the government to be paternal and profitable; it is a rule, but such a rule as shepherds have over their flocks, to lead them to good pastures, and to keep them within their appointed walks, and within their folds: διδόναι σιτομέτριον· that is the work, "to give them a measure and proportion of nourishment:" τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ, so St. Matthew calls it: "meat in the season;" that which is fit for them, and when it is fit; meat enough, and meat convenient; and both together mean that which the Greek poets call ἁρμαλιὴν ἔμμηνον,[b] "the strong wholesome diet."

3. Lastly: Here is the reward of the faithful and wise dispensation. The steward that does so, and continues to do so, till his Lord find him so doing, this man shall be blessed in his deed. "Blessed is the servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing." Of these in order.

1. Who are these rulers of Christ's family? for though Christ knew it, and, therefore, needed not to ask; yet we have disputed it so much, and obeyed so little, that we have changed the plain hypothesis into an entangled question. The answer yet is easy as to some part of the inquiry: the apostles are the first meaning of the text; for they were our fathers in Christ, they begat sons and daughters unto God;

* Ep. 69.
† Jerem. ix. 12.
‡ Isa. xxvi. 12.
§ 2 Thess. iii. 1.

[a] Cap. xxiv. 25.
[b] Hesiod. Εργ.

and were a spiritual paternity, is evident: we need look no further for spiritual government, because in the paternal rule all power is founded; they begat the family by the power of the word and the life of the Spirit, and they fed this family, and ruled it, by the word of their proper ministry: they had the keys of this house, the steward's ensign, and they had the ruler's place; "for they sat on twelve thrones, and judged the twelve tribes of Israel." But of this there is no question.

And as little of another proposition; that this stewardship was to last for ever, for the power of ministering in this office and the office itself were to be perpetual: for the issues and powers of government are more necessary for the perpetuating the church, than for the first planting; and if it was necessary that the apostles should have a rod and a staff at first, it would be more necessary afterwards, when the family was more numerous, and their first zeal abated, and their native simplicity perverted into arts of hypocrisy and forms of godliness, when "heresies should arise, and the love of many should wax cold." The apostles had also a power of ordination: and that the very power itself does denote, for it makes perpetuity, that could not expire in the days of the apostles; for by it they themselves propagated a succession. And Christ, having promised his Spirit to abide with his church for ever, and made his apostles the channels, the ministers and conveyances of it, that it might descend as the inheritance and eternal portion of the family; it cannot be imagined, that when the first ministers were gone, there should not others rise up in the same places, some like to the first, in the same office and ministry of the Spirit. But the thing is plain and evident in the matter of fact also: "Quod in ecclesiâ nunc geritur, hoc olim fecerunt apostoli," said St. Cyprian: "What the apostles did at first, that the church does to this day,"[c] and shall do so for ever: for when St. Paul had given to the bishop of Ephesus rules of government in this family, he commands that they should be "observed till the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ;"[d] and, therefore, these authorities and charges are given to him and to his successors; it is the observation of St. Ambrose upon the warranty of that text, and is obvious and undeniable.

Well, then, the apostles were the first stewards; and this office dies not with them, but must for ever be succeeded in; and now begins the inquiry, Who are the successors of the apostles? for they are, they must evidently be, the stewards to feed and to rule this family. There are some that say, that all who have any portion of work in the family, all the ministers of the gospel, are these stewards, and so all will be rulers. The presbyters surely; for, say they, presbyter and bishop is the same thing, and have the same name in Scripture, and, therefore, the office cannot be distinguished. To this I shall very briefly say two things, which will quickly clear our way through this bush of thorns.

1. That the word "presbyter" is but an honourable appellative used amongst the Jews, as "alderman" amongst us; but it signifies no order at all, nor was ever used in Scripture to signify any distinct company or order of clergy: and this appears not only by an induction in all the enumerations of the offices ministerial in the New Testament,[e] where to be a presbyter is never reckoned either as a distinct office, or a distinct order; but by its being indifferently communicated to all the superior clergy, and all the princes of the people.

2. The second thing I intended to say, is this: that although all the superior clergy had not only one, but divers common appellatives, all being called πρεσβύτεροι and διάκονοι, even the apostolate itself being called a deaconship;[f] yet it is evident, that before the common appellatives were fixed into names of propriety, they were as evidently distinguished in their offices and powers, as they are at this day in their names and titles.

To this purpose St. Paul gave to Titus, the bishop of Crete, a special commission, command, and power, to make ordinations; and in him, and in the person of Timothy, he did erect a court of judicature even over some of the clergy, who yet were called presbyters; "Against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses:"[g] there is the measure and the warranty of the "audientia episcopalis," "the bishops' audience court;" and when the accused were found guilty, he gives in charge to proceed to censures: ἔλεγχε ἀποτόμως, and δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν· "You must rebuke them sharply, and you must silence them, stop their mouths,"[h] that is St. Paul's word; that they may no more scatter their venom in the ears and hearts of the people. These bishops were commanded "to set in order things that were wanting" in the churches, the same with that power of St. Paul;—"Other things will I set in order when I come," said he to the Corinthian churches; in which there were many who were called presbyters, who nevertheless, for all that name, had not that power. To the same purpose it is plain in Scripture, that some would have been apostles that were not; such were those whom the Spirit of God notes in the Revelation;[i] and some did "love pre-eminence" that had it not, for so did Diotrephes; and some were judges of questions, and all were not, for therefore they appealed to the apostles at Jerusalem; and St. Philip, though he was an evangelist, yet he could not give confirmation to the Samaritans whom he had baptized, but the apostles were sent for; for that was part of the power reserved to the episcopal or apostolic order.

Now from these premises, the conclusion is plain and easy. 1. Christ left a government in his church, and founded it in the persons of the apostles. 2. The apostles received this power for the perpetual use and benefit, for the comfort and edification of the church for ever. 3. The apostles had this government; but all that were taken into the ministry, and all that were called presbyters, had it not. If, therefore, this government, in which there

[c] Epist. 73. ad Jubai.
[d] 1 Tim. vi. 14.
[e] Rom. xii. 6. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.
[f] Acts i. 25.
[g] 1 Tim. v. 19.
[h] Tit. i. and 11. Tit. ii. 15.
[i] Cap. ii. ver. 2.

is so much disparity in the very nature, and exercise, and first original of it, must abide for ever; then so must that disparity. If the apostolate, in the first stabiliment, was this eminency of power, then it must be so; that is, it must be the same in the succession that it was in the foundation. For, after the church is founded upon its governors, we are to expect no change of government. If Christ was the author of it, then, as Christ left it, so it must abide for ever: for ever there must be the governing and the governed, the superior and the subordinate, the ordainer and the ordained, the confirmer and the confirmed.

Thus far the way is straight, and the path is plain. The apostles were the stewards and the ordinary rulers of Christ's family, by virtue of the order and office apostolical; and although this be succeeded to for ever, yet no man, for his now or at any time being called a presbyter or elder, can pretend to it; for, besides his being a presbyter, he must be an apostle too; else, though he be called "in partem sollicitudinis," and may do the office of assistance and under-stewardship, yet the κῦρος, "the government," and rule of the family, belongs not to him.

But then τίς ἄρα καὶ σήμερον, "who are these stewards and rulers over the household now?" To this the answer is also certain and easy. Christ hath made the same governors to-day as heretofore; "apostles still." For though the twelve apostles are dead, yet the apostolical order is not: it is τάξις γεννητική, "a generative order," and begets more apostles. Now who these "minores apostoli" are, the successors of the apostles in that office apostolical and supreme regiment of souls, we are sufficiently taught in holy Scriptures; which when I have clearly shown to you, I shall pass on to some more practical considerations.

1. Therefore, certain and known it is, that Christ appointed two sorts of ecclesiastic persons,—twelve apostles, and the seventy-two disciples; to these he gave a limited commission; to those a fulness of power; to these a temporary employment; to those a perpetual and everlasting: from these two societies, founded by Christ, the whole church of God derives the two superior orders in the sacred hierarchy; and, as bishops do not claim a Divine right but by succession from the apostles, so the presbyters cannot pretend to have been instituted by Christ, but by claiming a succession to the seventy-two. And then consider the difference, compare the tables, and all the world will see the advantages of argument we have; for since the seventy-two had nothing but a mission on a temporary errand; and more than that, we hear nothing of them in Scripture; but upon the apostles Christ poured all the ecclesiastical power, and made them the ordinary ministers of that Spirit, which was to abide with the church for ever: the Divine institution of bishops, that is, of successors to the apostles, is much more clear than that Christ appointed presbyters, or successors of the seventy-two. And yet, if from hence they do not derive it, they can never prove their order to be of Divine institution at all, much less to be so alone.

But we may see the very thing itself—the very matter of fact. St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, is by St. Paul called an apostle: "Other apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother."[k] For there were some whom the Scriptures call "the apostles of our Lord;" that is, such which Christ made by his word immediately, or by his Spirit extraordinarily; and even into this number and title, Matthias, and St. Paul, and Barnabas, were accounted.[l] But the church also made apostles;[m] and these were called by St. Paul, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, "apostles of the churches;" and particularly Epaphroditus was the "apostle of the Philippians;" —"properly so, saith Primasius; and "what is this else but the bishop," saith Theodoret; for τοὺς νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους ὠνόμαζον ἀποστόλους, "those who are now called bishops, were then called apostles," saith the same father. The sense and full meaning of which argument is a perfect commentary upon that famous prophecy of the church, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands;[n] that is, not only the twelve apostles, our fathers in Christ, who first begat us, were to rule Christ's family, but when they were gone, their children and successors should arise in their stead: "Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:" their direct successors to all generations shall be "principes populi," that is, "rulers and governors of the whole catholic church."—"De prole enim ecclesiæ crevit eadem paternitas, id est, episcopi quos illa genuit, et patres appellat, et constituit in sedibus patrum," saith St. Austin: "The children of the church become fathers of the faithful; that is, the church begets bishops, and places them in the seat of fathers, the first apostles."

After these plain and evident testimonies of Scripture, it will not be amiss to say, that this great affair, relying not only upon the words of institution, but on matter of fact, passed forth into a demonstration and greatest notoriety by the doctrine and practice of the whole catholic church: for so St. Irenæus, who was one of the most ancient fathers of the church, and might easily make good his affirmative: "We can," says he, "reckon the men, who by the apostles were appointed bishops in churches, to be their successors unto us; leaving to them the same power and authority which they had."—Thus St. Polycarp was by the apostles made bishop of Smyrna; St. Clement, bishop of Rome, by St. Peter; "and divers others by the apostles," saith Tertullian; saying also, that the Asian bishops were consecrated by St. John. And to be short, that bishops are the successors of the apostles in the stewardship and rule of the church, is expressly taught by St. Cyprian[o] and St. Jerome,[p] St. Ambrose and St. Austin,[q] by Euthymius and Pacianus, by St. Gregory and St. John Damascenus, by Clarius à Muscula and St. Sixtus, by Anacletus and St. Isidore; by the Roman council under St. Sylvester,

[k] Gal. i. 19.
[l] 1 Cor. viii. 23.
[m] Philip. ii. 25.
[n] Psal. xlv. 16.
[o] In 1 Cor. xii.
[p] In Psal. xliv.
[q] Epist. 1. Simpronianum.

and the council of Carthage; and the διαδοχὴ, or "succession" of bishops from the apostles' hands in all the churches apostolical, was as certainly known as in our chronicles we find the succession of our English kings, and one can no more be denied than the other. The conclusion from these premises I give you in the words of St. Cyprian: "Cogitent diaconi, quòd apostolos, id est, episcopos, Dominus ipse elegerit:" "Let the ministers know, that apostles, that is, the bishops, were chosen by our blessed Lord himself:"[r] and this was so evident, and so believed, that St. Austin affirms it with a "Nemo ignorat," "No man is so ignorant but he knows this, that our blessed Saviour appointed bishops over churches."[s]

Indeed the Gnostics spake evil of this order; for they are noted by three apostles, St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, to be "despisers of government, and to speak evil of dignities;" and what government it was they did so despise, we may understand by the words of St. Jude; they were ἐν τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κορὲ, "in the contradiction or gainsaying of Corah," who with his company rose up against Aaron the high priest; and excepting these, who were the vilest of men, no man, within the first three hundred years after Christ, opposed episcopacy. But when Constantine received the church into his arms, he found it universally governed by bishops; and, therefore, no wise or good man professing to be a christian, that is, to believe the holy catholic church, can be content to quit the apostolical government, (that by which the whole family of God was fed, and taught, and ruled,) and beget to himself new fathers and new apostles, who, by wanting succession from the apostles of our Lord, have no ecclesiastical and derivative communion with these fountains of our Saviour.

If ever Vincentius Lirinensis's rule could be used in any question, it is in this: "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;" that bishops are the successors of the apostles in this stewardship, and that they did always rule the family, was taught and acknowledged "always, and every where, and by all men" that were of the church of God: and if these evidences be not sufficient to convince modest and sober persons in this question, we shall find our faith to fail in many other articles, of which we yet are very confident: for the observation of the Lord's day, the consecration of the holy eucharist by priests, the baptizing infants, the communicating of women, and the very canon of the Scripture itself, rely but upon the same probation; and, therefore, the denying of articles thus proved, is a way, I do not say, to bring in all sects and heresies,—that is but little; —but a plain path and inlet to atheism and irreligion; for by this means it will not only be impossible to agree concerning the meaning of Scripture, but the Scripture itself, and all the records of religion, will become useless, and of no efficacy or persuasion.

I am entered into a sea of matter: but I will break it off abruptly, and sum up this inquiry with the words of the council of Chalcedon, which is one of the four generals, by our laws made the measures of judging heresies: Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἀναφέρειν, ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν, "It is sacrilege to bring back a bishop to the degree and order of a presbyter." It is indeed a rifling the order, and entangling the gifts, and confounding the method of the Holy Ghost; it is a dishonouring them whom God would honour, and a robbing them of those spiritual eminences with which the Spirit of God does anoint the consecrated heads of bishops. And I shall say one thing more, which indeed is a great truth, that the diminution of episcopacy was first introduced by popery; and the popes of Rome, by communicating to abbots, and other mere priests, special graces to exercise some essential offices of episcopacy, have made this sacred order to be cheap, and apt to be invaded. But then add this: if Simon Magus was in so damnable a condition for offering to buy the gifts and powers of the apostolical order, what shall we think of them that snatch them away, and pretend to wear them, whether the apostles and their successors will or no? This is ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, "to belie the Holy Ghost;" that is the least of it: it is rapine and sacrilege, besides the heresy and schism, and the spiritual lie. For the government episcopal, as it was exemplified in the synagogue, and practised by the same measures in the temple, so it was transcribed by the eternal Son of God, who translated it into a gospel ordinance: it was sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who named some of the persons, and gave to them all power and graces from above: it was subjected in the apostles first, and by them transmitted to a distinct order of ecclesiastics: it was received into all churches, consigned in the records of the Holy Scriptures, preached by the universal voice of all the christian world, delivered by notorious and uninterrupted practice, and derived to further and unquestionable issue by perpetual succession.

I have done with the hardest part of the text, by finding out the persons intrusted, "the stewards of Christ's family;" which though Christ only intimated in this place, yet he plainly enough manifested in others: the apostles, and their successors the bishops, are the men intrusted with this great charge; God grant they may all discharge it well. And so I pass from the officers to a consideration of the office itself, in the next words; "whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their meat in due season."

2. The office itself is the stewardship, that is episcopacy, the office of the bishop: the name signifies an office of the ruler indefinitely, but the word was chosen, and by the church appropriated to those whom it now signifies, both because the word itself is a monition of duty, and also because the faithful were used to it in the days of Moses and the prophets. The word is in the prophecy of the church: "I will give to thee princes in peace, καὶ ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, and bishops in righteousness;"[t] upon which place St. Jerome says, "Principes ecclesia vocat futuros episcopos;"[u] "The Spirit of God

[r] Epist. 65. ad Rogat.
[s] Quæst. V. et N. T. q. 197.
[t] Isa. lx. 17.
[u] Hunc locum etiam citat S. Clement. Ep. ad. Cor.

calls them who were to be christian bishops, 'principes,' or 'chief rulers,'" and this was no new thing; for the chief of the priests who were set over the rest, are called bishops by all the Hellenist Jews. Thus Joel is called ἐπίσκοπος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, "the bishop over the priests;"[x] and the son of Bani, ἐπίσκοπος Λευίτων, "the bishop and visitor over the Levites;" and we find at the purging of the land from idolatry, the high priest placed ἐπισκόπους εἰς οἶκον Κυρίου, "bishops over the house of God."[y] Nay it was the appellative of the high priest himself, ἐπίσκοπος Ἐλεάζαρ, "bishop Eleazar,"[z] the son of Aaron the priest, to whom is committed the care of lamps, and the daily sacrifice, and the holy unction.

Now this word the church retained, choosing the same name to her superior ministers, because of the likeness of the ecclesiastical government between the Old and New Testament.

For Christ made no change but what was necessary: baptism was a rite among the Jews, and the Lord's supper was but the "post-cœnium" of the Hebrews changed into a mystery, from a type to a more real exhibition; and the Lord's Prayer was a collection of the most eminent devotions of the prophets and holy men before Christ, who prayed by the same Spirit; and the censures ecclesiastical were but an imitation of the proceedings of the Judaical tribunals; and the whole religion was but the law of Moses drawn out of its vail into clarity and manifestation; and to conclude in order to the present affair, the government which Christ left, was the same as he found it; for what Aaron and his sons, and the Levites, were in the temple,—that bishops, priests, and deacons, are in the church: it is affirmed by St. Jerome more than once; and the use he makes of it is this, "Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe;" "Obey your bishop, and receive him as the nursing-father of your soul."[a] But above all, this appellation is made honourable by being taken by our blessed Lord himself; for he is called in Scripture the "great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls."

But our inquiry is not after the name, but the office, and the dignity and duty of it: "Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimis ac Divina potestas," so St. Cyprian calls it; "A high and a Divine power from God of governing the church;" "rem magnam et pretiosam in conspectu Domini," so St. Cyril; "a great and precious thing in the sight of God;"—τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκταίων ὅρον, by Isidore Pelusiot; "the utmost limit of what is desirable among men:"—but the account upon which it is so desirable, is the same also that makes it formidable. They who have tried it, and did it conscientiously, have found the burden so great, as to make them stoop with care and labour; and they who do it ignorantly or carelessly, will find it will break their bones: for the bishop's office is all that duty which can be signified by those excellent words of St. Cyprian: "He is a bishop or overseer of the brotherhood, the ruler of the people, the shepherd of the flock, the governor of the church, the minister of Christ, and the priest of God." These are great titles, and yet less than what is said of them in Scripture, which calls them "salt of the earth,—lights upon a candlestick,—stars and angels,—fathers of our faith,—ambassadors of God,—dispensers of the mysteries of God,—the apostles of the churches,—and the glory of Christ:"—but then they are great burdens too; for the bishop is πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, "intrusted with the Lord's people;" that is a great charge, but there is a worse matter that follows, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος· the bishop is he, of whom God will require "an account for all their souls:" they are the words of St. Paul,[b] and transcribed into the fortieth canon of the apostles, and the twenty-fourth canon of the council of Antioch.

And now I hope the envy is taken off; for the honour does not pay for the burden; and we can no sooner consider episcopacy in its dignity, as it is a rule; but the very nature of that rule does imply so severe a duty, that as the load of it is almost insufferable, so the event of it is very formidable, if we take not great care. For this stewardship is κυριότης καὶ διακονία, "a principality and a ministry." So it was in Christ; he is Lord of all, and yet he was the Servant of all: so it was in the apostles; it was κλῆρος διακονίας καὶ ἀποστολῆς, "their lot was to be apostles, and yet to serve and minister;"[c] and it is remarkable, that, in Isaiah, the Seventy use the word ἐπίσκοπος, or "bishop;"[d] but there they use it for the Hebrew word "nechosheth," which the Greeks usually render by ἐργοδιώκτης, φορολόγος, πράκτωρ, and the interlineary translation by "exactores." Bishops are only God's ministers and tribute-gatherers, requiring and overseeing them that they do their duty: and, therefore, here the case is so, and the burden so great, and the dignity so allayed, that the envious man hath no reason to be troubled that his brother hath so great a load, nor the proud man plainly to be delighted with so honourable a danger. It is indeed a rule, but it is paternal; it is a government, but it must be neither ἀναγκαστικὸν nor αἰσχροκερδὲς, it is neither "a power to constrain" nor "a commission to get wealth,"[e] for it must be without necessity, and not for filthy lucre sake; but it is a rule, ὡς διακονοῦντος, so St. Luke, "as of him that ministers;"[f] ὡς πάντων δούλου, so St. Mark, "as of him that is servant of all;"[g] ὡς πόδας νίπτοντος, so St. John;[h] such a principality as he hath "that washes the feet" of the weary traveller; or if you please, take it in the words of our blessed Lord himself, that "He that will be chief among you, let him be your minister;" meaning, that if under Christ's kingdom you desire rule, possibly you may have it; but all that rule under him, are servants to them that are ruled; and, therefore, you get nothing by it, but a great labour and a busy employment, a careful life and a neces-

[x] Neh. xi. 9. [y] 2 Kings xi. 18. [z] Numb. iv. 16.
[a] Epist. 2. ad Nepot. Epistol. ad Evagrium.
[b] Heb. xiii. 17. [c] Acts i. 25. [d] Isaiah lx. 17. [e] 1 Pet. v. 1, 5.
[f] Luke xxii. 27. [g] Mark x. 43. [h] John xiii. 13.

sity of making severe accounts. But all this is nothing but the general measures; I cannot be useful or understood unless I be more particular, The particulars we shall best enumerate by recounting those great conjugations of worthy offices and actions, by which christian bishops have blessed and built up christendom; for because we must be followers of them, as they were of Christ, the recounting what they did worthily in their generations, will not only demonstrate how useful, how profitable, how necessary episcopacy is to the christian church, but it will, at the same time, teach us our duty, by what services we are to benefit the church, in what works we are to be employed, and how to give an account of our stewardship with joy.

1. The christian church was founded by bishops, not only because the apostles, who were bishops, were the first preachers of the gospel, and planters of the churches,—but because the apostolical men, whom the apostles used in planting and disseminating religion, were, by all antiquity, affirmed to have been diocesan bishops; insomuch that, as St. Epiphanius[i] witnesses, there were, at the first disseminations of the faith of Christ, many churches, who had in them no other clergy, but a bishop and his deacons: and the presbyters were brought in afterwards, as the harvest grew greater: but the bishops' names are known, they are "recorded in the book of life," and "their praise is in the gospel;" such were Timothy and Titus, Clemens and Linus, Marcus and Dionysius, Onesimus and Caius, Epaphroditus and St. James, our Lord's brother,—Evodius and Simeon; all which, if there be any faith in christians that gave their lives for a testimony to the faith, and any truth in their stories; and unless we, who believe Thucydides and Plutarch, Livy and Tacitus, think that all church-story is a perpetual romance, and that all the brave men, the martyrs and the doctors of the primitive church, did conspire, as one man, to abuse all christendom for ever; I say, unless all these impossible suppositions be admitted,—all these, whom I have now reckoned, were bishops fixed in several churches, and had dioceses for their charges.

The consequent of this consideration is this: If bishops were those upon whose ministry Christ founded and built his church, let us consider what great wisdom is required of them that seem to be pillars: the stewards of Christ's family must be wise; that Christ requires: and if the order be necessary to the church, wisdom cannot but be necessary to the order; for it is a shame if they, who by their office are fathers in Christ, shall by their unskilfulness be but babes themselves, understanding not the secrets of religion, the mysteries of godliness, the perfections of the evangelical law, all the advantages and disadvantages in the spiritual life. A bishop must be exercised in godliness, a man of great experience in the secret conduct of souls, not satisfied with an ordinary skill in making homilies to the people, and speaking common exhortations in ordinary cases; but ready to answer in all secret inquiries, and able to convince the gainsayers, and to speak wisdom amongst them that are perfect.

If the first bishops laid the foundation, their successors must not only preserve whatsoever is fundamental, but build up the church in a most holy faith, taking care that no heresy sap the foundation, and that no hay or rotten wood be built upon it; and above all things, that a most holy life be superstructed upon a holy and unreprovable faith. So the apostles laid the foundation, and built the walls of the church, and their successors must raise up the roof as high as heaven. For let us talk and dispute eternally, we shall never compose the controversies in religion, and establish truth upon unalterable foundations, as long as men handle the word of God deceitfully, that is, with designs and little artifices, and secular partialities; and they will for ever do so, as long as they are proud or covetous. It is not the difficulty of our questions, or the subtlety of our adversaries, that makes disputes interminable; but we shall never cure the itch of disputing, or establish unity, unless we apply ourselves to humility and contempt of riches. If we will be contending, let us contend like the olive and the vine, who shall produce best and most fruit; not like the aspen and the elm, which shall make most noise in a wind. And all other methods are a beginning at a wrong end. And as for the people, the way to make them conformable to the wise and holy rules of faith and government, is by reducing them to live good lives. When the children of Israel gave themselves to gluttony, and drunkenness, and filthy lusts, they quickly fell into abominable idolatries; and St. Paul says, "that men make shipwreck of their faith by putting away a good conscience:"[k] for the mystery of faith is best preserved ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, "in a pure conscience," saith the same apostle:[l] secure but that, and we shall quickly end our disputes, and have an obedient and conformable people; but else never.

2. As bishops were the first fathers of churches, and gave them being, so they preserve them in being; for without sacraments there is no church, or it will be starved, and die; and without bishops there can be no priests, and consequently no sacraments; and that must needs be a supreme order, from whence ordination itself proceeds. For it is evident and notorious, that in Scripture there is no record of ordination, but an apostolical hand was in it; one of the ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι, one of the chief, one of the superior and "ruling" clergy; and it is as certain in the descending ages of the church, the bishop always had that power: it was never denied to him, and it was never imputed to presbyters: and St. Jerome himself, when, out of his anger against John, bishop of Jerusalem, he endeavoured to equal the presbyter with the bishop, though in very many places he spake otherwise, yet even then also, and in that heat, he excepted ordination, acknowledging that to be the bishop's peculiar. And, therefore, they who go about to extinguish episcopacy, do as Julian did; they destroy the presbytery, and starve the flock, and take away their shepherds,

[i] Lib. iii. tit. 1.

[k] 1 Tim. i. 19. [l] 1 Tim. iii. 9.

and dispark their pastures, and tempt God's providence to extraordinaries, and put the people to hard shifts, and turn the channels of salvation quite another way, and leave the church to a perpetual uncertainty, whether she be alive or dead, and the people destitute of the life of their souls, and their daily bread, and their spiritual comforts, and holy blessings.

The consequent of this is: if sacraments depend upon bishops, then let us take care that we convey to the people holy and pure materials, sanctified with a holy ministry, and ministered by holy persons: for although it be true that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend wholly upon the worthiness of him that ministers; yet it is as true, that it does not wholly rely upon the worthiness of the receiver; but both together, relying upon the goodness of God, produce all those blessings which are designed. The minister hath an influence into the effect, and does very much towards it; and if there be a failure there, it is a defect in one of the concurring causes; and therefore an unholy bishop is a great diminution to the people's blessing. St. Jerome presses this severely: "Impiè faciunt," &c. "They do wickedly who affirm, that the holy eucharist is consecrated by the words (alone) and solemn prayer of the consecrator, and not also by his life and holiness:"[m] and therefore St. Cyprian affirms, that "none but holy and upright men are to be chosen, who, offering their sacrifices worthily to God, may be heard in their prayers for the Lord's people:"[n] but for others, "Sacrificia eorum, panis luctûs," saith the prophet Hosea: "Their sacrifices are like the bread of sorrow; whoever eats thereof, shall be defiled."

This discourse is not mine, but St. Cyprian's: and although his words are not to be understood dogmatically, but in the case of duty and caution, yet we may lay our hands upon our hearts, and consider how we shall give an account of our stewardship, if we shall offer to the people the bread of God with impure hands; it is of itself a pure nourishment; but if it passes through an unclean vessel, it loses much of its excellency.

3. The like also is to be said concerning prayer; for the episcopal order is appointed by God to be the great ministers of Christ's priesthood, that is, to stand between Christ and the people in the intercourse of prayer and blessing. "We will give ourselves continually to prayer," said the apostles; that was the one-half of their employment;—and indeed a bishop should spend very much of his time in holy prayer, and in diverting God's judgments, and procuring blessings to the people; for in all times, the chief of the religion was ever the chief minister of blessing. Thus Abraham blessed Abimelech, and Melchisedeck blessed Abraham, and Aaron blessed the people; and "without all controversy," saith the apostle, "the less is blessed of the greater." But then "we know that God heareth not sinners;" and it must be "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man that shall prevail."

And, therefore, we may easily consider, that a vicious prelate is a great calamity to that flock, which he is appointed to bless and pray for. How shall he reconcile the penitents, who is himself at enmity with God? How shall the Holy Spirit of God descend upon the symbols at *his* prayer, who does perpetually grieve him, and quench his holy fires, and drive him quite away? How shall he that hath not tasted of the Spirit by contemplation, stir up others to earnest desires of celestial things? Or what good shall the people receive, when the bishop lays upon their head a covetous or a cruel, an unjust or an impure hand? But, therefore, that I may use the words of St. Jerome, "Cum ab episcopo gratia in populum transfundatur, et mundi totius et ecclesiæ totius condimentum sit episcopus," &c.[o] Since it is intended that from the bishop grace should be diffused amongst all the people, there is not in the world a greater indecency than a holy office ministered by an unholy person, and no greater injury to the people, than that of the blessings which God sends to them by the ministries evangelical, they should be cheated and defrauded by a wicked steward. And, therefore, it was an excellent prayer, which to this very purpose was, by the son of Sirach, made in behalf of the high priests, the sons of Aaron: "God give you wisdom in your heart, to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever."[p]

4. All the offices ecclesiastical always were, and ought to be, conducted by the episcopal order, as is evident in the universal doctrine and practice of the primitive church: Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν. It is the fortieth canon of the apostles, "Let the presbyters and deacons do nothing without leave of the bishop;"[q] but that case is known.

The consequent of this consideration is no other than the admonition in my text: "We are stewards of the manifold grace of God," and dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom; and "it is required of stewards that they be found faithful;"[r] "that we preach the word of God in season and out of season,—that we rebuke and exhort, admonish and correct;"—for these God calls "pastores secundum cor meum," "pastors according to his own heart, which feed the people with knowledge and understanding;"[s] but they must also "comfort the afflicted, and bind up the broken heart;" minister the sacraments with great diligence, and righteous measures, and abundant charity, always having in mind those passionate words of Christ to St. Peter: "If thou lovest me, feed my sheep; if thou hast any love to me, feed my lambs."

And let us remember this also, that nothing can enforce the people to obey their bishops as they ought, but our doing that duty and charity to them which God requires. There is reason in these words of St. Chrysostom: "It is necessary that the church should adhere to their bishop, as the body to the head, as plants to their roots, as rivers to

[m] In cap. 2. Zeph.
[n] Dial. adv. Lucifer.
[o] Lib. i. Ep. 4.
[p] Eccles. xlv. 26.
[q] Et 21. C. Concil. Antioch.
[r] 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, 3.
[s] Jer. iii. 15.

their springs, as children to their fathers, as disciples to their masters." These similitudes express not only the relation and dependence, but they tell us the reason of the duty: the head gives light and reason to conduct the body; the roots give nourishment to the plants; and the springs, perpetual emanation of waters to the channels: fathers teach and feed their children; and disciples receive wise instructions from their masters: and if we be all this to the people, they will be all that to us: and wisdom will compel them to submit, and our humility will teach them obedience, and our charity will invite their compliance; our good example will provoke them to good works, and our meekness will melt them into softness and flexibility: for all the Lord's people are "populus voluntarius," "a free and willing people;" and we, who cannot compel their bodies, must thus constrain their souls, by inviting their wills, by convincing their understandings, by the beauty of fair example, the efficacy and holiness, and the demonstrations of the Spirit.

This is "experimentum ejus, qui in nobis loquitur Christus," "the experiment of Christ that speaketh in us:" for to this purpose those are excellent words which St. Paul spake: "Remember them who have the rule over you: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."[t] There lies the demonstration: and those prelates who teach good life, whose sermons are the measures of Christ, and whose life is a copy of their sermons, these must be followed, and surely these will; for these are burning and shining lights: but if we hold forth false fires, and by the amusement of evil examples, call the vessels that sail upon a dangerous sea, to come upon a rock or an iron shore instead of a safe harbour, we cause them to make shipwreck of their precious faith, and to perish in the deceitful and unstable waters: "Vox operum fortiùs sonat quàm verborum:" "a good life is the strongest argument that your faith is good," and a gentle voice will be sooner entertained than a voice of thunder: but the greatest eloquence in the world is a meek spirit and a liberal hand; these are the two pastoral staves the prophet speaks of. "nognam et hovelim." "beauty and bands;"[u] he that hath the staff of the beauty of holiness, the ornament of fair example, he hath also the staff of bands: "Atque in funiculis Adam trahet eos, in vinculis charitatis," as the prophet Hosea's expression is, "He shall draw the people after him by the cords of a man, by the bands of a holy charity."[x] But if, against all these demonstrations, any man will be refractory, we have, instead of a staff, an apostolical rod, which is the last and latest remedy, and either brings to repentance, or consigns to ruin and reprobation.

If there were any time remaining, I could reckon that the episcopal order is the principle of unity in the church: and we see it is so, by the innumerable sects that sprang up, when episcopacy was persecuted. I could add, how that bishops were the cause that St. John wrote his gospel; that the christian faith was, for three hundred years together, bravely defended by the sufferings, the prisons and flames, the life and the death of bishops, as the principal combatants: that the fathers of the church, whose writings are held in so great veneration in all the christian world, were almost all of them bishops. I could add, that the reformation of religion in England was principally by the preachings and the disputings, the writings and the martyrdom of bishops; that bishops have ever since been the greatest defensatives against popery: that England and Ireland were governed by bishops ever since they were christian, and under their conduct have, for so many ages, enjoyed all the blessings of the gospel. I could add also, that episcopacy is the great stabiliment of monarchy: but of this we are convinced by a sad and too dear-bought experience: I could therefore instead of it say, that episcopacy is the great ornament of religion: that as it rescues the clergy from contempt, so it is the greatest preservative of the people's liberty from ecclesiastic tyranny on one hand, (the gentry being little better than servants, while they live under the presbytery,) and anarchy and licentiousness on the other: that it endears obedience, and is subject to the laws of princes, and is wholly ordained for the good of mankind and the benefit of souls. But I cannot stay to number all the blessings which have entered into the world at this door: I only remark these, because they describe unto us the bishop's employment, which is, to be busy in the service of souls,—to do good in all capacities,—to serve every man's need,—to promote all public benefits,—to cement governments,—to establish peace,—to propagate the kingdom of Christ,—to do hurt to no man,—to do good to every man;—that is, so to minister, that religion and charity, public peace and private blessings, may be in their exaltation.

As long as it was thus done by the primitive bishops, the princes and the people gave them all honour: insomuch, that by a decree of Constantine the Great, the bishop had power given him to retract the sentences made by the presidents of provinces; and we find, in the acts of St. Nicholas, that he rescued some innocent persons from death, when the executioner was ready to strike the fatal blow, which thing, even when it fell into inconvenience, was indeed forbidden by Arcadius and Honorius: but the confidence and honour was only changed, it was not taken away: for the condemned criminal had leave to appeal to the "Audientia Episcopalis," to "the Bishops' Court." This was not any right which the bishops could challenge, but a reward of their piety; and so long as the holy office was holily administered, the world found so much comfort and security, so much justice and mercy, so many temporal and spiritual blessings, consequent to the ministries of that order, that, as the Galatians to St. Paul, "men have plucked out their eyes" to do them service, and to do them honour. For then episcopacy did that good that God intended by it; it was a spiritual government, by spiritual persons, for spiritual ends. Then the princes and the people gave them honour, because

[t] Heb. xiii. 7. [u] Zech. xi. 7. [x] Cap. xi. 4.

they deserved, and sought them not; then they gave them wealth, because they would dispend it wisely, frugally, and charitably; then they gave them power, because it was sure to be used for the defence of the innocent, for the relief of the oppressed, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the reward of the virtuous. Then they desired to be judged by them, because their audiences, or courts, did ἡσυχάζειν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν, "they appeased all furious sentences," and taught gentle principles, and gave merciful measures, and in their courts were all equity and piety, and christian determinations.

But afterwards, when they did fall εἰς ἐναστείαν, "into secular methods," and made their counsels vain by pride, and dirtied their sentences with money, then they became like other men; and so it will be, unless the bishop be more holy than other men; but when our sanctity and severity shall be as eminent as the calling is, then we shall be called to councils, and sit in public meetings, and bring comfort to private families, and rule in the hearts of men by a "jus relationis," such as was between the Roman emperors and the senate; they courted one another into power, and, in giving honour, strove to outdo each other; for from an humble wise man no man will snatch an employment that is honourable; but from the proud and from the covetous every man endeavours to wrest it, and thinks it lawful prize.

My time is now done; and, therefore, I cannot speak to the third part of my text, the reward of the good steward and of the bad; I shall only mention it to you in a short exhortation, and so conclude. In the primitive church, a bishop was never admitted to public penance; not only because in them every crime is ten, and he that could discern a public shame, could not deserve a public honour; nor yet only because every such punishment was scandalous, and did more evil by the example of the crime, than it could do good by the example of the punishment; but also because no spiritual power is higher than the episcopal, and therefore they were to be referred to the Divine judgment, which was likely to fall on them very heavily: ἐκκοπήσει ἄχρηστον ὁ Κύριος, "the Lord will cut the evil stewards asunder;" he will suffer schisms and divisions to enter in upon us, and that will sadly cut us asunder; but the evil also shall fall upon their persons, like the punishment of quartering traitors, ἵνα καί σε διαμελεῖστὶ ταμήσῃ, punishment with the circumstances of detestation and exemplarity. Consider, therefore, what is your great duty. Consider what is your great danger. The lines of duty I have already described; only remember how dear and precious souls are to God, since for their salvation Christ gave his blood; and therefore will not easily loose them, whom, though they had sinned against him, yet he so highly valued: remember that you are Christ's deputies in the care of souls, and that you succeed in the place of the apostles. "Non est facile stare loco Pauli, et tenere gradum Petri:" you have undertaken the work of St. Paul, and the office of St. Peter; and what, think you, upon this account, will be required of us? St. Jerome expresses it thus: "The wisdom and skill of a bishop ought to be so great, that his countenance, his gesture, his motion, every thing should be vocal, 'ut quicquid agit, quicquid loquitur, doctrina sit apostolorum:' 'that whatever he does or speaks, be doctrine apostolical.'" The ancient fathers had a pious opinion, that besides the angel-guardian which is appointed to the guard of every man, there is to every bishop a second angel appointed to him at the consecration; and to this Origen alludes, saying that every bishopric hath two angels, the one visible and the other invisible. This is a great matter, and shows what a precious thing that order and those persons are in the eyes of God; but then this also means, that we should live angelic lives, which the church rarely well expresses by saying, that episcopal dignity is the ecclesiastic state of perfection, and supposes the persons to be so far advanced in holiness, as to be in the state of confirmation in grace. But I shall say nothing of these things, because it may be they press too hard; but the use I shall make of it, upon occasion of the reward of the good and bad steward, is to remind you of your great danger. For if it be required of bishops to be so wise and so holy, so industrious and so careful, so busy and so good, up to the height of best examples; if they be anointed of the Lord, and are the husbands of the churches; if they be the shepherds of the flock, and stewards of the household; it is very fit they consider their danger, that they may be careful to do their duty. St. Bernard considers it well in his epistle to Henry, archbishop of Sens:—If I, lying in my cell, and smoking under a bushel, not shining, yet cannot avoid the breath of the winds, but that my light is almost blown out; what will become of my candle, if it were placed on a candlestick, and set upon a hill? I am to look to myself alone, and provide for my own salvation; and yet I offend myself, I am weary of myself, I am my own scandal and my own danger; my own eye, and my own belly, and my own appetite, find me work enough; and therefore God help them, who, besides themselves, are answerable for many others. Jacob kept the sheep of Laban, and we keep the sheep of Christ; and Jacob was to answer for every sheep that was stolen, and every lamb that was torn by the wild beast; and so shall we too, if by our fault one of Christ's sheep perish; and yet it may be, there are one hundred thousand souls committed to the care and conduct of some one shepherd, who yet will find his own soul work enough for all his care and watchfulness. If any man should desire me to carry a frigate into the Indies, in which one hundred men were embarked, I were a madman to undertake the charge without proportionable skill; and, therefore, when there is more danger, and more souls, and rougher seas, and more secret rocks, and horrible storms, and the shipwreck is an eternal loss, the matter will then require great consideration in the undertaking, and greatest care in the conduct.

Upon this account we find many brave persons, in the first and in the middle ages of the church, with great resolution refusing episcopacy. I will not speak of those, who, for fear of martyrdom, de-

clined it, but those who, for fear of damnation, did refuse. St. Bernard was by three rich cities severally called to be their bishop, and by two to be their archbishop, and he refused them; St. Dominicus refused four successively; St. Thomas Aquinas refused the archbishopric of Naples; and Vincentius Ferrarius would not accept of Valentia or Ilerda; and Bernardinus Senensis refused the bishoprics of Sens, Urbin, and Ferrara. They had reason; and yet, if they had done amiss in that office which they declined, it had been something more excusable; but if they that seek it, be as careless in the office as they are greedy of the honour, that will be found intolerable. "Electus episcopus ambulat in disco, recusans volvitur in areâ," said the hermit in St. Jerome; "The bishop walks upon round and trundling stones; but he that refuses it, stands upon a floor." But I shall say no more of it; because I suppose you have read it, and considered it, in St. Chrysostom's six books, "de Sacerdotio;" in the Apologetic of St. Gregory of Nazianzus; in the pastoral of St. Gregory of Rome; in St. Dionysius's eighth epistle to Demophilus; in the letters of Epiphanius to St. Jerome; in St. Austin's epistle to Bishop Valerius; in St. Bernard's life of St. Malachy; in St. Jerome's one hundred and thirty-eighth epistle to Fabiola. These things, I am sure, you could not read without trembling; and certainly, if it can belong to any christian, then—"work out your salvation with fear and trembling"—that is the bishop's burden. For the bishop is like a man that is surety for his friend; he is bound for many, and for great sums; what is to be done in this case, Solomon's answer is the way: "Do this now, my son, deliver thyself, make sure thy friend, give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eye-lids:"[y] that is, be sedulous to discharge thy trust, to perform thy charge; be zealous for souls, and careless of money: and remember this, that even in Christ's family there was one sad example of an apostate apostle; and he fell into that fearful estate merely by the desire and greediness of money. Be warm in zeal, and indifferent in thy temporalities: for he that is zealous in temporals, and cold in the spiritual; he that doth the accessories of his calling by himself, and the principal by his deputies; he that is present at the feast of sheep-shearing, and puts others to feed the flock; hath no sign at all upon him of a good shepherd. "It is not fit for us to leave the word of God, and to serve tables," said the apostles. And if it be a less worthy office to serve the tables even of the poor, to the diminution of our care in the dispensation of God's word,—it must needs be an unworthy employment to leave the word of God, and to attend the rich and superfluous furniture of our own tables. Remember the quality of your charges: "Civitas est, vigilate ad custodiam et concordiam; sponsa est, studete amari; oves sunt, intendite pastui."[z] "The church is a spouse;" the universal church is Christ's spouse, but your own diocess is yours; "behave yourselves so that ye be beloved. Your people are as sheep," and they must be fed, and guided, and preserved, and healed, and brought home. "The church is a city," and you are the watchmen; "take care that the city be kept at unity in itself;" be sure to make peace amongst your people; suffer no hatreds, no quarrels, no suits at law amongst the citizens, which you can avoid; make peace in your diocesses by all the ways of prudence, piety, and authority, that you can; and let not your own corrections of criminals be to any purpose but for their amendment, for the cure of offenders as long as there is hope, and for the security of those who are sound and whole. Preach often, and pray continually; let your discipline be with charity, and your censures slow; let not excommunications pass for trifles, and drive not away the fly from your brother's forehead with a hatchet; give counsel frequently, and dispensations seldom, but never without necessity or great charity; let every place in your diocess say, "Invenerunt me vigiles," "The watchmen have found me out," "hassovelim;" they that walk the city round have sought me out, and found me. "Let every one of us," as St. Paul's[a] expression is, "show himself a workman that shall not be ashamed;" "operarium inconfusibilem," mark that; "such a labourer as shall not be put to shame" for his illness or his unskilfulness, his falseness and unfaithfulness, in that day when the great Bishop of souls shall make his last and dreadful visitation; for, be sure, there is not a carcass, nor a skin, nor a lock of wool, nor a drop of milk of the whole flock, but God shall for it call the idle shepherd to a severe account. And how, think you, will his anger burn, when he shall see so many goats standing at his left hand, and so few sheep at his right? and upon inquiry, shall find that his ministering shepherds were wolves in sheep's clothing? and that, by their ill example or pernicious doctrines, their care of money and carelessness of their flocks, so many souls perish, who, if they had been carefully and tenderly, wisely and conscientiously handled, might have shined as bright as angels? And it is a sad consideration to remember, how many souls are pitifully handled in this world, and carelessly dismissed out of this world; they are left to live at their own rate, and when they are sick they are bidden to be of good comfort, and then all is well; who, when they are dead, find themselves cheated of their precious and invaluable eternity. Oh, how will those souls, in their eternal prisons, for ever curse those evil and false guides! And how will those evil guides themselves abide in judgment, when the angels of wrath snatch their abused people into everlasting torments? For will God bless them, or pardon them, by whom so many souls perish? Shall they reign with Christ, who evacuate the death of Christ, and make it useless to dear souls? Shall they partake of Christ's glories, by whom it comes to pass that there is less joy in heaven itself, even because sinners are not converted, and God is not glorified, and the people is not instructed, and the kingdom of God is not filled? Oh no; the curses of a false prophet will fall upon them, and the reward of the evil steward will be their portion; and they who destroyed the sheep,

[y] Prov. vi. 3, 4.

[z] S. Bernard. ad. Henr. Episc. Senensem. [a] 2 Tim. ii.

or neglected them, shall have their portion with goats for ever and ever, in everlasting burnings, in which it is impossible for a man to dwell.

Can any thing be beyond this? beyond damnation? Surely a man would think not: and yet I remember a severe saying of St. Gregory, "Scire debent prælati, quod tot mortibus digni sunt, quot perditionis exempla ad subditos extenderunt:" "One damnation is not enough for an evil shepherd; but for every soul who dies by his evil example or pernicious carelessness, he deserves a new death, a new damnation."—Let us, therefore, be wise and faithful, walk warily, and watch carefully, and rule diligently, and pray assiduously; for God is more propense to rewards than to punishments; and the good steward, that is wise and faithful in his dispensation, shall be greatly blessed. But how? "He shall be made ruler over the household." What is that? for he is so already. True: but he shall be much more: "Ex dispensatore faciet procuratorem;" God will treat him as Joseph was treated by his master; "he was first a steward, and then a procurator;" one that ruled his goods without account and without restraint. Our ministry shall pass into empire, our labour into rest, our watchfulness into fruition, and our bishopric to a kingdom. In the mean time, our bishopries are a great and weighty care, and, in a spiritual sense, our dominion is founded in grace, and our rule is in the hearts of the people, and our strengths are the powers of the Holy Ghost, and the weapons of our warfare are spiritual; and the eye of God watches over us curiously, to see if we watch over our flocks by day and by night. And though the primitive church, as the ecclesiastic histories observe, when they deposed a bishop from his office, ever concealed his crime, and made no record of it, yet remember this, that God does and will call us to a strict and severe account. Take heed that you may never hear that fearful sentence, "I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat." If you suffer Christ's little ones to starve, it will be required severely at your hands. And know this, that the time will quickly come, in which God shall say unto thee, in the words of the prophet, "Where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock? What wilt thou say when he shall visit thee?" [b]

God, of his mercy, grant unto us all to be so faithful and so wise as to convert souls, and to be so blessed and so assisted, that we may give an account of our charges with joy, to the glory of God, to the edification and security of our flocks, and the salvation of our own souls, in that day when the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls shall come to judgment, even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, love and obedience, now and for evermore. Amen.

SERMON V.

PREACHED AT THE

OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND,

May 8, 1661,

BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS JUSTICES, AND THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND THE COMMONS.

Salus in multitudine consulentium.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS OF IRELAND,

ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ought not to dispute your commands for the printing my Sermon of Obedience, lest my sermon should be "protestatio contra factum." Here I know my example would be the best use to this doctrine; and I am sure to find no inconveniency so great, as that of disobedience; neither can I be confident that I am wise in any thing, but when I obey; for then I have the wisdom of my superior for my warrant or my excuse. I remember the saying of Aurelius the emperor, "Æquius est me tot et talium amicorum

[b] Jer. xiii. 20, 21.

consilium, quam tot tales meam unius voluntatem sequi." I could easily have pretended excuses: but that day I had taught others the contrary, and I would not shed that chalice, which my own hands had newly filled with waters issuing from the fountains of salvation.

My eyes are almost grown old with seeing the horrid mischiefs, which came from rebellion and disobedience; and I would willingly now be blest with observation of peace and righteousness, plenty and religion, which do already, and I hope shall for ever, attend upon obedience to the best king, and the best church, in the world. I see no objection against my hopes, but that which ought least of all, in this case, to be pretended. Men pretend conscience against obedience, expressly against St. Paul's doctrine, teaching us to "obey for conscience sake;" but to disobey for conscience in a thing indifferent, is never to be found in the books of our religion.

It is very hard, when the prince is forced to say to his rebellious subject, as God did to his stubborn people, "Quid faciam tibi?" I have tried all the ways I can to bring thee home, and "what shall I now do unto thee?" The subject should rather say, "Quid me vis facere?" "What wilt thou have me to do?" This question is the best end of disputations. "Corrumpitur atque dissolvitur imperantis officium, si quis ad id quod facere jussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non considerato, respondeat." said one in A. Gellius: "When a subject is commanded to obey, and he disputes, and says, Nay, but the other is better;" he is like a servant that gives his master necessary counsel, when he requires of him a necessary obedience. "Utilius parere edicto quam efferre consilium:" "He had better obey than give counsel;" by how much it is better to be profitable than to be witty, to be full of goodness rather than full of talk and argument.

But all this is acknowledged true in strong men, but not in the weak; in vigorous, but not in tender consciences; for obedience is strong meat, and will not down with weak stomachs: as if, in the world, any thing were easier than to obey: for we see that the food of children is milk and laws; the breast-milk of their nurses, and the commands of their parents, is all that food and government, by which they are kept from harm and hunger, and conducted to life and wisdom. And, therefore, they that are weak brethren, of all things in the world, have the least reason to pretend an excuse for disobedience; for nothing can secure them but the wisdom of the laws; for they are like children in minority—they cannot be trusted to their own conduct: and, therefore, must live at the public charge; and the wisdom of their superiors is their guide and their security. And this was wisely advised by St. Paul: "Him that is weak in the faith, receive, but not to doubtful disputations;" that is not the way for him; children must not dispute with their fathers and their masters. If old men will dispute, let them look to it; that is meat for the strong indeed, though it be not very nutritive; but the laws and the counsels, the exhortations and the doctrines of our spiritual rulers, are the measures, by which God hath appointed babes in Christ to become men, and the weak to become strong; and they that are not to be received to doubtful disputations, are to be received with the arms of love, into the embraces of a certain and regular obedience.

But it would be considered, that "tenderness of conscience" is an equivocal term, and does not always signify in a good sense. For a child is of tender flesh; but he whose foot is out of joint, or hath a bile in his arm, or hath strained a sinew, is much more tender. The tenderness of age is that weakness, that is in the ignorant and the new beginners: the tenderness of a bile,—that is soreness indeed, rather than tenderness,—is of the diseased, the abused, and the mispersuaded. The first, indeed, are to be tenderly dealt with, and have usages accordingly; but that is the same I have already told; you must teach them, you must command them, you must guide them, you must choose for them, you must be their guardians, and they must comport themselves accordingly. But for that tenderness of conscience, which is the disease and soreness of conscience, it must be cured by anodynes and soft usages, unless they prove ineffective, and that the lancet be necessary. But there are amongst us such tender stomachs that cannot endure milk, but can very well digest iron: consciences so tender, that a ceremony is greatly offensive, but rebellion is not: a surplice drives them away, as a bird affrighted with a man of clouts, but their consciences can suffer them to despise government, and speak evil of dignities, and curse all that are not of their opinion, and disturb the peace of kingdoms, and commit sacrilege, and account schism the character of saints. The true tenderness of conscience is, 1. That which is impatient of a sin: 2. It will not endure any thing that looks like it; and, 3. It will not give offence. Now, since all sin is disobedience, 1. It will be rarely contingent that a man, in a christian commonwealth, shall be tied to disobey, to avoid sin; and certain it is, if such a case should happen, yet, 2. Nothing of our present question is so like a sin, as when we refuse to obey the laws. To stand in a clean vestment is not so ill a sight as to see men stand in separation; and to kneel at the communion, is not so like idolatry, as rebellion is to witchcraft. And then, 3. For the matter of "giving offences," what scandal is greater than that which scandalizes the laws? And who is so carefully to be observed, lest he be offended, as the king? And if that which offends the weak brother is to be avoided, much more that which offends the strong: for this is certainly really criminal: but for the other, it is much odds but it is mistaken. And when the case is so put, between the obedient and the disobedient, which shall be offended, and one will,—I suppose there is no question but the laws will take more care of subjects than of rebels, and not weaken them in their duty, in compliance with those that hate the laws, and will not endure the government.

And after all this in the conduct of government, what remedy can there be to those, that call themselves "tender consciences?" I shall not need to say, that every man can easily pretend it: for we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid, worse than which the sun never saw, yet pretend tender consciences against ecclesiastical laws. But I will suppose that they are really such; that they, in the simplicity of their hearts, follow Absalom, and in weakness hide their heads in little conventicles, and places of separation, for a trifle; what would they have done for themselves.

If you make a law of order, and, in the sanction, put a clause of favour for tender consciences, do not you invite every subject to disobedience by impunity, and teach him how to make his own excuse? Is not such a law a law without an obligation? May not every man choose whether he will obey or no? and if he pretends to disobey out of conscience, is not he that disobeys equally innocent with the obedient: altogether as just, as not having done any thing without leave; and yet much more religious and conscientious? "Quicunque vult," is but an ill preface to a law: and it is a strange obligation, that makes no difference between him that obeys and him that refuses to obey.

But what course must be taken with "tender consciences?" Shall the execution of the law be suspended as to all such persons? That will be all one with the former: for if the execution be commanded to be suspended, then the obligation of the law by command is taken away, and then it were better there were no law made. And indeed that is the pretension, that is the secret of the business; they suppose the best way to prevent disobedience is to take away all laws. It is a short way indeed; there shall then be no disobedience; but, at the same time, there shall be no government: but the remedy is worse than the disease; and to take away all wine and strong drink, to prevent drunkenness, would not be half so great a folly.

I cannot, therefore, tell what to advise in this particular, but that every spiritual guide should consider who are tender consciences, and who are weak brethren, and use all the ways of piety and prudence to instruct and to inform them, that they may increase in knowledge and spiritual understanding. But they that will be always learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth; they that will be children of a hundred years old, and never come to years of discretion: they are very unfit to guide others, and to be curates of souls: but they are most unfit to reprove the laws, and speak against the wisdom of a nation, when it is confessed that they are so weak that they understand not the fundamental liberty which Christ hath purchased for them, but are servants to a scruple, and affrighted at a circumstance, and in bondage under an indifferent thing, and so much idolaters of their sect or opinion, as to prefer it before all their own nobler interests, and the charity of their brother, and the peace of a whole church and nation.

To you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I hope I may say, as Marcus Curius said to a stubborn young man, "Non opus vos habere cive, qui parere nesciret;" "The kingdom hath no need of those, that know not how to obey."* But as for them who have weak and tender consciences, they are in the state of childhood and minority: but then you know that a child is never happy by having his own humour; if you choose for him, and make him to use it, he hath but one thing to do; but if you put him to please himself, he is troubled with every thing, and satisfied with nothing. We find that all christian churches kept this rule: they kept themselves and others close to the rule of faith, and peaceably suffered one another to differ in ceremonies, but suffered no difference amongst their own; they gave liberty to other churches, and gave laws, and no liberty, to their own subjects: and at this day, the churches of Geneva, France, Switzerland, Germany, Low Countries, tie all their people to their own laws, but tie up no man's conscience: if he be not persuaded as they are, let him charitably dissent, and leave that government, and adhere to his own communion: if you be not of their mind, they will be served by them that are; they will not trouble your conscience, and you shall not disturb their government. But when men think they cannot enjoy their conscience unless you give them good livings, and if you prefer them not, you afflict their consciences: they do but too evidently declare, that it is not their consciences, but their profits, they would have secured. Now to these I have only this to say, that their conscience is to be enjoyed by the measures of God's word, but the rule for their estates is the laws of the kingdom; and "I show you yet a more excellent way:" obedience is the best security for both, because this is the best conservatory of charity, and truth, and peace. "Si vis brevi perfectus esse, esto obediens etiam in minimis," was the saying of a saint; and the world uses to look for miracles from them whom they shall esteem saints; but "I had rather see a man truly humble and obedient, than to see him raise a man from the dead," said old Pachomius.

But to conclude: If weak brethren shall still plead for toleration and compliance, I hope my Lords the bishops will consider where it can do good, and do no harm; where they are permitted, and where themselves are bound up by the laws; and in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour to bring them ease and to give them remedy: but to think of removing the disease by feeding the humour, I confess it is a strange cure to our present distempers. He that took clay and spittle to open the blind eyes, can make any thing be collyrium; but he alone can do it. But whether any human power can bring good from so unlikely an instrument, if any man desires yet to be better informed, I desire him, besides the calling to mind the late sad effects of schism, to remember that no church in christendom ever did it. It is neither the way of peace nor government, nor yet a proper remedy for the cure of a weak conscience.

* Val. Max.

I shall, therefore, pray to God, that these men who separate in simplicity, may, by God's mercy, be brought to understand their own liberty, and that they may not, for ever, be babes and neophytes, and wax old in trifles, and for ever stay at the entrances and outsides of religion; but that they would pass in "interiora domûs," and seek after peace and righteousness, holiness and justice, the love of God and evangelical perfections; and then they will understand how ill-advised they are, who think religion consists in zeal against ceremonies, and speaking evil of the laws.

My Lords and Gentlemen, what I said in pursuance of public peace and private duty, and some little incidences to both, I now humbly present to you, more to show my own obedience than to remind you of your duty, which, hitherto, you have so well observed in your amicable and sweet concord of counsels and affections, during this present session. I owe many thanks to you, who heard me patiently, willingly, and kindly; I endeavoured to please God, and I find I did not displease you: but he is the best hearer of a sermon, who first loves the doctrine, and then practises it; and that you have hitherto done, very piously and very prosperously. I pray God continue to direct your counsels, so that you, in all things, may please him, and in all things be blessed by him, that all generations may call you blessed instruments of a lasting peace, the restorers of the old paths, the patrons of the church, friends of religion, and subjects fitted for your prince, who is just up to the greatest example, and merciful beyond all examples; a prince who hath been nourished, and preserved, and restored, and blessed, by miracles; a prince whose virtues and fortunes are equally the greatest.

SERMON.

Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.—1 Sam. xv. latter part of verse 22.

For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.—First part of verse 23.

In the world, nothing is more easy than to say our prayers, and to obey our superiors; and yet in the world there is nothing to which we are so unwilling as to prayer, and nothing seems so intolerable as obedience; for men esteem all laws to be fetters, and their superiors are their enemies: and when a command is given, we turn into all shapes of excuse, to escape from the imposition: for either the authority is incompetent, or the law itself is "statutum non bonum;" or it is impossible to be kept, or at least very inconvenient, and we are to be relieved in equity; or there is a secret dispensation, and it does not bind in my particular case, or not now; or it is but the law of a man, and was made for a certain end; or it does not bind the conscience, but it was only for political regards; or, if the worst happen, I will obey passively, and then I am innocent. Thus every man snuffs up the wind like "the wild asses in the wilderness," and thinks that authority is an encroachment upon a man's birthright; and in the mean time never considers, that Christ took upon him our nature, that he might learn us obedience, and in that also make us become like unto God. In his justice and his mercy he was inimitable before; but before the incarnation of Christ we could not, in passive graces, imitate God, who was impassible: but he was pleased, at a great rate, to set forward this duty; and when himself became obedient in the hardest point, "obediens usque ad mortem," and is now become to us "the Author and Finisher of our obedience," as well as of our faith,—"admonetur omnis ætas fieri posse quod aliquando factum est." We must needs confess it very possible to obey the severest of the Divine laws, even to die if God commands, because it was already done by a man; and we must needs confess it excellent, because it was done by God himself.

But this great example is of universal influence in the whole matter of obedience: for, that I may speak of that part of this duty, which can be useful, and concerns us; men do not deny but they must obey in all civil things; but in religion they have a supreme God only, and conscience is his interpreter; and, in effect, every man must be the judge, whether he shall obey or no. Therefore it is that I say, the example of our Lord is the great determination of this inquiry; for he did obey and suffer, according to the commands of his superiors, under whose government he was placed; he "gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to the nippers;" he kept the orders of the rulers, and the customs of the synagogues, the law of Moses and the rites of the temple; and by so doing "he fulfilled all righteousness." Christ made no distinctions in his obedience; but obeyed God "in all things," and those that God set over him, "in all things according to God," and in things of religion most of all; because to obey was of itself a great instance of religion; and if ever religion comes to be pretended against obedience, in any thing where our superior can command, it is imposture: for that is the purpose of my text, "obedience is better than sacrifice." Our own judgment, our own opinion, is the sacrifice seldom fit to be offered to God, but most commonly deserving to be consumed by fire: but, take it at the best, it is not half so good as obedience; for that was indeed Christ's sacrifice: and, as David said of Goliah's sword, "Non est alter talis," there is no other sacrifice that can be half so good: and when Abraham had lifted up his sacrificing knife to slay his son, and so expressed his

obedience, God would have no more; he had the obedience, and he cared not for the sacrifice.

By sacrifice here, then, is meant the external and contingent actions of religion; by obedience, is meant submission to authority, and observing the command. Obedience is a not choosing our duty, a not disputing with our betters, not to argue, not to delay, not to murmur; it is not only this, but it is much better; for it is love,—and simplicity,—and humility,—and usefulness; and I think these do reductively contain all that is excellent in the whole conjugation of christian graces.

My text is a perfect proposition, and hath no special remark in the words of it; but is only a great representation of the most useful truth to all kingdoms and parliaments, and councils and authorities, in the whole world: it is your charter, and the sanction of your authority, and the stabiliment of your peace, and the honour of your laws, and the great defence of your religion, and the building up and the guarding of the king's throne. It is that by which all the societies in heaven and earth are firm: without this you cannot have a village prosperous, or a ship arrive in harbour: it is that which God hath bound upon us by hope and fear, by wrath and conscience, by duty and necessity. Obedience is the formality of all virtues, and every sin is disobedience: there can no greater thing be said, unless you please to add, that we never read that the earth opened and swallowed up any man alive but a company of rebellious, disobedient people, who rose up against Moses and Aaron, the prince of the people, and the priest of God. For obedience is the most necessary thing in the world, and "corruptio optimi est pessima:" disobedience is the greatest evil in the world, and that alone which can destroy it.[a]

My text is instanced in the matter of obedience to God; but yet the case is so, that though I shall, in the first place, discourse of our obedience to man, I shall not set one foot aside from the main intention of it; because obedience to our superiors is really, and is accounted to be, obedience to God; for they are sent by God; they are his vicegerents, his ministers, and his ambassadors. "Apostolus cujusque est quisque," say the Jews; "Every man's apostle is himself;" and "he that heareth or despiseth you," said Christ, "heareth or despiseth me:" and the reason is very evident,—because it is not to be expected that God should speak to us by himself, but sometimes by angels, sometimes by prophets, once by his Son, and always by his servants.

Now I desire two things to be observed:—

First: We may as well perceive that God speaks to us, when he uses the ministry of men, as when he uses the ministry of angels: one is as much declared and as certain as the other. And if it be said, a man may pretend to come from God, and yet deliver nothing but his own errand, that is no strange thing: but remember also that St. Paul puts this supposition in the case of an angel, "If an angel preach any other gospel;" and we know that many angels come like angels of light, who yet teach nothing but the ways of darkness. So that we are still as much bound to obey our superior as to obey an angel: a man is "paulò minor angelis," "a little lower than the angels;" but we are much lower than the king. Consider, then, with what fear and love we should receive an angel; and so let us receive all those whom God hath sent to us, and set over us; for they are no less; less, indeed, in their persons, but not in their authorities. Nay, the case is nearer yet; for we are not only bound to receive God's deputies as God's angels, but as God himself: for it is the power of God in the hand of a man, and "he that resists, resists God's ordinance." And I pray remember, that there is not only no power greater than God's, but there is no other; for all power is his. The consequent of this is plain enough; I need say no more of it: it is all one to us who commands, God, or God's vicegerent. This was the first thing to be observed.

Secondly: There can be but two things in the world required to make obedience necessary; the greatness of the authority, and the worthiness of the thing. In the first you see the case can have no difference, because the thing itself is but one: there is but one authority in the world, and that is God's; as there is but one sun, whose light is diffused into all kingdoms. But is there not great difference in the thing commanded? Yes, certainly there is some; but nothing to warrant disobedience: for, whatever the thing be, it may be commanded by man, if it be not countermanded by God. For,

1. It is not required that every thing commanded should of itself be necessary;—for God himself oftentimes commands things, which have in them no other excellency than that of obedience. What made Abraham "the friend of God?" and what made his offer to kill his son to be so pleasing to God? It had been naturally no very great good to cut the throat of a little child; but only that it was obedience. What excellency was there in the journeys of the patriarchs from Mesopotamia to Syria, from the land of Canaan into Egypt? and what thanks could the sons of Israel deserve, that they sat still upon the seventh day of the week? and how can a man be dearer unto God by keeping of a feast, or building of a booth, or going to Jerusalem, or cutting off the foreskin of a boy, or washing their hands and garments in fair water? There was nothing in these things but the obedience. And when our blessed Lord himself came to his servant, to take of him the baptism of repentance, alas! he could take nothing but the water and the ceremony; for, as Tertullian observes, he was "nullius pœnitentiæ debitor;" he was, indeed, "a just person, and needed no repentance;" but even so it "became him to fulfil all righteousness:" but yet even then it was that the Holy Spirit did descend upon his holy head, and crowned that obedience, though it were but a ceremony. Obedience, you see, may be necessary, when the law is not so: for in these cases, God's Son and God's servants did obey in things, which were made good only by the com-

[a] Nullum malum majus aut infeliciter feracius quam inobedientia.—SENECA.

mandment: and if we do so in the instances of human laws, there is nothing to be said against it, but that what was not of itself necessary, is made so by the authority of the commander, and the force of the commandment: but there is no more in it than so. For,

2. We pretend to be willing to obey, even in things naturally not necessary, if a Divine command does interpose; but if it be only a commandment of man, and the thing be not necessary of itself, then we desire to be excused. But will we do nothing else? We ourselves will do many things that God hath not commanded; and may not our superiors command us, in many cases, to do what we may lawfully do without a commandment? Can we become a law unto ourselves, and cannot the word and power of our superiors also become a law unto us? hath God given more to a private than to a public hand? But consider the ill consequents of this fond opinion. Are all the practices of Geneva or Scotland recorded in the word of God? are the trifling ceremonies of their public penance recorded in the four Gospels? are all the rules of decency, and all "things that are of good report," and all the measures of prudence, and the laws of peace and war, and the customs of the churches of God, and the lines of public honesty, are all these described to us by the laws of God? If they be, let us see and read them, that we may have an end to all questions and minute cases of conscience: but if they be not, and yet by the word of God these are bound upon us in general, and no otherwise; then it follows, that the particulars of all these, which may be infinite, and are innumerable, yet may be the matter of human laws; and then are bound upon us by the power of God, put into the hands of man. The consequent is this, that whatsoever is commanded by our superiors, according to the will of God, or whatsoever is not against it, is, of necessity, to be obeyed.

3. But what if our princes or our prelates command things against the word of God? What then? Why nothing then, but that we must obey God, and not man; there is no dispute of that. But what then again? Why, therefore, says the papist, "I will not obey the protestant kings, because, against the word of God, they command me to come to church, where heresy is preached;"—"and I will not acknowledge the bishops," saith the presbyterian, "because they are against the discipline and sceptre of Jesus Christ;" and the independent hates parochial meetings, and is wholly for a gathered church, and supposes this to be the practice apostolical; and "I will not bring my child to baptism," saith the anabaptist, "because God calls none but believers to that sacrament;" and "I will acknowledge no clergy, no lord, no master," saith the quaker, "because Christ commands us to "call no man master on the earth, and be not called of men rabbi." And if you call upon these men to obey the authority God hath set over them, they tell you with one voice, with all their hearts, as far as the word of God will give them leave; but God is to be obeyed, and not man; and, therefore, if you put the laws in execution against them, they will obey you passively, because you are stronger; and so long as they know it, they will not stir against you; but they, in the mean time, are little less than martyrs, and you no better than persecutors.

What shall we do now? for here is evidently a great heap of disorder: they all confess that authority must be obeyed, but when you come to the trial, none of them all will do it, and they think they are not bound: but because their opinions, being contrary, cannot all be right, and, it may be, none of them are,—it is certain, that all this while authority is infinitely wronged and prejudiced amongst them, when all fantastic opinions shall be accounted a sufficient reason to despise it. I hope the presbyterian will join with the protestant, and say, that the papist, and the Socinian, and the independent, and the anabaptist, and the quaker, are guilty of rebellion and disobedience, for all their pretence of the word of God to be on their side: and I am more sure that all these will join with the protestant, and say, that the presbyterian hath no reason to disobey authority upon pretence of their new government, concerning which they do but dream dreams, when they think they see visions. Certain it is that the biggest part of dissenters in the whole world are criminally disobedient; and it is a thousand to one but that authority is in the right against them, and ought to be obeyed. It remains now, in the next place, that we inquire what authority is to do in this case, and what these sectaries and recusants are to do; for these are two things worth inquiry.

1. Concerning authority. All disagreeing persons, to cover their foul shame of rebellion or disobedience, pretend conscience for their judge, and the Scripture for their law. Now if these men think, that, by this means, they proceed safely, upon the same ground the superior may do what he thinks to be his duty, and be at least as safe as they. If the rebellious subject can think, that, by God's law, he ought not to obey, the prince may, at the same time, think, that, by God's law, he ought to punish him: and it is as certain that he is justly punished, as he thinks it certain he reasonably disobeys. Or is the conscience of the superior bound to relax his laws, if the inferior tells him so? Can the prince give laws to the people's will, and can the people give measures to the prince's understanding? If any one of the people can prescribe or make it necessary to change the law, then every one can; and by this time every new opinion will introduce a new law, and that law shall be obeyed by him only that hath a mind to it, and that will be a strange law, that binds a man only to do his own pleasure. But because the king's conscience is to him as sure a rule, as the conscience of any disobedient subject can be to himself, the prince is as much bound to do his duty in government, as the other can be to follow his conscience in disagreeing; and the consequent will be, that whether the subject be right or wrong in the disputation, it is certain he hath the just reward of disobedience in the conclusion. If one man's conscience can be the measure of another man's action, why shall not the

prince's conscience be the subject's measure? But if it cannot, then the prince is not to depart from his own conscience, but proceed according to the laws which he judges just and reasonable.

2. The superior is tied, by the laws of christian charity, so far to bend in the ministration of his laws, as to pity the invincible ignorance and weakness of his abused people, "qui devoratur à malis pastoribus," as St. Jerome's expression is, "that are devoured by their evil shepherds;" but this is to last no longer than till the ignorance can be cured, and the man be taught his duty; for whatsoever comes after this, looks so like obstinacy, that no laws in the world judge it to be any thing else. And then, secondly, this also is to be understood to be the duty of superiors only in matters of mere opinion, not relating to practice. For no man's opinion must be suffered to do mischief, to disturb the peace, to dishonour the government; not only because every disagreeing person can, to serve his end, pretend his conscience, and so claim impunity for his villany; but also because those things, which concern the good of mankind and the peace of kingdoms, are so plainly taught, that no man who thinks himself so wise as to be fit to oppose authority, can be so foolish as in these things not to know his duty. In other things, if the opinion does neither bite nor scratch, if it dwells at home in the house of understanding, and wanders not in the outhouses of passion and popular orations, the superior imposes no laws, and exacts no obedience, and destroys no liberty, and gives no restraint: this is the part of authority.

2. The next inquiry is, What must the disagreeing subject do, when he supposes the superior's command is against the law of God? I answer, that if he thinks so, and thinks true, he must not obey his superior in that: but because most men that think so, think amiss,—there are many particulars fit, by such persons, to be considered.

1. Let such men think charitably of others, and that all are not fools or madmen, who are not of the same opinion with themselves or their own little party. 2. Let him think himself as fallible and subject to mistake as other men are. 3. But let him by no means think, that every opinion of his is an inspiration from God; for that is the pride and madness of a pretended religion: such a man is to be cured by physic; for he could not enter into that persuasion by reason or experience, and therefore it must enter into him by folly or the anger of God. 4. From whence it will naturally follow, that he ought to think his opinion to be uncertain, and that he ought not to behave himself like the man that is too confident; but because his obedience is duty, and his duty certain, he will find it more wise, and safe, and holy, to leave that which is disputable, and pursue that which is demonstrable; to change his uncertain opinion for his certain duty: for it is twenty to one but he is deceived in his opinion; but if he be, it is certain that whatsoever his conscience be, yet, in his separation from authority, he is a sinner.

2. Every man who, by his opinion, is engaged against authority, should do well to study his doubtful opinion less, and humility and obedience more. But you say, that this concerns not me; for my disagreeing is not in a doubtful matter, but I am sure I am in the right; there are no *ifs* and *ands* in my case. Well, it may be so: but were it not better that you did doubt? "A wise man feareth," saith Solomon, "and departeth from evil; but a fool rageth and is confident:" and the difference between a learned man and a novice is this, that the young fellow crieth out, "I am sure it is so;" the better learned answers, ἴσως καὶ τὸ τάχα, "Possibly it may, and peradventure it is so, but I pray inquire:" and he is the best diviner, μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς, "he is the best judge that conjectures best," not he that is most confident; for, as Xenophanes said wisely, "Man does but conjecture, but God only knows;" and it is no disparagement to a wise man to learn, and,—by suspecting the fallibility of things, and his own aptness to mistake,—to walk prudently and safely, with an eye to God, and an ear open to his superior. Some men are drunk with fancy, and mad with opinion. Who believe more strongly than boys and women? who are so hard to be persuaded as fools? and who so readily suspect their teachers as they who are governed by chance, and know not the intrinsic measures of good and evil? "Qui pauca considerat, de facili pronunciat;" "it is a little learning, and not enough, that makes men conclude hastily," and clap fast hold on the conclusion, before they have well weighed the premises; but experience and humility would teach us modesty and fear.

3. In all disputes, he that obeys his superior can never be a heretic in the estimate of law, and he can never be a schismatic in the point of conscience; so that he certainly avoids one great death, and very probably the other. "Res judicata pro veritate accipitur," saith the law: "If the judge have given sentence, that sentence is supposed a truth:" and Cassiodorus said, according to the sentence of the law, "Nimis iniquum est, ut ille patiatur dispendium, qui imperium fecit alienum." Our obedience secures us from the imputation of evil, and error does but seldom go in company with obedience. But, however, there is this advantage to be gotten by obedience; that he who prefers the sentence of the law before his own opinion, does do an act of great humility, and exercises the grace of modesty, and takes the best way to secure his conscience and the public peace, and pleases the government which he is bound to please, and pursues the excellencies of unity, and promotes charity and godly love; whereas on the other side, he that goes by himself, apart from his superior, is always materially a schismatic, and is more likely to be deceived by his own singularity, and prejudice, and weakness, than by following the guides God hath set over him. And if he loses truth, certainly he will get nothing else: for by so doing we lose our peace too, and give public offence, and arm authority against us, and are scandalous in law, and pull evil upon our heads; and all this for a proud singularity, or a trifling opinion, in which we are not so likely to be

deceived, if we trust ourselves less, and the public more. "In omnibus falli possum, in obedientiâ non possum," said St. Teresa; "I can in every thing else, but in obedience I can never be deceived." And it is very remarkable in my text, that "rebellion" or "disobedience" is compared to "the sin of witchcraft." Indeed, it seems strange; for the meaning of it is not only that a rebel is as much hated by God as a witch, but it means that the sins are alike in their very natures. "Quasi peccatum divinationis," saith the Vulgar Latin; they that disobey authority, trusting in their own opinions, are but like witches or diviners; that is, they are led by an evil spirit; pride and a lying and deceiving spirit is their teacher, and their answers are seldom true; for though they pretend the truth of God for their disobedience, yet they "fall into the deception of the devil;" and that is the end of their soothsaying. And let me add this, that when a man distrusts his superior, and trusts himself, if he misses truth, it will be greatly imputed to him; he shall feel the evil of his error and the shame of his pride, the reproach of his folly and the punishment of his disobedience, the dishonour of singularity, and the restlessness of schism, and the scorn of the multitude. But, on the other side, if he obey authority, and yet be deceived, he is greatly excused; he erred on the safer side, he is defended by the hands of many virtues, and gets peace and love of the congregation.

You see the blessings of obedience, even in the questions and matters of religion; but I have something more to say, and it is not only of great use to appease the tumultuary disputations and arguings of religion, which have lately disturbed these nations, but is proper to be spoken to, and to be reduced to practice, by this honourable and high court of parliament.

That which I am to say, is this:—You have no other way of peace, no better way to appease and quiet the quarrels in religion which have been too long among us, but by reducing all men to obedience, and all questions to the measures of the laws; for they on both sides pretend Scripture, but one side only can pretend to the laws; and they that do admit no authority above their own to expound Scripture, cannot deny but kings and parliaments are the makers and proper expounders of our laws; and if ever you mean to have "truth and peace kiss each other," let no man dispute against your laws. For did not our blessed Saviour say, that an oath is the end of all questions, and, after depositions are taken, all judges go to sentence? What oaths are to private questions, that laws are to public. And if it be said that laws may be mistaken, it is true; but may not an oath also be a perjury? and yet, because, in human affairs, we have no greater certainty, and greater than God gives we may not look for,—let the laws be the last determination; and, in wise and religious governments, no disputation is to go beyond them.

2. But this is not only true in religious prudence and plain necessity, but this is the way that God hath appointed, and that he hath blessed, and that he hath intended to be the means of ending all questions. This we learn from St. Paul,[b] "I exhort that first of all, prayers, and supplications, and intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority." *For all;* for parliaments and for councils, for bishops and for magistrates; it is *for all*, and *for kings above all.* Well; to what purpose is all this? "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty." Mark that: "kings and all that are in authority," are by God appointed to be the means of obtaining unity and peace in godliness, ἐν εὐσεβείαις, "in all the true and godly worshippings" of God; no unity in religion without kings and bishops, and those that are in authority.

3. And, indeed, because this is God's way of ending our controversies, the matter of authority is highly to be regarded. If you suffer the authority of the king to be lessened, to be scrupled, to be denied in ecclesiastical affairs, you have no way left to silence the tongues and hands of gainsaying people. But so it is; the king's authority is appointed and enabled by God to end our questions of religion: "Divinatio in labiis regis" (saith Solomon[c]) "in judicio non errabit os ejus:" "Divination and a wise sentence is in the lips of the king, and his mouth shall not err in judgment." In all Scripture there is not so much for the pope's infallibility, but by this, it appears there is divinity in the king's sentence; for God gives to kings, who are his vicegerents, a peculiar spirit. And when Justinian had, out of the sense of Julian the lawyer, observed that there were many cases, for which law made no provision, he adds: "If any such shall happen,"[d] "Augustum imploretur remedium," "run to the king for remedy;" for therefore God hath set the imperial fortune over human affairs, "ut possit omnia quæ noviter contingunt, et emendare et componere, et modis ac regulis competentibus tradere," "that the king may amend and rule and compose every new arising question." And it is not to be despised, but is a great indication of this truth, that the answers of the Roman princes and judges recorded in the civil law are such, that all nations of the world do approve them, and are a great testimony how the sentences of kings ought to be valued, even in matters of religion, and questions of greatest doubt. "Bona conscientia scyphus est Josephi," said the old abbot of Kells;[e] "A good conscience is like Joseph's cup," in which our lord the king divines. And since God hath blessed us with so good, so just, so religious, and so wise a prince, let the sentence of his laws be our last resort, and no questions be permitted after his judgment and legal determination; for wisdom saith, "By me princes rule, by me they decree justice:" and therefore the spirit of the king is a divine eminency, and is as the spirit of the most high God.

4. Let no man be too busy in disputing the laws of his superiors; for a man by that seldom gets

[b] 1 Tim. ii. 1.
[c] Prov. xvi. 10.
[d] Lib. viii. cod. de Veteri Jure enucleando.
[e] Petrus Cellensis, lib. de Conscientiâ.

good to himself, but seldom misses to do mischief unto others: Μὴ ἔριζε γονεῦσι κἂν δίκαια λέγῃς, said one in Laertius. Will a son contend with his father? that is not decent, though the son speak that which is right; he may, possibly, say well enough, but he does do very ill; not only because he does not pay his duty and reverential fear, but because it is in itself very often unreasonable to dispute concerning the command of our superior, whether it be good or no; for the very commandment can make it not only good, but a necessary good. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay on you no greater burden than these necessary things," said the council of Jerusalem; and yet these things were not necessary, but as they were commanded: to abstain from a strangled hen or a bloody pudding, could not of themselves be necessary; but the commandment came, authority did interpose, and then they were made so.

5. But then besides the advantages, both of the spirit and the authority of kings, in matter of question, the laws and decrees of a national church ought, upon the account of their own advantages, to be esteemed as a final sentence in all things disputed. The thing is a plain command: "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God."[f] This tells what rulers he means; rulers ecclesiastical; and what of them? "whose faith follow," they must "præire in articulis;" they are not masters of your faith, but guides of it; and "they that sit in Moses's chair" must be heard and obeyed, said our blessed Saviour. These words were not said for nothing; and they were nothing, if their authority were nothing.

For between the laws of a church and the opinion of a subject, the comparison is the same as between a public spirit and a private. The public is far the better; the daughter of God, and the mother of a blessing, and always dwells in light. The public spirit hath already passed the trial, it hath been "subjected to the prophets," tried and searched and approved: the private is yet to be examined. The public spirit is uniform and apt to be followed; the private is various and multiform as chance, and no man can follow him that hath it; for if he follows one, he is reproved by a thousand; and if he changes, he may get a shame but no truth; and he can never rest but in the arms and conduct of his superior. When Aaron and Miriam murmured against Moses, God told them they were prophets of an inferior rank than Moses was. God communicated himself to them in dreams and visions; but the ruach hakkodesh, רוח הקודש "the public spirit" of Moses their prince, that was higher: and what then? "Wherefore, then," (God said,[g]) "were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" plainly teaching us, that where there is a more excellent spirit, they that have a spirit less excellent, ought to be afraid to speak against it. And this is the full case of the private and public spirit; that is, of a subject speaking against the spirit and the laws of the church. In heaven, and in the air, and in all the regions of spirits, the spirit of a lower order dares not speak against the spirit of a higher; and, therefore, for a private spirit to oppose the public, is a disorder greater than is in hell itself.

To conclude this point: let us consider whether it were not an intolerable mischief, if the judges should give sentence in causes of instance by the measures of their own fancy, and not by the laws; who would endure them? and yet why may they not do that as well as any ecclesiastic person preach religion, not which the laws allow, but what is taught him by his own private opinion? but he that hath the laws on his side, hath ever something of true religion to warrant him, and can never want a great measure of justification: νόμος καὶ χώρα, "the laws and the customs of the country," are the results of wise counsels or long experience; they ever comply with peace and public benefit; and nothing of this can be said of private religions; for they break the peace, and trouble the conscience, and undo government, and despise the laws, and offend princes, and dishonour the wisdom of parliaments, and destroy obedience.

Well; but in the last place: but if we cannot do what the laws command, we will suffer what they impose; and then all is well again. But, first, who ever did so that could help it? And, secondly, this talking of passive obedience is but a mockery; for what man did ever say the laws were not good, but he also said the punishment was unjust? And, thirdly, which of all the recusants did not endeavour to get ground upon the laws, and secretly or openly asperse the authority that put him to pain for doing that which he calls his duty? and can any man boast of his passive obedience that calls it persecution? He may think to please himself, but he neither does nor says any thing that is for the reputation of the laws: such men are like them that sail in a storm; they may possibly be thrown into a harbour, but they are very sick all the way.

But after all this, I have one thing to observe to such persons, that such a passive obedience as this does not acquit a man before God; and he that suffers what the law inflicts, is not discharged in the court of conscience, but there is still a sinner and a debtor: for "the law is not made for the righteous, but for sinners;" that is, the punishment appointed by the law falls on him only that hath sinned; but an offending subject cannot, "with the fruit of his body, pay for the sin of his soul:" when he does evil, he must suffer evil; but if he does not repent besides, a worse thing will happen to him; for we are not tied to obey only for wrath, but also for conscience. Passive obedience is only the correspondent of wrath, but it is the active obedience that is required by conscience: and whatever the subject suffers for his own fault, it matters nothing as to his duty; but this also God will exact at the hands of every man, that is placed under authority.

I have now told you the sum of what I had to say concerning obedience to laws and to your own government; and it will be to little purpose to make

[f] Heb. xiii. 7.

[g] Num. xii. 6, 7, 8.

laws in matter of religion, or in any thing else, if the end of it be, that every man shall choose whether he will obey or no: and if it be questioned whether you be deceived or no, though the suffering such a question is a great diminution to your authority, yet it is infinitely more probable that you are in the right than that the disobedient subject is; because you are conducted with a public spirit, you have a special title and peculiar portions of the promise of God's assistance,—you have all the helps of counsel and the advantages of deliberation,—you have the Scriptures and the laws,—you are as much concerned to judge according to truth as any man,—you have the principal of all capacities and states of men to assist your consultations,—you are the most concerned for peace,—and to please God also is your biggest interest: and, therefore, it cannot be denied to be the most reasonable thing in the world which is set down in the law, "Præsumptio est pro auctoritate imponentis," the presumption of truth ought to be on your side; and since this is the most likely way for truth, and the most certain way for peace, you are to insist in this, and it is not possible to find a better.

I have another part or sense of my text yet to handle; but because I have no more time of my own, and I will not take any of yours, I shall only do it in a short exhortation to this honourable auditory, and so conclude.

God hath put a royal mantle, and fastened it with a golden clasp upon the shoulder of the king, and he hath given you the judge's robe; the king holds the sceptre, and he hath now permitted you to touch the golden ball, and to take it awhile into your handling, and make obedience to your laws to be duty and religion: but then remember that the first in every kind is to be the measure of the rest; you cannot reasonably expect that the subjects should obey you, unless you obey God. I do not speak this only in relation to your personal duty; though in that also it would be considered, that all the bishops and ministers of religion are bound to teach the same doctrines by their lives as they do by their sermons; and what we are to do in the matters of doctrine, you are also to do in matter of laws; what is reasonable for the advantages of religion, is also the best method for the advantages of government; we must preach by our good example, and you must govern by it; and your good example in observing the laws of religion, will strangely endear them to the affections of the people. But I shall rather speak to you as you are in a capacity of union and government; for as now you have a new power, so there is incumbent upon you a special duty.

1. Take care that all your power and your counsels be employed in doing honour and advantages to piety and holiness. Then you obey God in your public capacity, when by holy laws, and wise administrations, you take care that all the land be an obedient and a religious people. For then you are princely rulers indeed, when you take care of the salvation of a whole nation. "Nihil aliud est imperium nisi cura salutis alienæ," said Ammianus; "Government is nothing but a care that all men be saved." And, therefore, take care that men do not destroy their souls by the abominations of an evil life: see that God be obeyed; take care that the breach of the laws of God may not be unpunished. The best way to make men to be good subjects to the king, is to make them good servants of God. Suffer not drunkenness to pass with impunity; let lust find a public shame; let the sons of the nobility and gentry no more dare to dishonour God, than the meanest of the people shall; let baseness be basely esteemed; that is, put such characters of shame upon dishonourable crimes, that it be esteemed more against the honour of a gentleman to be drunk than to be kicked, more shame to fornicate than to be caned: and for honour's sake, and the reputation of christianity, take some course, that the most unworthy sins of the world have not reputation added to them, by being the practice of gentlemen and persons of good birth and fortunes. Let not them who should be examples of holiness, have an impunity and a license to provoke God to anger; lest it be said, that in Ireland it is not lawful for any man to sin, unless he be a person of quality. "Optimus est reipublicæ status, ubi nihil deest nisi licentia pereundi:" "In a commonwealth, that is the best state of things where every thing can be had but a leave to sin, a license to be undone." [h]

2. As God is thus to be obeyed, and you are to take care that he be, so God also must be honoured, by paying that reverence and religious obedience which is due to those persons, whom he hath been pleased to honour, by admitting them to the dispensation of his blessings, and the ministries of your religion. For certain it is, this is a right way of giving honour and obedience to God. The church is, in some very peculiar manner, the "portion," and the "called," the "care" of God; and it will concern you, in pursuance of your obedience to God, to take care that they, in whose hands religion is to be ministered and conducted, be not discouraged. For what your judges are to the ministry of laws, that your bishops are in the ministries of religion; and it concerns you that the hands of neither of them be made weak: and so long as you make religion your care, and holiness your measure, you will not think that authority is the more to be despised, because it is in the hands of the church; or that it is a sin to "speak evil of dignities," unless they be ecclesiastical; but that they may be reviled, and that though nothing is baser than for a man to be a thief, yet sacrilege is no dishonour; and indeed, to be an oppressor is a great and crying sin, yet to oppress the church, to diminish her rents, to make her beggarly and contemptible, that is no offence; and that though it is not lawful "to despise government," yet if it be church-government, that then the case is altered. Take heed of that; for then God is dishonoured, when any thing is the more despised by how much it relates nearer unto God. No religion ever did despise their chiefest ministers; and the christian religion gives them the greatest honour. For honourable priesthood is like a shower from heaven, it

[h] Seneca.

causes blessings every where: but a pitiful, a disheartened, a discouraged clergy, waters the ground with a water-pot, here and there a little good, and for a little while. But every evil man can destroy all that work, whenever he pleases. Take heed; in the world there is not a greater misery can happen to any man, than to be an enemy to God's church. All histories of christendom and the whole book of God have sad records, and sad threatenings, and sad stories of Korah, and Doeg, and Balaam, and Jeroboam, and Uzzah, and Ananias, and Sapphira, and Julian, and of heretics and schismatics, and sacrilegious; and after all, these men could not prevail finally, but paid for the mischief they did, and ended their days in dishonour, and left nothing behind them but the memory of their sin, and the record of their curse.

3. In the same proportion, you are to take care of all inferior relatives of God and of religion. Find out methods to relieve the poor, to accommodate and well dispose of the cures of souls; let not the churches lie waste and in ruinous heaps, to the diminution of religion, and the reproach of the nation, lest the nations abroad say, that the Britons are a kind of christians that have no churches; for churches, and courts of judicature, and the public defences of an imperial city, are "res sacræ;" they are venerable in law, and honourable in religion.

But that which concerns us most is, that we all keep close to our religion. "Ad magnas reipublicæ utilitates retinetur religio in civitatibus," said Cicero; by religion, and the strict preserving of it, ye shall best preserve the interests of the nation: and according to the precept of the apostle, "Mark them which cause divisions amongst you, contrary to the doctrine that ye have received, and avoid them."[i] For I beseech you to consider, all you that are true protestants; do you not think that your religion is holy, and apostolical, and taught by Christ, and pleasing unto God? If you do not think so, why do you not leave it? but if you do think so, why are ye not zealous for it? Is not the government a part of it? It is that which immures, and adorns, and conducts all the rest, and is established in the thirty-sixth article of the church, in the public service-book, and in the book of consecration: it is, therefore, a part of our religion, and is not all of it worth preserving? If it be, then they which make schisms against this doctrine, by the rule of the apostle, are to be avoided. "Beatus qui prædicat verbum inauditum;" "Blessed is he that preaches a word that was never heard before;" so said the Spanish Jesuit: but Christ said otherwise: "No man having drunk old wine straight desires new, for he saith the old is better." And so it is in religion, "Quod primum verum," "truth is always first;" and since episcopacy hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, since it hath ever combined with government, and hath been taught by that Spirit that hath so long dwelt in God's church, and hath now, according to the promise of Jesus, that says "The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church," been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles; and as it went away, so it returned again in the hand of monarchy, and in the bosom of our fundamental laws. Suffer no evil tongue to speak against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from experience, and from the wisdom of so many ages, of all your ancestors and all your laws, lest ye be found to speak against God, and neglect the things that belong unto your peace, and get nothing by it but news and danger, and what other effects ye know not. But Leontinus, bishop of Antioch, stroked his old white beard, and said, "When this snow is dissolved, a great deal of dirty weather will follow:" meaning, that when the old religion should be questioned and discountenanced, the new religion would bring nothing but trouble and unquietness: and we have found it so by a sad experience.

4. Ye cannot obey God unless ye do justice: for this also is "better than sacrifice," said Solomon.[k] For Christ, who is "the Sun of righteousness," is a Sun and Shield to them that do righteously. The Indian was not immured sufficiently by the Atlantic sea, nor the Bosphoran by the walls of ice, nor the Arabian by his meridian sun; the christian justice of the Roman princes brake through all enclosures, and, by justice, set up Christ's standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by prudence and valour, when they were conducted by the hands of justice. And now you will have a great trial of this part of your obedience to God.

For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a nation: and he had need be a wise and a good man, that divides the inheritance amongst brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences,—nor biassed by the interest of friends,—nor transported with the unjust thoughts even of a just revenge,—nor allured by the opportunities of spoil,—nor turned aside by partiality in his own concerns,—nor blinded by gold, which puts out the eyes of wise men,—nor cozened by pretended zeal,—nor wearied with the difficulty of questions,—nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it—nor borne down by prejudice,—nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause be heard,—nor overruled by national interests. For justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by truth and by laws, and by the decrees of princes. But whatever you do, let not the pretence of a different religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights: for opinions are not, but laws only, and "doing as we would be done to," are the measures of justice: and though justice does alike to all men, Jew and christian, Lutheran and Calvinist; yet to do right to them that are of another opinion, is the way to win them; but if you, for conscience sake, do them wrong, they will hate you and your religion.

Lastly: As "obedience is better than sacrifice," so God also said, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice;" meaning, that mercy is the best obedience. "Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat, nisi misericordia subvenisset," said Chrysologus: "All the creatures

[i] Rom. xvi. 17.

[k] Prov. xxi. 3.

both of heaven and earth would perish, if mercy did not relieve us all." Other good things, more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune: "Ex clementia omnes idem sperant;"[l] but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy: and if we all need it, let us all show it.

> Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
> Virginis occurrit, vel terrâ clauditur infans,
> Et minor igne rogi ——— JUVEN.

"If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die before the birth of reason, nature hath taught us to pay a tributary tear." Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines upon it, it may produce a rainbow to be a sacrament, and a memorial, that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices "in the death of him that dies;" and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must, indeed, be as just as the laws; and you must be as merciful as your religion: and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the Mount; do as God does, who "in judgment remembers mercy."

To conclude: If every one in this honourable assembly would join together, to promote christian religion, in its true notion, that is, peace and holiness, the love of God and the love of our brother, christianity in all its proper usefulness, and would not endure in the nation any thing against the laws of the holy Jesus; if they were all zealous for the doctrines of righteousness, and impatient of sin, in yourselves and in the people, it is not to be imagined what a happy nation we should be. But if ye divide into parties, and keep up useless differences of names or interests; if ye do not join in the bands of peace, that is, the king and the church, religion and the good of the nation, you can never hope to see a blessing to be the end of your labours. Remember the words of Solomon,[m] "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people:" but when righteousness is advanced in the hearts and lives of the nation, who shall dare to reprove your faith? who can find fault with your religion?

God, of his mercy, grant, that in all your consultations the word of God may be your measure, the Spirit of God may be your guide, and the glory of God may be your end. He, of his mercy, grant, that moderation may be your limit, and peace may be within your walls, as long as you are there, and in all the land for ever after. But remember, that since the honour and service of his majesty, and the peace and prosperity of the church, the perpetuity of our fundamental laws, public justice, and the honour of all legal authority, the advancement of trade, and the wealth of the nation, is your design; —remember, I pray, what warranty you have to expect all this; no less than the words of our blessed Saviour; but it is upon these terms: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof; and all these things shall be added to you." Amen.

[l] Seneca.

[m] Prov. xxiv. 34.

Thursday, May 9.

ORDERED, That the Speaker do give the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Down, the thanks of this house for his yesterday's pains; and that he desire him to print his Sermon.

JOHN KEATING, Cler. Parl.

11 *die* Maii, 1661.

ORDERED, That Sir Theophilus Jones, Knight, Marcus Trever, Esq. Sir William Domvile, Knight, his Majesty's attorney-general, and Richard Kirle, Esq. be and are hereby appointed a committee to return thanks unto the Lord Bishop of Down for his Sermon preached on Wednesday last unto the Lords Justices, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whereunto the House of Commons were invited; and that they desire his Lordship from this house to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published.

Ex. per PHILIP FERNELY, Cler. Dom. Com.

Copia vera.

SERMON VI.

VIA INTELLIGENTIÆ:

PREACHED TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

SHOWING BY WHAT MEANS THE SCHOLARS SHALL BECOME MOST LEARNED AND MOST USEFUL.

PUBLISHED AT THEIR DESIRE.

Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

TO THE READER.

Peace is so great a blessing, and disputations and questions in religion are so little friends to peace, that I have thought no man's time can be better spent than in propositions and promotions of peace, and consequently in finding expedients, and putting periods to all contentious learning. I have already, in a Discourse before the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament, proved that obedience is the best medium of peace and true religion; and laws are the only common term and certain rule and measure of it. "Vocatâ ad concionem multitudine, quæ coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re, præterquam legibus, poterat," said Livy. Obedience to man is the external instrument, and the best in the world. To which I now add, that obedience to God is the best internal instrument; and I have proved it in this Discourse. Peace and holiness are twin-sisters; after which because every man is bound to follow, and he that does not, shall never see God, I concluded that the office of a bishop is in nothing so signally to be exhibited, as in declaring by what means these great duties and blessings are to be acquired. This way I have here described, is an old way; for it was Christ's way, and therefore it is truth and life; but it hath been so little regarded, and so seldom taught, that when I first spake my thoughts of it, in the following words, before the little but excellent University of Dublin, they consented to it so perfectly, and so piously entertained it, that they were pleased, with some earnestness, to desire me to publish it to the world, and to consign it to them as a perpetual memorial of their duty, and of my regards to them, and care over them in my station. I was very desirous to serve and please them in all their worthy desires, but had found so much reason to distrust my own abilities, that I could not resolve to do what I fain would have done, till by a second communication of those thoughts, though in differing words, I had published it also to my clergy, at the metropolitical visitation of the most Reverend and Learned Lord Primate of Armagh, in my own diocess. But when I found that they also thought it very reasonable and pious, and joined in the desire of making it public, I consented perfectly, and now only pray to God it may do that work I intended. I have often thought of those excellent words of Mr. Hooker, in his very learned Discourse of Justification: "Such is the untoward constitution of our nature, that we do neither so perfectly understand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so stedfastly embrace it when it is understood, nor so graciously utter it when it is embraced, nor so peaceably maintain it when it is uttered, but that the best of us are overtaken, sometimes through blindness, sometimes through hastiness, sometimes through impatience, sometimes through other passions of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we are too subject." That I find by true experience; the best way of learning and peace, is that which cures all these evils, as far as in the world they are curable, and that is the ways of holiness, which are, therefore, the best and only way of truth. In disputations there is no end, and but very little advantage; but the way of godliness hath in it no error and no doubtfulness. By this, therefore, I hoped best to apply the counsel of the wise man: "Stand thou fast in thy sure understanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteousness."* I have reason to be confident that they who desired me to publish this Discourse, will make use of it, and find benefit by it: and if any others do so too, both they and I shall still more and more give God all thanks, and praise, and glory.

* Ecclus. v. 10. Vulg. Edit. Lat.

SERMON.

If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.—John vii. 17.

THE ancients, in their mythological learning, tell us, that when Jupiter espied the men of the world striving for Truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent Mercury down amongst them; and he, with his usual arts, dressed Error up in the imagery of Truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still: and though then, by contention, men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth. And this, indeed, is no wonder; but when truth and peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same bundle of life; when we are taught a religion by the Prince of peace, who is the truth itself; to see men contending for this truth, to the breach of that peace; and when men fall out, to see that they should make christianity their theme, that is one of the greatest wonders in the world. For christianity is ἥμερος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος νομοθεσία, "a soft and gentle institution;" ὑγρὸν καὶ μείλιχον ἦθος· it was brought into the world to soften the asperities of human nature, and to cure the barbarities of evil men, and the contentions of the passionate. The eagle, seeing her breast wounded, and espying the arrow that hurt her to be feathered, cried out, Πτερόν με τὸν πτερωτον ὀλλύει, "The feathered nation is destroyed by their own feathers;" that is, a christian fighting and wrangling with a christian; and, indeed, that is very sad: but wrangling about peace too, that peace itself should be the argument of a war, that is unnatural; and if it were not that there are many, who are "homines multæ religionis, nullius penè pietatis," "men of much religion and little godliness,"—it would not be that there should be so many quarrels in and concerning that religion, which is wholly made up of truth and peace, and was sent amongst us to reconcile the hearts of men, when they were tempted to uncharitableness by any other unhappy argument. Disputation cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes passion evaporate into sin: and though men esteem it learning, yet it is the most useless learning in the world. When Eudamidas, the son of Archidamus, heard old Xenocrates disputing about wisdom, he asked very soberly, "If the old man be yet disputing and inquiring concerning wisdom, what time will he have to make use of it?" Christianity is all for practice; and so much time as is spent in quarrels about it, is a diminution to its interest. Men inquire so much what it is, that they have but little time left to be christians. I remember a saying of Erasmus, "that when he first read the New Testament, with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, he found it very useful and very pleasant; but when, afterwards, he fell on reading the vast differences of commentaries, then he understood it less than he did before, then he began not to understand it:" for, indeed, the truths of God are best dressed in the plain culture and simplicity of the Spirit; but the truths that men commonly teach, are like the reflections of a multiplying-glass; for one piece of good money, you shall have forty that are fantastical; and it is forty to one if your finger hit upon the right. Men have wearied themselves in the dark, having been amused with false fires; and instead of going home, have wandered all night ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάταις, "in untrodden, unsafe, uneasy ways;" but have not found out what their soul desires. But, therefore, since we are so miserable, and are in error, and have wandered very far, we must do as wandering travellers used to do, go back just to that place from whence they wandered, and begin upon a new account. Let us go to the truth itself, to Christ; and he will tell us an easy way of ending all our quarrels: for we shall find christianity to be the easiest and the hardest thing in the world: it is like a secret in arithmetic, infinitely hard till it be found out by a right operation, and then it is so plain, we wonder we did not understand it earlier.

Christ's way of finding out of truth, is by "doing the will of God." We will try that by and by, if possibly we may find that easy and certain: in the mean time, let us consider what ways men have propounded to find out truth, and upon the foundation of that to establish peace in christendom.

1. That there is but one true way, is agreed upon; and therefore almost every church of one denomination that lives under government, propounds to you a system or collective body of articles, and tells you that is the true religion, and they are the church, and the peculiar people of God: like Brutus and Cassius, of whom one says, "Ubicunque ipsi essent, prætexebant esse rempublicam," "They supposed themselves were the commonwealth;" and these are the church, and out of this church they will hardly allow salvation: but of this there can be no end; for divide the church into twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are damned by the other nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own proselytes by affrighting them with the fearful sermons of damnation: but, in the mean time, here is no security to them, that are not able to judge for themselves, and no peace for them that are.

2. Others cast about to cure this, and conclude, that it must be done by submission to an infallible guide; this must do it or nothing; and this is the way of the church of Rome; follow but the pope and his clergy, and you are safe, at least as safe as their warrant can make you. Indeed, this were a very good way, if it were a way at all; but it is none; for this can never end our controversies: not only because the greatest controversies are about this infallible guide; but also because, 1. We cannot find, that there is, upon earth, any such guide at all. 2. We do not find it necessary that there should. 3. We find that they who pretend to be this infallible guide, are themselves infinitely deceived. 4. That they do not believe themselves to

be infallible, whatever they say to us; because they do not put an end to all their own questions that trouble them. 5. Because they have no peace, but what is constrained by force and government. 6. And lastly: Because if there were such a guide, we should fail of truth by many other causes: for, it may be, that guide would not do his duty; or we are fallible followers of this infallible leader; or we should not understand his meaning at all times, or we should be perverse at some times, or something as bad; because we all confess, that God is an infallible guide, and that some way or other he does teach us sufficiently, and yet it does come to pass, by our faults, that we are as far to seek for peace and truth as ever.

3. Some very wise men, finding this to fail, have undertaken to reconcile the differences of christendom, by a way of moderation. Thus they have projected to reconcile the papists and the Lutherans and the Calvinists, the remonstrants and contra-remonstrants, and project, that each side should abate of their asperities, and pare away something of their propositions, and join in common terms and phrases of accommodation,—each of them sparing something, and promising they shall have a great deal of peace for the exchange of a little of their opinion. This was the way of Cassander, Modrevius, Andreas Frisius, Erasmus, Spalato, Grotius, and, indeed, of Charles the Fifth, in part, but something more heartily of Ferdinand the Second. This device produced the conferences at Poissy, at Montpelier, at Ratisbon, at the Hague, at many places more: and what was the event of these? Their parties, when their delegates returned, either disclaimed their moderation,—or their respective princes had some other ends to serve,—or they permitted the meetings upon uncertain hopes, and a trial if any good might come; or, it may be, they were both in the wrong, and their mutual abatement was nothing but a mutual quitting of what they could not get, and the shaking hands of false friends; or, it may be, it was all of it nothing but hypocrisy and arts of craftiness, and, like Lucian's man, every one could be a man and a pestle when he pleased. And the council of Trent, though under another cover, made use of the artifice, but made the secret manifest and common: for at this day the Jesuits, in the questions "de auxiliis Divinæ gratiæ," have prevailed with the Dominicans to use their expressions, and yet they think they still keep the sentence of their own order. From hence can succeed nothing but folly and a fantastic peace: this is but the skinning of an old sore; it will break out upon all occasions.

4. Others, who understand things beyond the common rate, observing that many of our controversies and peevish wranglings are kept up by the ill stating of the question, endeavour to declare things wisely, and make the matter intelligible, and the words clear; hoping, by this means, to cut off all disputes. Indeed this is a very good way, so far as it can go; and would prevail very much, if all men were wise, and would consent to those statings, and would not fall out upon the main inquiry, when it were well stated: but we find, by a sad experience, that few questions are well stated; and when they are, they are not consented to; and when they are agreed on by both sides that they are well stated, it is nothing else but a drawing up the armies in battalia with great skill and discipline; the next thing they do is, they thrust their swords into one another's sides.

5. What remedy after all this? Some other good men have propounded one way yet; but that is a way of peace, rather than truth; and that is, that all opinions should be tolerated, and none persecuted, and then all the world will be at peace. Indeed, this relies upon a great reasonableness; not only because opinions cannot be forced, but because if men receive no hurt, it is to be hoped they will do none. But we find that this alone will not do it; for besides that all men are not so just as not to do any injury,—for some men begin the evil; besides this, I say, there are very many men amongst us, who are not content that you permit them; for they will not permit you, but "rule over your faith," and say that their way is not only true, but necessary; and therefore the truth of God is at stake, and all indifference and moderation is carnal wisdom, and want of zeal for God; nay, more than so, they preach for toleration when themselves are under the rod, who, when they got the rod into their own hands, thought toleration itself to be intolerable. Thus do the papists, and thus the Calvinists; and, for their cruelty, they pretend charity. They will, indeed, force you to come in, but it is in true zeal for your soul; and if they do you violence, it is no more than if they pull your arm out of joint, when, to save you from drowning, they draw you out of a river; and if you complain, it is no more to be regarded than the outcries of children against their rulers, or sick men against physicians. But as to the thing itself, the truth is, it is better in contemplation than practice; for reckon all that is got by it when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfy for the infinite disorders happening in the government; the scandal to religion, the secret dangers to public societies, the growth of heresy, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable, as to be able, in their own time, to change the laws and the government. So that if the question be, whether mere opinions are to be persecuted,—it is certainly true, they ought not. But if it be considered how, by opinions, men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted. And what is now to be done? Must truth be for ever in the dark, and the world for ever be divided, and societies disturbed, and governments weakened, and our spirits debauched with error, and the uncertain opinions and the pedantry of talking men? Certainly there is a way to cure all this evil; and the wise Governor of all the world hath not been wanting in so necessary a matter as to lead us into all truth. But the way hath not yet been hit upon, and yet I have told you all the ways of man, and his imaginations, in order to truth and peace; and you see these will not do; we can find no rest for the soles of our feet, amidst all the waters of contention and disputations, and little

artifices of divided schools. "Every man is a liar," and his understanding is weak, and his propositions uncertain, and his opinions trifling, and his contrivances imperfect, and neither truth nor peace does come from man. I know I am in an auditory of inquisitive persons, whose business is to study for truth, that they may find it for themselves, and teach it unto others. I am in a school of prophets and prophets' sons, who all ask Pilate's question, "What is truth?" You look for it in your books, and you tug hard for it in your disputations, and you derive it from the cisterns of the fathers, and you inquire after the old ways, and sometimes are taken with new appearances, and you rejoice in false lights, or are delighted with little umbrages and peep of day. But where is there a man, or a society of men, that can be at rest in his inquiry, and is sure he understands all the truths of God? Where is there a man, but the more he studies and inquires, still he discovers nothing so clearly as his own ignorance? This is a demonstration that we are not in the right way, that we do not inquire wisely, that our method is not artificial. If men did fall upon the right way, it were impossible so many learned men should be engaged in contrary parties and opinions. We have examined all ways but one, all but God's way. Let us, having missed in all the other, try this; let us go to God for truth; for truth comes from God only, and his ways are plain, and his sayings are true, and his promises "Yea and Amen;" and if we miss the truth, it is because we will not find it; for certain it is, that all that truth which God hath made necessary, he hath also made legible and plain; and if we will open our eyes, we shall see the sun, and if "we will walk in the light, we shall rejoice in the light;" only let us withdraw the curtains, let us remove the "impediments, and the sin that doth so easily beset us;" that is God's way. Every man must, in his station, do that portion of duty, which God requires of him, and then he shall be taught of God all that is fit for him to learn. There is no other way for him but this. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter."[a] And so said David of himself, "I have more understanding than my teachers; because I keep thy commandments."[b] And this is the only way which Christ hath taught us. If you ask, "What is truth?" you must not do as Pilate did—ask the question, and then go away from him that only can give you an answer; for as God is the author of truth, so he is the teacher of it; and the way to learn it is this of my text; for so saith our blessed Lord, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or no."

My text is simple as truth itself, but greatly comprehensive, and contains a truth that alone will enable you to understand all mysteries, and to expound all prophecies, and to interpret all scriptures, and to search into all secrets; all, I mean, which concern our happiness and our duty; and, it being an affirmative hypothetical, is plainly to be resolved into this proposition,—"The way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty; and theology is rather a Divine life than a Divine knowledge." In heaven, indeed, we shall first see, and then love; but here on earth, we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.

In the handling of which proposition, I shall first represent to you, that—the certain causes of our errors are nothing but direct sins,—nothing makes us fools and ignorants but living vicious lives; and then I shall proceed to the direct demonstration of the article in question, that—holiness is the only way of truth and understanding.

1. No man understands the word of God, as it ought to be understood, unless he lays aside all affections to sin; of which because we have taken very little care, the product hath been, that we have had very little wisdom, and very little knowledge, in the ways of God. Κακία ἐστὶ φθαρτικὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς, said Aristotle; "Wickedness does corrupt a man's reasoning;" it gives him false principles and evil measures of things; the sweet wine that Ulysses gave to the Cyclops, put his eye out; and a man that hath contracted evil affections, and made a league with sin, sees only by those measures. A covetous man understands nothing to be good that is not profitable; and a voluptuous man likes your reasoning well enough, if you discourse of "bonum jucundum," the pleasures of the sense, the ravishments of lust, the noises and inadvertencies, the mirth and songs of merry company; but if you talk to him of the melancholy lectures of the cross, the content of resignation, the peace of meekness, and the joys of the Holy Ghost, and of rest in God, after your long discourse, and his great silence, he cries out, "What is the matter?" He knows not what you mean. Either you must fit his humour, or change your discourse.

I remember that Arrian tells of a gentleman that was banished from Rome, and in his sorrow visited the philosopher, and he heard him talk wisely, and believed him, and promised him to leave all the thoughts of Rome, and splendours of the court, and retire to the course of a severe philosophy; but before the good man's lectures were done, there came πινακίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, "letters from Cæsar," to recall him home, to give him pardon, and promise him great employment. He presently grew weary of the good man's sermon, and wished he would make an end, thought his discourse was dull and flat; for his head and heart were full of another story and new principles; and by these measures he could hear only, and he could understand.

Every man understands by his affections more than by his reason: and when the wolf in the fable went to school to learn to spell, whatever letters were told him, he could never make any thing of them but "agnus;" he thought of nothing but his belly: and if a man be very hungry, you must give him meat, before you give him counsel. A man's mind must be like your proposition, before it can be

[a] Psal. cxi. 10.

[b] Psal. cxix.

entertained; for whatever you put into a man, it will smell of the vessel; it is a man's mind that gives the emphasis, and makes your argument to prevail.

And upon this account it is, that there are so many false doctrines in the only article of repentance. Men know they must repent, but the definition of repentance they take from the convenience of their own affairs: what they will not part with, that is not necessary to be parted with; and they will repent, but not restore: they will say, "Nollem factum," "they wish they had never done it;" but since it is done, you must give them leave to rejoice in their purchase: they will ask forgiveness of God; but they sooner forgive themselves, and suppose that God is of their mind: if you tie them to hard terms, your doctrine is not to be understood, or it is but one doctor's opinion,—and therefore they will fairly take their leave, and get them another teacher.

What makes these evil, these dangerous and desperate doctrines? Not the obscurity of the thing, but the cloud upon the heart; for say you what you will, he that hears must be the expounder, and we can never suppose but a man will give sentence in behalf of what he passionately loves. And so it comes to pass, that, as Rabbi Moses observed, as God for the greatest sin imposed the least oblation, as a she-goat for the sin of idolatry; for a woman accused of adultery, a barley cake: so do most men; they think to expiate the worst of their sins with a trifling, with a pretended, little, insignificant repentance. God, indeed, did so, that the cheapness of the oblation might teach them to hope for pardon, not from the ceremony, but from a severe internal repentance: but men take any argument to lessen their repentance, that they may not lessen their pleasures or their estates,—and that repentance may be nothing but a word,—and mortification signify nothing against their pleasures, but be a term of art only, fitted for the schools or for the pulpit,—but nothing relative to practice, or the extermination of their sin. So that it is no wonder we understand so little of religion: it is because we are in love with that which destroys it; and as a man does not care to hear what does not please him, so neither does he believe it; he cannot, he will not understand it.

And the same is the case in the matter of pride; the church hath extremely suffered by it in many ages. Arius missed a bishopric, and therefore turned heretic; ἐτάραττε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, saith the story; "he disturbed and shaked the church;" for he did not understand this truth,—that the peace of the church was better than the satisfaction of his person, or the promoting his foolish opinion.—And do not we see and feel, that at this very day, the pride of men makes it seem impossible for many persons to obey their superiors? and they do not see what they can read every day, that it is a sin "to speak evil of dignities."

A man would think it a very easy thing to understand the thirteenth chapter to the Romans, "Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God:" and yet we know a generation of men to whom these words were so obscure, that they thought it lawful to fight against their king. A man would think it easy to believe, that those who were "in the gainsaying of Korah," who rose up against the high priest, were in a very sad condition: and yet there are too many amongst us, who are in the gainsaying of Korah, and think they do very well; that they are the godly party, and the good people of God. Why? What is the matter? In the world there can be nothing plainer than these words, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers;" and that you need not make a scruple who are these higher powers, it is as plainly said, "There is no power but of God;" all that are set over you by the laws of your nation, these "are over you in the Lord:" and yet men will not understand these plain things; they deny to do their notorious duty, and yet believe they are in the right; and if they sometimes obey "for wrath," they oftener disobey for "conscience sake." Where is the fault? The words are plain, the duty is certain, the book lies open; but, alas! "it is sealed within," that is, "men have eyes and will not see, ears and will not hear." But the wonder is the less; for we know when God said to Jonah, "Doest thou well to be angry?" he answered God to his face, "I do well to be angry even unto the death." Let God declare his mind never so plainly, if men will not lay aside the evil principle that is within, their open love to their secret sin, they may kill an apostle, and yet be so ignorant as to "think they do God good service;" they may disturb kingdoms, and break the peace of a well-ordered church, and rise up against their fathers, and be cruel to their brethren, and stir up the people to sedition; and all this with a cold stomach and a hot liver, with a hard heart and a tender conscience, with humble carriage and a proud spirit. For thus men hate repentance, because they scorn to confess an error; they will not return to peace and truth, because they fear to lose the good opinion of the people, whom themselves have cozened; they are afraid to be good, lest they should confess they have formerly done amiss: and he,—that observes how much evil is done, and how many heresies are risen, and how much obstinacy and unreasonable perseverance in folly dwells in the world upon the stock of pride,—may easily conclude, that no learning is sufficient to make a proud man understand the truth of God, unless he first learn to be humble. But "Obedite et intelligetis," saith the prophet; "Obey," and be humble, leave the foolish affections of sin, "and then ye shall understand." That is the first particular: all remaining affections to sin hinder the learning and understanding of the things of God.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of religion, must lay aside all inordinate affections to the world. St. Paul complained that there was at "that day a veil upon the hearts of the Jews, in the reading of the Old Testament;"[d] they looked for a temporal prince to be their Mes-

[d] 2 Cor. iii. 14.

sias, and their affections and hopes dwelt in secular advantages; and so long as that veil was there, they could not see, and they would not accept the poor despised Jesus.

For the things of the world, besides that they entangle one another, and make much business, and spend much time, they also take up the attentions of a man's mind, and spend his faculties, and make them trifling and secular with the very handling and conversation. And, therefore, the Pythagoreans taught their disciples *χωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, εἰς τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφεῖν*, "a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom." Had not he lost his labour, that would have discoursed wisely to Apicius, and told him of the books of fate and the secrets of the other world, the abstractions of the soul, and its brisker immortality, that saints and angels eat not, and that the spirit of a man lives for ever upon wisdom, and holiness, and contemplation? The fat glutton would have stared awhile upon the preacher, and then have fallen asleep. But if you had discoursed well and knowingly of a lamprey, a large mullet, or a boar, "animal propter convivia natum," and have sent him a cook from Asia to make new sauces, he would have attended carefully, and taken in your discourses greedily. And so it is in the questions and secrets of christianity: which made St. Paul, when he intended to convert Felix, discourse first with him about "temperancê, righteousness, and judgment to come." He began in the right point; he knew it was to no purpose to preach Jesus Christ crucified to an intemperate person, to a usurper of other men's rights, to one whose soul dwelt in the world, and cared not for the sentence of the last day. The philosophers began their wisdom with the meditation of death, and St. Paul his with the discourse of the day of judgment: to take the heart off from this world and the amabilities of it, which dishonour and baffle the understanding, and made Solomon himself become a child, and fooled into idolatry, by the prettiness of a talking woman. Men, now-a-days, love not a religion that will cost them dear. If your doctrine calls upon men to part with any considerable part of their estates, you must pardon them if they cannot believe you; they understand it not. I shall give you one great instance of it.

When we consider the infinite unreasonableness that is in the popish religion, how against common sense their doctrine of transubstantiation is, how against the common experience of human nature is the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, how against Scripture is the doctrine of indulgences and purgatory; we may well think it a wonder, that no more men are persuaded to leave such unlearned follies. But then, on the other side, the wonder will cease, if we mark how many temporal ends are served by these doctrines. If you destroy the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences, you take away the priest's income, and make the see apostolic to be poor; if you deny the pope's infallibility, you will despise his authority, and examine his propositions, and discover his failings, and put him to answer hard arguments, and lessen his power: and, indeed, when we run through all the propositions of difference between them and us, and see that, in every one of them, they serve an end of money or of power; it will be very visible that the way to confute them is not by learned disputations,—for we see they have been too long without effect, and without prosperity: the men must be cured of their affections to the world, "ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum," "that with naked and divested affections they might follow the naked crucified Jesus;" and then they would soon learn the truths of God, which, till then, will be impossible to be apprehended. *Ἐν προσποιήσει ἐξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεισάγουσιν*, "Men," as St. Basil says, "when they expound Scripture, always bring in something of themselves:" but till there be, as one said, *ἀνάβασις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου*, "a rising out" from their own seats, until they go out "from their dark dungeons," they can never see the light of heaven. And how many men are there amongst us, who are, therefore, enemies to the religion, because it seems to be against their profit? The argument of Demetrius is unanswerable: "By this craft they get their livings:" leave them in their livings, and they will let your religion alone; if not, they think they have reason to speak against it. When men's souls are possessed with the world, their souls cannot be invested with holy truths. *Χρὴ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ψυχοῦσθαι*, as St. Isidore said: "the soul must be" informed, "ensouled," or animated with the propositions that you put in; or you shall never do any good, or get disciples to Christ. Now because a man cannot serve two masters; because he cannot vigorously attend two objects: because there can be but one soul in any living creature; if the world have got possession, talk no more of your questions, shut your Bibles, and read no more of the words of God to them, for they cannot tell of "the doctrine, whether it be of God, or of the world." That is the second particular: worldly affections hinder true understandings in religion.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the word of God, or be at peace in the questions of religion, unless he be a master over his passions:

> Tu quoque si vis lumine claro
> Cernere verum, gaudia pelle,
> Pelle timorem; nubila mens est
> Vinctaque frænis, hæc ubi regnant:

said the wise Boethius; a man must first learn himself before he can learn God. "Tua te fallit imago:" nothing deceives a man so soon as a man's self; when a man is (that I may use Plato's expression) *συμπεφυρμένος τῇ γενέσει*, "mingled with his nature," and his congenial infirmities of anger and desire, he can never have any thing but *ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν*, "a knowledge partly moral and partly natural:" his whole life is but imagination; his knowledge is inclination and opinion; he judges of heavenly things by the measures of his fears and his desires, and his reason is half of it sense, and determinable by the principles of sense. *Εὖγε ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν πάθεσι*, then "a man learns

well, when he is a philosopher in his passions."[e] Passionate men are to be taught the first elements of religion; and let men pretend to as much learning as they please, they must begin again at Christ's cross; they must learn true mortification and crucifixion of their anger and desires, before they can be good scholars in Christ's school,—or be admitted into the more secret inquiries of religion,—or profit in spiritual understanding. It was an excellent proverb of the Jews, "In passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habitat," "The Holy Ghost never dwells in the house of passion." Truth enters into the heart of man, when it is empty, and clean, and still; but when the mind is shaken with passion as with a storm, you can never hear the "voice of the charmer, though he charm very wisely:" and you will very hardly sheath a sword, when it is held by a loose and a paralytic arm. He that means to learn the secrets of God's wisdom, must be, as Plato says, *τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν οὐσιωμένος*, "his soul must be consubstantiated with reason," not invested with passion: to him that is otherwise, things are but in the dark, his notion is obscure, and his sight troubled; and, therefore, though we often meet with passionate fools, yet we seldom or never hear of a very passionate wise man.

I have now done with the first part of my undertaking, and proved to you that our evil life is the cause of our controversies and ignorances in religion and of the things of God. You see what hinders us from becoming good divines. But all this while, we are but in the preparation to the mysteries of godliness: when we have thrown off all affections to sin, when we have stripped ourselves from all fond adherences to the things of the world, and have broken the chains and dominion of our passions; then we may say with David, "Ecce paratum est cor meum, Deus;" "My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready:" then we may say, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth:" but we are not yet instructed. It remains, therefore, that we inquire what is that immediate principle or means, by which we shall certainly and infallibly be led into all truth, and be taught the mind of God, and understand all his secrets; and this is worth our knowledge. I cannot say that this will end your labours, and put a period to your studies, and make your learning easy; it may possibly increase your labour, but it will make it profitable; it will not end your studies, but it will direct them; it will not make human learning easy, but it will make it "wise unto salvation," and conduct it into true notices and ways of wisdom.

I am now to describe to you the right way of knowledge: "Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei," saith Christ; that is the way; do God's will, and you shall understand God's word. And it was an excellent saying of St. Peter, "Add to your faith virtue,"[f] &c. "If these things be in you and abound, ye shall not be unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." For in this case, it is not enough that our hinderances of knowledge are removed; for that is but the opening of the covering of the book of God; but when it is opened, it is written with a hand that every eye cannot read. Though the windows of the east be open, yet every eye cannot behold the glories of the sun: *Ὀφθαλμὸς μὴ ἡλιοειδὴς γινόμενος ἥλιον οὐ βλέπει*, saith Plotinus; "The eye that is not made solar, cannot see the sun;"—the eye must be fitted to the splendour; and it is not the wit of the man, but the spirit of the man; not so much his head as his heart, that learns the Divine philosophy.

1. Now, in this inquiry, I must take one thing for a "præcognitum," that every good man is *θεοδίδακτος*, he is "taught of God:" and, indeed, unless he teach us, we shall make but ill scholars ourselves, and worse guides to others. "Nemo potest Deum scire, nisi à Deo doceatur," said St. Irenæus.[g] If God teaches us, then all is well; but if we do not learn wisdom at his feet, from whence should we have it? it can come from no other spring. And, therefore, it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are like to be instructed.

But this being supposed, as being most evident, we can easily proceed, by wonderful degrees and steps of progression, in the economy of this Divine philosophy: For,

2. There is, in every righteous man, a new vital principle; the Spirit of grace is the Spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies: and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. John tells us of, "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things:"[h] *All things* of some one kind; that is, certainly,—all things that pertain to life and godliness;—all that by which a man is wise and happy. We see this by common experience. Unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the Spirit of life be the informer of the spirit of the man,—the word of God will be as dead in the operation, as the body in its powers and possibilities. "Sol et homo generant hominem," saith our philosophy; "A man alone does not beget a man, but a man and the sun;" for without the influence of the celestial bodies, all natural actions are ineffective: and so it is in the operations of the soul.

Which principle divers fanatics, both among us and in the church of Rome, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live upon raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men, by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live upon illiterate phantasms and ignorant discourses. These men do *ψεύδεσθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*, "they belie the Holy Ghost:" for the Spirit of God makes men wise: it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The Spirit of God makes us "wise

[e] Nazianz. ad Philagrium. [f] 2 Pet. i. 5. [g] Lib. vi. cap. 13. [h] 1 John ii. 27.

unto salvation;" it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding: God's Spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; he never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of order; it is the Spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; he is to be found in churches and pulpits, upon altars, and in the doctors' chairs; not in conventicles, and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect, he leads on to perfection; and that which was weak, he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.

Do not we see this by daily experience? Even those things which a good man and an evil man know, they do not know them both alike. A wicked man does know that good is lovely, and sin is of an evil and destructive nature; and when he is reproved, he is convinced; and when he is observed, he is ashamed; and when he has done, he is unsatisfied; and when he pursues his sin, he does it in the dark: tell him he shall die, and he sighs deeply, but he knows it as well as you: proceed, and say, that after death comes judgment, and the poor man believes and trembles; he knows that God is angry with him; and if you tell him, that for aught he knows he may be in hell to-morrow, he knows that it is an intolerable truth, but it is also undeniable: and yet, after all this, he runs to commit his sin with as certain an event and resolution as if he knew no argument against it: these notices of things terrible and true pass through his understanding, as an eagle through the air; as long as her flight lasted, the air was shaken, but there remains no path behind her.

Now since, at the same time, we see other persons, not so learned, it may be, not so much versed in Scriptures,—yet they say a thing is good and lay hold of it; they believe glorious things of heaven, and they live accordingly, as men that believe themselves; half a word is enough to make them understand; a nod is a sufficient reproof; the crowing of a cock, the singing of a lark, the dawning of the day, and the washing their hands, are to them competent memorials of religion, and warnings of their duty. What is the reason of this difference? They both read the Scriptures, they read and hear the same sermons, they have capable understandings, they both believe what they hear and what they read, and yet the event is vastly different. The reason is that which I am now speaking of; the one understands by one principle, the other by another; the one understands by nature, and the other by grace; the one by human learning, and the other by Divine; the one reads the Scriptures without, and the other within; the one understands as a son of man, the other as a son of God; the one perceives by the proportions of the world, and the other by the measures of the Spirit; the one understands by reason, and the other by love; and, therefore, he does not only understand the sermons of the Spirit, and perceives their meaning, but he pierces deeper, and knows the meaning of that meaning; that is, the secret of the Spirit, that which is spiritually discerned, that which gives life to the proposition, and activity to the soul. And the reason is, because he hath a divine principle within him, and a new understanding; that is, plainly, he hath love, and that is more than knowledge; as was rarely well observed by St. Paul, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" that is, charity makes the best scholars. No sermons can edify you, no Scriptures can build you up a holy building to God, unless the love of God be in your hearts, and "purify your souls from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit."

But so it is in the regions of stars, where a vast body of fire is so divided by eccentric motions, that it looks as if Nature had parted them into orbs and round shells of plain and purest materials: but where the cause is simple, and the matter without variety, the motions must be uniform; and in heaven we should either espy no motion, or no variety. But God, who designed the heavens to be the causes of all changes and motions here below, hath placed his angels in their houses of light, and given to every one of his appointed officers a portion of the fiery matter to circumagitate and roll; and now the wonder ceases: for if it be inquired why this part of the fire runs eastward, and the other to the south, they being both indifferent to either,—it is because an angel of God sits in the centre, and makes the same matter turn, not by the bent of its own mobility and inclination, but in order to the needs of man, and the great purposes of God: and so it is in the understandings of men; when they all receive the same notions, and are taught by the same master, and give full consent to all the propositions, and can, of themselves, have nothing to distinguish them in the events, it is because God has sent his Divine Spirit, and kindles a new fire, and creates a braver capacity, and applies the actives to the passives, and blesses their operation; for there is, in the heart of man, such a dead sea, and an indisposition to holy flames, like as in the cold rivers in the north, so as the fires will not burn them, and the sun itself will never warm them, till God's Holy Spirit does, from the temple of the New Jerusalem, bring a holy flame, and make it shine and burn.

"The natural man," saith the holy apostle,[1] "cannot perceive the things of the Spirit; they are foolishness unto him; for they are spiritually discerned:" for he that discourses of things by the measures of sense, thinks nothing good but that which is delicious to the palate, or pleases the brutish part of man; and therefore, while he estimates the secrets of religion by such measures, they must needs

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 14.

seem as insipid as cork, or the uncondited mushroom; for they have nothing at all of that in their constitution. A voluptuous person is like the dogs of Sicily, so filled with the deliciousness of plants that grow in every furrow and hedge, that they can never keep the scent of their game. Ἀδύνατον ἀνάμιξαι ὕδατι πῦρ· οὕτως οἶμαι τρυφὴν καὶ κατάνυξιν, said St. Chrysostom: "The fire and water can never mingle; so neither can sensuality and the watchfulness and wise discerning of the spirit."—"Pilato interroganti de veritate, Christus non respondit;" "When the wicked governor asked of Christ concerning truth, Christ gave him no answer." He was not fit to hear it.

He, therefore, who so understands the words of God, that he not only believes, but loves the proposition; he who consents with all his heart, and, being convinced of the truth, does also apprehend the necessity, and obeys the precept, and delights in the discovery, and lays his hand upon his heart, and reduces the notices of things to the practice of duty; he who dares trust his proposition, and drives it on to the utmost issue, resolving to go after it whithersoever it can invite him; this man walks in the Spirit; at least thus far he is gone towards it; his understanding is brought "in obsequium Christi," "into the obedience of Christ." This is a "loving God with all our mind;" and whatever goes less than this, is but memory, and not understanding; or else such notice of things, by which a man is neither the wiser nor the better.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious servants, a knowledge even of secret things, which he communicates not to others. We find it greatly remarked in the case of Abraham, "And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing that I do?"[k] Why not from Abraham?—God tells us: "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."[l] And though this be irregular and infrequent, yet it is a reward of their piety, and the proper increase also of the spiritual man. We find this spoken by God to Daniel, and promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the days of the Messias:[m] "Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly:"—and what then?—"None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Where, besides that the wise man and the wicked are opposed, plainly signifying that the wicked man is a fool and an ignorant; it is plainly said, that "None of the wicked shall understand" the wisdom and mysteriousness of the kingdom of the Messias.

4. A good life is the best way to understand wisdom and religion, because, by the experiences and relishes of religion, there is conveyed to them such a sweetness, to which all wicked men are strangers: there is in the things of God, to them which practise them, a deliciousness that makes us love them, and that love admits us into God's cabinet, and strangely clarifies the understanding by the purification of the heart. For when our reason is raised up by the Spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience; when our faith relies upon the principles of Christ, it is changed into vision; and so long as we know God only in the ways of man, by contentious learning, by arguing and dispute,—we see nothing but the shadow of him; and in that shadow we meet with many dark appearances, little certainty, and much conjecture: but when we know him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, with the eyes of holiness, and the intuition of gracious experiences, with a quiet spirit and the peace of enjoyment; then we shall hear what we never heard, and see what our eyes never saw; then the mysteries of godliness shall be opened unto us, and clear as the windows of the morning: and this is rarely well expressed by the apostle, "If we stand up from the dead, and awake from sleep, then Christ shall give us light."[n]

For although the Scriptures themselves are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without; and besides the light that shines upon the face of them, unless there be a light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves, and interpreting the mysterious sense of the Spirit, convincing our consciences and preaching to our hearts, to look for Christ in the leaves of the gospel, is to "look for the living amongst the dead." There is a life in them, but that life is, according to St. Paul's expression, "hid with Christ in God:" and, unless the Spirit of God be the "promo-condus," we shall never draw it forth.

Human learning brings excellent ministries towards this; it is admirably useful for the reproof of heresies, for the detection of fallacies, for the letter of the Scripture, for collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that human learning, without the addition of Divine, can never reach. Moses was learned in all the learning of the Egyptians; and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion, and influences of the heavens; but besides all this, they were taught of God something far beyond these prettinesses. Pythagoras read Moses's books, and so did Plato; and yet they became not proselytes of the religion, though they were learned scholars of such a master. The reason is, because that, which they drew forth from thence, was not the life and secret of it.

Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses. JUV.

There is a secret in these books, which few men, none but the godly, did understand; and though much of this secret is made manifest in the gospel, yet even here, also, there is a letter, and there is a spirit; still there is a reserve for God's secret ones, even all those deep mysteries which the Old Testament covered in figures, and stories, and names, and prophecies, and which Christ hath, and by his Spirit will yet reveal more plainly to all that will understand them by their proper measures. For, although the gospel is infinitely more legible and plain than the obscurer leaves of the law, yet there

[k] Gen. xviii 17. [l] Ver. 19. [m] Dan. xii. 10. [n] Eph. v. 14.

is a seal upon them also; "which seal no man shall open, but he that is worthy." We may understand something of it by the three children of the captivity; they were all skilled in all the wisdom of the Chaldees, and so was Daniel: but there was something beyond that in him; "the wisdom of the most high God was in him;" and that taught him a learning beyond his learning.

In all Scripture there is a spiritual sense, a spiritual cabala, which, as it tends directly to holiness, so it is best and truest understood by the sons of the Spirit, who love God, and therefore know him. Γνῶσις ἑκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητα γίνεται, "Every thing is best known by its own similitudes and analogies."

But I must take some other time to speak fully of these things; I have but one thing more to say, and then I shall make my applications of this doctrine, and so conclude.

5. Lastly: there is a sort of God's dear servants who walk in perfectness, who "perfect holiness in the fear of God;" and they have a degree of clarity and Divine knowledge more than we can discourse of, and more certain than the demonstrations of geometry, brighter than the sun, and indeficient as the light of heaven. This is called by the apostle the ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ Θεοῦ· Christ is this "brightness of God," manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants.

Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐς καθαρῶν μερόπων φρένα πυρσὸν ἀνάπτω
Εὐμαθίης. ———

But I shall say no more of this at this time, for this is to be felt, and not to be talked of; and they that never touched it with their finger, may secretly, perhaps, laugh at it in their heart, and be never the wiser. All that I shall now say of it is, that a good man is united unto God, κέντρον κέντρῳ σύναψας, as a flame touches a flame, and combines into splendour and to glory: so is the spirit of a man united unto Christ by the Spirit of God. These are the friends of God, and they best know God's mind, and they only that are so, know how much such men do know. They have a special unction from above: so that now you are come to the top of all; this is the highest round of the ladder, and the angels stand upon it: they dwell in love and contemplation, they worship and obey, but dispute not: and our quarrels and impertinent wranglings about religion are nothing else but the want of the measures of this state. Our light is like a candle; every wind of vain doctrine blows it out, or spends the wax, and makes the light tremulous; but the lights of heaven are fixed and bright, and shine for ever.

But that we may speak not only things mysterious, but thing intelligible; how does it come to pass, by what means and what economy is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all questions, and the surest way of knowledge? Is it to be supposed, that a godly man is better enabled to determine the questions of purgatory or transubstantiation? is the gift of chastity the best way to reconcile Thomas and Scotus? and is a temperate man always a better scholar than a drunkard? To this I answer, that in all things in which true wisdom consists, holiness, which is the best wisdom, is the surest way of understanding them. And this,

1. Is effected by holiness as a proper and natural instrument: for naturally every thing is best discerned by its proper light and congenial instrument.

Γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ.

For as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives the intellectual; so does the Spirit the things of the Spirit. "The natural man," saith St. Paul, "knows not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned:" that is, they are discovered by a proper light, and concerning these things an unsanctified man discourses pitifully, with an imperfect idea, as a blind man does of light and colours, which he never saw.

A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the temple, narrow without and broad within: he sees not so much of what profits not abroad, but whatsoever is within, and concerns religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad inspection: but all human learning, without God, is but blindness and ignorant folly.

But when it is δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένη εἰς βάθος τῆς ἀληθείας, "righteousness dipped in the wells of truth;" it is like an eye of gold in a rich garment, or like the light of heaven, it shows itself by its own splendour. What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath "the answer of a good conscience" within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord.

We talk much of reformation, and (blessed be God) once we have felt the good of it; but of late we have smarted under the name and pretension: the woman that lost her groat, "everrit domum," not "evertit;" "she swept the house, she did not turn the house out of doors." That was but an ill reformation, that untiled the roof and broke the walls, and was digging down the foundation.

Now among all the pretensions of reformation, who can tell better what is, and what is not, true reformation, than he that is truly reformed himself?

He knows what pleases God, and can best tell by what instruments he is reconciled. "The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom; and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable," saith Solomon.[o] He cannot be cozened by names of things, and feels that reformation to be imposture that is sacrilegious: himself is humble and obedient, and therefore knows that is not truth that persuades to schism and disobedience: and most of the questions of christendom are such which either are good for nothing, and therefore to be laid aside; or if they be complicated with action, and are ministries of practice, no man can judge them so well as the spiritual man. That which best pleases God, that which does good to our neighbour, that which teaches sobriety, that which combines with government, that which speaks honour of God, and does him honour,—*that only is truth.* Holiness, therefore, is a proper and natural instrument of Divine knowledge, and must needs be the best way of instruction in the questions of christendom, because, in the most of them, a duty is complicated with the proposition.

No man that intends to live holily, can ever suffer any pretences of religion to be made to teach him to fight against his king. And when the men of Geneva turned their bishop out of doors, they might easily have considered, that the same person was their prince too; and that must needs be a strange religion, that rose up against Moses and Aaron at the same time: but that hath been the method ever since. There was no church till then ever governed without an apostle or a bishop: and since then, they who go from their bishop, have said very often to their king too, "Nolumus hunc regnare:" and when we see men pretending religion, and yet refuse to own the king's supremacy, they may, upon the stock of holiness, easily reprove their own folly, by considering that such recusancy does introduce into our churches the very worst, the most intolerable parts of popery: for perfect submission to kings is the glory of the protestant cause: and really the reprovable doctrines of the church of Rome are by nothing so much confuted, as that they destroy good life by consequent and evident deduction; as by an induction of particulars were easy to make apparent, if this were the proper season for it.

2. Holiness is not only an advantage to the learning all wisdom and holiness, but for the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling, and useless, and contentious; and to one of these heads all questions will return: and therefore, in all, from holiness we have the best instructions. And this brings me to the next particle of the general consideration. For that which we are taught by the Holy Spirit of God, this new nature, this vital principle within us, it is that which is worth our learning; not vain and empty, idle and insignificant notions, in which when you have laboured till your eyes are fixed in their orbs, and your flesh unfixed from its bones, you are no better and no wiser. If the Spirit of God be your teacher, he will teach you such truths as will make you know and love God, and become like to him, and enjoy him for ever, by passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition. But what are you the better, if any man should pretend to teach you whether every angel makes a species? and what is the individuation of the soul in the state of separation? what are you the wiser, if you should study and find out what place Adam should for ever have lived in, if he had not fallen? and what is any man the more learned, if he hears the disputes, whether Adam should have multiplied children in the state of innocence, and what would have been the event of things, if one child had been born before his father's sin?

Too many scholars have lived upon air and empty notions for many ages past, and troubled themselves with tying and untying knots, like hypochondriacs in a fit of melancholy, thinking of nothing, and troubling themselves with nothing, and falling out about nothings, and being very wise and very learned in things that are not and work not, and were never planted in paradise by the finger of God. Men's notions are too often like the mules, begotten by equivocal and unnatural generations; but they make no species; they are begotten, but they can beget nothing; they are the effects of long study, but they can do no good when they are produced; they are not that which Solomon calls "viam intelligentiæ," "the way of understanding." If the Spirit of God be our teacher, we shall learn to avoid evil, and to do good, to be wise and to be holy, to be profitable and careful; and they that walk in this way, shall find more peace in their consciences, more skill in the Scriptures, more satisfaction in their doubts, than can be obtained by all the polemical and impertinent disputations of the world. And if the Holy Spirit can teach us how vain a thing it is to do foolish things, he also will teach us how vain a thing it is to trouble the world with foolish questions, to disturb the church for interest or pride, to resist government in things indifferent, to spend the people's zeal in things unprofitable, to make religion to consist in outsides, and opposition to circumstances, and trifling regards. No, no; the man that is wise, he that is conducted by the Spirit of God,—knows better in what Christ's kingdom does consist, than to throw away his time and interest, and peace and safety—for what? for religion? no: for the body of religion? not so much: for the garment of the body of religion? no, not for so much; but for the fringes of the garment of the body of religion; for such, and no better, are the disputes that trouble our discontented brethren; they are things, or rather circumstances and manners of things, in which the soul and spirit is not at all concerned.

3. Holiness of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a natural medium, nor only as a prudent medium, but as a means by way of Divine blessing. "He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him."[p] Here we have a promise for it; and upon that we may rely.

[o] Prov. x. 31, 32.

[p] John xiv. 21.

The old man that confuted the Arian priest by a plain recital of his creed, found a mighty power of God effecting his own work by a strange manner, and by a very plain instrument; it wrought a Divine blessing just as sacraments use to do; and this lightening sometimes comes in a strange manner, as a peculiar blessing to good men. For God kept the secrets of his kingdom from the wise heathens and the learned Jews, revealing them to babes; not because they had less learning, but because they had more love; they were children and babes in malice; they loved Christ, and so he became to them a light and a glory. St. Paul had more learning than they all; and Moses was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians; yet because he was the meekest man upon earth, he was also the wisest; and to his human learning, in which he was excellent, he had a Divine light and excellent wisdom superadded to him, by way of spiritual blessings. And St. Paul, though he went very far to the knowledge of many great and excellent truths by the force of human learning, yet he was far short of perfective truth and true wisdom, till he learned a new lesson in a new school, at the feet of one greater than his Gamaliel: his learning grew much greater, his notions brighter, his skill deeper, —by the love of Christ, and his desires, his passionate desires after Jesus.

The force and use of human learning, and of this Divine learning I am now speaking of, are both well expressed by the prophet Isaiah; "And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I am not learned."[q] He that is no learned man, who is not bred up in the schools of the prophets, cannot read God's book for want of learning. For human learning is the gate and first entrance of Divine vision; not the only one indeed, but the common gate. But beyond this, there must be another learning; for he that is learned, bring the book to him, and you are not much the better as to the secret part of it, if the book be sealed, if his eyes be closed, if his heart be not opened, if God does not speak to him in the secret way of discipline. Human learning is an excellent foundation; but the top-stone is laid by love and conformity to the will of God. For we may further observe, that blindness, error, and ignorance, are the punishments which God sends upon wicked and ungodly men. "Etiamsi propter nostræ intelligentiæ tarditatem et vitæ demeritum, veritas nondum se apertissime ostenderit," was St. Austin's expression: "The truth hath not yet been manifested fully to us, by reason of our demerits:" our sins have hindered the brightness of the truth from shining upon us. And St. Paul observes, that when the heathens gave themselves "over to lusts, God gave them over to strong delusions, and to believe a lie."[r] But "God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowledge, and joy," said the wise preacher.[s] But this is most expressly promised in the New Testament, and particularly in that admirable sermon, which our blessed Saviour preached a little before his death: "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things."[t] Well, there is our teacher told of plainly: but how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Christ will pray for us that we may have this Spirit.[u] That is well: but shall all christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like christians: for so said Christ, "If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him." Mark these things. The Spirit of God is our teacher:—he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher:—he will teach us all things;—but how? "If ye love Christ," if ye keep his commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him. And this is the particular I am now to speak to; the way by which the Spirit of God teaches us in all the ways and secrets of God, is love and holiness.

"Secreta Dei Deo nostro et filiis domus ejus," "God's secrets are to himself and the sons of his house," saith the Jewish proverb. Love is the great instrument of Divine knowledge, that is the *ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων*, "the height of all that is to be taught or learned." Love is obedience, and we learn his words best when we practise them; *Ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μανθάνοντας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν*, said Aristotle;[x] "those things which they that learn ought to practise,—even while they practise they will best learn."—"Quisquis non venit, profectò nec didicit: ita enim Dominus docet per Spiritûs gratiam, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat et agendo perficiat;" St. Austin:[y] "Unless we come to Christ, we shall never learn: for so our blessed Lord teaches us by the grace of his Spirit, that what any one learns, he not only sees it by knowledge, but desires it by choice, and perfects it by practice."

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find not only in things of practice, but even in deepest mysteries, not only the choicest and most eminent saints, but even every good man can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error.

He that goes about to speak of and to understand the mysterious Trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, or by such which signify contingently, if he reckons this mystery by the mythology of numbers, by the cabala of letters, by the distinctions of the school, and by the weak inventions of disputing people; if he only talks of essences and existences, hypostasies and personalities, distinctions

[q] Isa. xxix. 11, 12.
[r] Rom. i. 25, 26.
[s] Eccl. ii. 26.
[t] John xiv. 26.
[u] Ib. 15, 16, 17.
[x] Lib. ii. Ethic. c. 1.
[y] De Gratiâ Christi, lib. i. c. 14. Nullum bonum perfectè noscitur quod non perfectè amatur. Aug. lib. lxxxiii. Qu. de Gratiâ Christi.

without difference, and priority in coequalities, and unity in pluralities, and of superior predicates of no larger extent than the inferior subjects;—he may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like St. Peter's upon the mount of Tabor at the transfiguration: he may build three tabernacles in his head, and talk something, but he knows not what. But the good man that feels the "power of the Father," and he to whom "the Son" is become "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;" he in "whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread;" to whom God hath communicated the "Holy Ghost, the Comforter;"—this man, though he understands nothing of that which is unintelligible, yet he only understands the mysteriousness of the holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the article of the holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity, but he that feels the mightiness of "the Father begetting him to a new life," the wisdom of "the Son building him up in a most holy faith," and the "love of the Spirit of God making him to become like unto God."

He that hath passed from his childhood in grace, under the spiritual generation of the Father, and is gone forward to be a young man in Christ, strong and vigorous in holy actions and holy undertakings, and from thence is become an old disciple, and strong and grown old in religion, and the conversation of the Spirit; this man best understands the secret and undiscernible economy, he feels this unintelligible mystery, and sees with his heart what his tongue can never express, and his metaphysics can never prove. In these cases faith and love are the best knowledge, and Jesus Christ is best known by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; and if the kingdom of God be in us, then we know God, and are known of him; and when we communicate of the Spirit of God, when we pray for him, and have received him, and entertained him, and dwelt with him, and warmed ourselves by his holy fires,—then we know him too: but there is no other satisfactory knowledge of the blessed Trinity but this: and, therefore, whatever thing is spoken of God metaphysically, there is no knowing of God theologically, and as he ought to be known, but by the measures of holiness, and the proper light of the Spirit of God.

But in this case experience is the best learning, and christianity is the best institution, and the Spirit of God is the best teacher, and holiness is the greatest wisdom; and he that sins most, is the most ignorant,—and the humble and obedient man is the best scholar: "For the Spirit of God is a loving Spirit, and will not enter into a polluted soul: but he that keepeth the law, getteth the understanding thereof; and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom," said the wise Ben-Sirach.[z] And now give me leave to apply the doctrine to you, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

Many ways have been attempted to reconcile the differences of the church in matters of religion, and all the counsels of man have yet proved ineffective: let us now try God's method, let us betake ourselves to live holily, and then the Spirit of God will lead us into all truth. And indeed—it matters not what religion any man is of, if he be a villain;—the opinion of his sect, as it will not save his soul, so neither will it do good to the public: but this is a sure rule, if the holy man best understands wisdom and religion, then by the proportions of holiness we shall best measure the doctrines, that are obtruded to the disturbance of our peace, and the dishonour of the gospel. And, therefore,

1. That is no good religion, whose principles destroy any duty of religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness. Any thing that is proud, any thing that is peevish and scornful, any thing that is uncharitable, is against the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, that "form of sound doctrine" which the apostle speaks of. And I remember that Ammianus Marcellinus, telling of George, a proud and factious minister, that he was an informer against his brethren, he says, he did it "oblitus professionis suæ, quæ nil nisi justum suadet et lene;" "He forgot his profession, which teaches nothing but justice and meekness, kindnesses and charity."—And however Bellarmine and others are pleased to take but indirect and imperfect notice of it, yet goodness is the best note of the church.

2. It is but an ill sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superior in little scruples and fantastic opinions, about things not concerning the life of religion, or the pleasure of God, or the excellencies of the Spirit. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, to set forward holiness, and the love of God and of his brother; and he knows also that there is no godliness in spending our time and our talk, our heart and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of religion: and they can ill teach others, that do not know that religion does not consist in these things; but obedience may, and reductively that is religion: and he that, for that which is no part of religion, destroys religion directly, by neglecting that duty that is adopted into religion,—is a man of fancy and of the world; but he gives but an ill account, that he is a man of God and a son of the Spirit.

Spend not your time in that which profits not; for your labour and your health, your time and your studies are very valuable; and it is a thousand pities to see a diligent and a hopeful person spend himself in gathering cockle-shells and little pebbles, in telling sands upon the shores, and making garlands of useless daisies. Study that which is profitable, that which will make you useful to churches and commonwealths, that which will make you desirable and wise. Only I shall add this to you, that in learning there are variety of things, as well as in religion: there is mint and cummin, and there are the weighty things of the law: so there are studies more and less useful, and every thing that is useful will be required in its time: and I may in this also use the words of our blessed Saviour, "These things

[z] Ecclus. xxi. 11.

ought you to look after, and not to leave the other unregarded." But your great care is to be in the things of God and of religion, in holiness and true wisdom, remembering the saying of Origen, "That the knowledge that arises from goodness is θειότερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως, 'something that is more certain and more divine than all demonstration,' than all other learnings of the word."

3. That is no good religion that disturbs government, or shakes a foundation of public peace. Kings and bishops are the foundations and the great principles of unity, of peace, and government; like Rachel and Leah, they build up the house of Israel: and those blind Samsons that shake these pillars, intend to pull the house down. "My son, fear God and the king," saith Solomon; "and meddle not with them that are given to change." That is not truth that loves changes; and the new nothings of heretical and schismatical preachers are infinitely far from the blessings of truth.

In the holy language, truth hath a mysterious name, אמת "emet;" it consists of three letters, the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters; implying to us, that truth is first, and will be last, and it is the same all the way, and combines and unites all extremes; it ties all ends together.—"Truth is lasting, and ever full of blessing:"—For the Jews observe that those letters which signify truth, are both in the figure and the number quadrate, firm, and cubical; these signify a foundation, and an abode for ever. Whereas, on the other side, the word which in Hebrew signifies a lie, שחר "secher," is made of letters whose numbers are imperfect, and their figure pointed and voluble; to signify that a lie hath no foundation.

And this very observation will give good light in our questions and disputes: and I give my instance in episcopal government, which hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, hath its firmament by the principles of christianity, hath been blest by the issues of that stabiliment; it hath for sixteen hundred years combined with monarchy, and hath been taught by the Spirit which hath so long dwelt in God's church, and hath now—according to the promise of Jesus, that says, "the gates of hell shall never prevail against the church"—been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles; and as it went away, so now it is returned again in the hand of monarchy, and in the bosom of our fundamental laws. Now that doctrine must needs be suspected of error, and an intolerable lie, that speaks against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from the wisdom and experience of so many ages, of all our ancestors, and all our laws.

When the Spirit of God wrote in Greek, Christ is called A and Ω; if he had spoken Hebrew, he had been called א and ת, that is, אמת "emet;" he is "truth," "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever:" and whoever opposes this holy sanction, which Christ's Spirit hath sanctified, his word hath warranted, his blessings have endeared, his promises have ratified, and his church hath always kept; he fights against this אמת "emet," and "secher" is his portion; his lot is a "lie;" his portion is there, where holiness can never dwell.

And now to conclude: to you, fathers and brethren, you who are or intend to be of the clergy; you see here the best compendium of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God: it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. "Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine," saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the best instrument, and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is "according to godliness."

And let me tell you this, the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. Chrysostom,[a] with which I will conclude: "O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like David, will cry out, 'Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old?' Where is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and contained the word of life? 'Dulce est meminisse;' 'their very memory is pleasant.' Where is that Evodias, the sweet savour of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy apostles? Where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? Where is St. Dionysius the Areopagite, that bird of Paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is Hippolytus, that good man, ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς, 'that gentle sweet person?' Where is great St. Basil, a man almost equal to the apostles? Where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? Where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? And Ephrem the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost?" These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth: and whoever shall oppose you, and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. But if ye become burning and shining lights; if ye

[a] Lib. de Consummat. Seculi, inter opera Ephrem Syri.

do not detain the truth in unrighteousness; if ye walk in light, and live in the Spirit; your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men and pleasing to God, through him who is the wisdom of the Father, who is made to all that love him wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: "To whom with the Father," &c.

SERMON VII.

PREACHED

IN CHRIST'S CHURCH, DUBLIN,

AT THE FUNERAL

OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND,

July 16, 1663:

WITH A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE OF HIS WHOLE LIFE.

But every man in his own order: Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.—1 Cor. xv. 23.

THE condition of man, in this world, is so limited and depressed, so relative and imperfect, that the best things he does, he does weakly,—and the best things he hath, are imperfections in their very constitution. I need not tell how little it is that we know: the greatest indication of this is, that we can never tell how many things we know not; and we may soon span our own knowledge, but our ignorance we can never fathom. Our very will, in which mankind pretends to be most noble and imperial, is a direct state of imperfection; and our very liberty of choosing good and evil is permitted to us, not to make us proud, but to make us humble; for it supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love. For if we understood all the degrees of amability in the service of God, or if we had such love to God as he deserves, and so perfect a conviction as were fit for his services, we could no more deliberate: for liberty of will is like the motion of a magnetic needle toward the north, full of trembling and uncertainty till it were fixed in the beloved point; it wavers as long as it is free, and is at rest when it can choose no more. And truly what is the hope of man? It is indeed the resurrection of the soul in this world from sorrow and her saddest pressures, and like the twilight to the day, and the harbinger of joy; but still it is but a conjugation of infirmities, and proclaims our present calamity, only because it is uneasy here, it thrusts us forward toward the light and glories of the resurrection.

For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground, with her portion and share of Adam's curse, lifts up its head to partake a little of the blessings of the air, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curls her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighbourhood of the head's pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwell and sleep upon the dust: so are the hopes of a mortal man; he opens his eyes, and looks upon fine things at distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold; and the man rejoices because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart aches, because he knows there are a thousand ways to fail and miss of those glories; and though he hopes, yet he enjoys not; he longs, but he possesses not, and must be content with his portion of dust; and being "a worm, and no man," must lie down in this portion, before he can receive the end of his hopes, the salvation of his soul in the resurrection of the dead. For as death is the end of our lives, so is the resurrection the end of our hopes; and as we die daily,

so we daily hope: but death, which is the end of our life, is the enlargement of our spirits from hope to certainty, from uncertain fears to certain expectations, from the death of the body to the life of the soul; that is, to partake of the light and life of Christ, to rise to life as he did; for his resurrection is the beginning of ours: he died for us alone, not for himself; but he rose again for himself and us too. So that if he did rise, so shall we; the resurrection shall be universal; good and bad, all shall rise, but not altogether: first Christ, then we that are Christ's; and yet there is a third resurrection, though not spoken of here; but thus it shall be, "The dead of Christ shall rise first;" that is, next to Christ; and after them, the wicked shall rise to condemnation.

So that you see here is the sum of affairs treated of in my text: not whether it be lawful to eat a tortoise or a mushroom, or to tread with the foot bare upon the ground within the octaves of Easter. It is not here inquired, whether angels be material or immaterial; or whether the dwellings of dead infants be within the air or in the regions of the earth? the inquiry here is, whether we are to be christians or no? whether we are to live good lives or no? or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness, acted with all the daughters of rapine and ambition? whether there be any such thing as sin, any judicatory for consciences, any rewards of piety, any difference of good and bad, any rewards after this life? This is the design of these words by proper interpretation: for if men shall die like dogs and sheep, they will certainly live like wolves and foxes; but he that believes the article of the resurrection, hath entertained the greatest demonstration in the world, that nothing can make us happy but the knowledge of God, and conformity to the life and death of the holy Jesus. Here, therefore, are the great hinges of all religion: 1. Christ is already risen from the dead. 2. We also shall rise in God's time and our order. Christ is the first-fruits. But there shall be a full harvest of the resurrection, and all shall rise. My text speaks only of the resurrection of the just, of them that belong to Christ; explicitly, I say, of these; and, therefore, directly of resurrection to life eternal. But because he also says there shall be an order for every man; and yet every man does not belong to Christ; therefore, indirectly also, he implies the more universal resurrection unto judgment: but this shall be the last thing that shall be done; for, according to the proverb of the Jews, Michael flies but with one wing, and Gabriel with two: God is quick in sending angels of peace, and they fly apace; but the messengers of wrath come slowly: God is more hasty to glorify his servants than to condemn the wicked. And, therefore, in the story of Dives and Lazarus, we find that the beggar died first; the good man, Lazarus, was first taken away from his misery to his comfort, and afterwards the rich man died; and as the good, many times, die first, so all of them rise first, as if it were a matter of haste: and as the mother's breasts swell and shoot, and long to give food to her babe, so God's bowels did yearn over his banished children, and he longs to cause them to eat and drink in his kingdom. And at last the wicked shall rise unto condemnation, for that must be done too; every man in his own order: first Christ, then Christ's servants, and, at last, Christ's enemies. The first of these is the great ground of our faith; the second is the consummation of all our hopes: the first is the foundation of God, that stands sure; the second is that superstructure that shall never perish: by the first we believe in God unto righteousness; by the second we live in God unto salvation: but the third, for that also is true, and must be considered, is the great affrightment of all them that live ungodly. But in the whole, Christ's resurrection and ours is the A and Ω of a christian; that as "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever," so may we in Christ become the morrow of the resurrection, the same or better than yesterday in our natural life; the same body and the same soul, tied together in the same essential union, with this only difference, that not nature, but grace and glory, with an hermetic seal, give us a new signature, whereby we shall no more be changed, but like unto Christ our Head, we shall become the same for ever. Of these I shall discourse in order. 1. That Christ, who is "the first-fruits," is the first in this order: he is already risen from the dead. 2. We shall all take our turns, we shall die, and, as sure as death, we shall all rise again. And, 3. This very order is effective of the thing itself. That Christ is first risen, is the demonstration and certainty of ours; for because there is an order in this economy, the first in the kind is the measure of the rest. If Christ be the first-fruits, we are the whole vintage; and we shall all die in the order of nature, and shall rise again in the order of Christ: "They that are Christ's," and are found so "at his coming," shall partake of his resurrection. But Christ first, then they that are Christ's: that is the order.

1. Christ is the first-fruits; he is already risen from the dead: for he alone could not be held by death. "Free among the dead."

> Φρίξεν σε γέρων τότε
> Αἰδὴς ὁ παλαιγενὴς
> Καὶ λαοβόρος κύων
> Ἀνεχάσατο βηλοῦ. SYNES. 6. Hym.

Death was sin's eldest daughter, and the grave-clothes were her first mantle; but Christ was Conqueror over both, and came to take that away, and to disarm this. This was a glory fit for the Head of mankind, but it was too great and too good to be easily believed by incredulous and weak-hearted man. It was at first doubted by all that were concerned; but they that saw it had no reason to doubt any longer. But what is that to us, who saw it not? Yes, very much: "Valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur à nobis," saith St. Austin; "They doubted very much, that, by their confirmation, we might be established, and doubt no more." Mary Magdalene saw him first, and she ran with joy, and said "she had seen the Lord, and that he was risen from the dead; but they believed her not:—After that, divers women together saw him," and they

told it, but had no thanks for their pains, and obtained no credit among the disciples: the two disciples that went to Emmaus, saw him, talked with him, ate with him, and they ran and told it: they told true, but nobody believed them: then St. Peter saw him, but he was not yet got into the chair of the catholic church, they did not think him infallible, and so they believed him not at all. Five times in one day he appeared; for after all this, he appeared to the eleven; they were indeed transported with joy and wonder; but they would scarce believe their own eyes, and though they saw him, they doubted. Well, all this was not enough; he was seen also of James, and suffered Thomas to thrust his hand into his side, and appeared to St. Paul, and was seen by "five hundred brethren at once." So that there is no capacity of mankind, no time, no place, but had an ocular demonstration of his resurrection. He appeared to men and women, to the clergy and the laity, to sinners of both sexes; to weak men and to criminals, to doubters and deniers at home and abroad, in public and in private, in their houses and their journeys, unexpected and by appointment, betimes in the morning and late at night, to them in conjunction and to them in dispersion, when they did look for him and when they did not; he appeared upon earth to many, and to St. Paul and to St. Stephen from heaven; so that we can require no greater testimony then all these are able to give us; and they saw for themselves and for us too, that the faith and certainty of the resurrection of Jesus might be conveyed to all that shall die, and follow Christ in their own order.

Now this being matter of fact, cannot be supposed infinite, but limited to time and place, and, therefore, to be proved by them who, at that time, were upon the place; good men and true, simple and yet losers by the bargain, many and united, confident and constant, preaching it all their life, and stoutly maintaining it at their death; men that would not deceive others, and men that could not be deceived themselves, in a matter so notorious, and so proved, and so seen: and if this be not sufficient credibility in a matter of fact, as this was, then we can have no story credibly transmitted to us, no records kept, no acts of courts, no narratives of the days of old, no traditions of our fathers, no memorials of them in the third generation. Nay, if from these we have not sufficient causes and arguments of faith, how shall we be able to know the will of Heaven upon earth? unless God do not only tell it once, but always, and not only always to some men, but always to all men: for if some men must believe others, they can never do it in any thing more reasonably than in this; and if we may not trust them in this, then, without a perpetual miracle, no man could have faith; for faith could never come by hearing, by nothing but by seeing. But if there be any use of history, any faith in men, any honesty in manners, any truth in human intercourse; if there be any use of apostles or teachers, of ambassadors or letters, of ears or hearing; if there be any such thing as the grace of faith, that is less than demonstration or intuition; then we may be as sure that Christ, the first-fruits, is already risen, as all these credibilities can make us. But let us take heed; as God hates a lie, so he hates incredulity; an obstinate, a foolish, and pertinacious understanding. What we do every minute of our lives, in matters of little and great concernment, if we refuse to do it in religion, which yet is to be conducted, as all human affairs are, by human instruments, and arguments of persuasion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obstinacy as cross to human reason, as it is to Divine faith.

But this article was so clearly proved, that presently it came to pass that men were no longer ashamed of the cross, but it was worn upon breasts, printed in the air, drawn upon foreheads, carried upon banners, put upon crowns imperial; presently it came to pass that the religion of the despised Jesus did infinitely prevail; a religion that taught men to be meek and humble, apt to receive injuries, but unapt to do any; a religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful, in a time when riches were adored, and ambition and pleasure had possessed the heart of all mankind; a religion that would change the face of things, and the hearts of men, and break vile habits into gentleness and counsel; that such a religion, in such a time, by the sermons and conduct of fishermen, men of mean breeding and illiberal arts, should so speedily triumph over the philosophy of the world, and the arguments of the subtle, and the sermons of the eloquent; the power of princes and the interests of states, the inclinations of nature and the blindness of zeal, the force of custom and the solicitation of passions, the pleasures of sin and the busy arts of the devil; that is, against wit and power, superstition and wilfulness, fame and money, nature and empire, which are all the causes in this world that can make a thing impossible; this, this is to be ascribed to the power of God, and is the great demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus. Every thing was an argument for it, and improved it; no objection could hinder it, no enemies destroy it; whatsoever was for them, it made the religion to increase; whatsoever was against them, made it to increase; sun-shine and storms, fair weather or foul, it was all one as to the event of things: for they were instruments in the hands of God, who could make what himself should choose to be the product of any cause; so that if the christians had peace, they went abroad and brought in converts: if they had no peace but persecution, the converts came in to them. In prosperity, they allured and enticed the world by the beauty of holiness; in affliction and trouble, they amazed all men with the splendour of their innocence and the glories of their patience; and quickly it was that the world became disciple to the glorious Nazarene, and men could no longer doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, when it became so demonstrated by the certainty of them that saw it, and the courage of them that died for it, and the multitude of them that believed it; who, by their sermons and their actions, by their public offices and discourses, by festivals and eucharists, by arguments of experience and sense, by reason

and religion, by persuading rational men, and establishing believing christians, by their living in the obedience of Jesus, and dying for the testimony of Jesus, have greatly advanced his kingdom, and his power, and his glory, into which he entered after his resurrection from the dead. For he is the first-fruits; and if we hope to rise through him, we must confess that himself is first risen from the dead. That is the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also: we also shall rise again:

> Combustusque senex tumulo procedit adultus;
> Consumens dat membra rogus;———

The ashes of old Camillus shall stand up spritely from his urn; and the funeral fires shall produce a new warmth to the dead bones of all those, who died under the arms of all the enemies of the Roman greatness. This is a less wonder than the former; for "admonetur omnis ætas jam fieri posse quod aliquando factum est." If it was done once, it may be done again: for since it could never have been done but by a Power that is infinite, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. By the same almighty Power, which restored life to the dead body of our living Lord, we may all be restored to a new life in the resurrection of the dead.

When man was not, what power, what causes made him to be? Whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again; and because we know not the method of nature's secret changes, and how we can be fashioned beneath "in secreto terræ," and cannot handle and discern the possibilities and seminal powers in the ashes of dissolved bones, must our ignorance in philosophy be put in balance against the articles of religion, the hopes of mankind, the faith of nations, and the truth of God? And are our opinions of the power of God so low, that our understanding must be his measure; and he shall be confessed to do nothing, unless it be made plain in our philosophy? Certainly we have a low opinion of God, unless we believe he can do more things than we can understand; but let us hear St. Paul's demonstration; if the corn dies and lives again; if it lays its body down, suffers alteration, dissolution, and death,—but at the spring, rises again in the verdure of a leaf, in the fulness of the ear, in the kidneys of wheat; if it proceeds from little to great, from nakedness to ornament, from emptiness to plenty, from unity to multitude, from death to life: be a Sadducee no more, shame not thy understanding, and reproach not the weakness of thy faith, by thinking that corn can be restored to life, and man cannot; especially since in every creature, the obediential capacity is infinite, and cannot admit degrees; for every creature can be any thing under the power of God, which cannot be less than infinite.

But we find no obscure footsteps of this mystery even amongst the heathens: Pliny reports that Apion the grammarian, by the use of the plant osiris, called Homer from his grave; and in Valerius Maximus we find that Ælius Tubero returned to life, when he was seated in his funeral pile; and in Plutarch, that Soleus, after three days' burial, did live; and in Valerius, that Eris Pamphylius did so after ten days.[z] And it was so commonly believed that Glaucus, who was choked in a vessel of honey, did rise again, that it grew to a proverb: "Glaucus, poto melle, surrexit;" "Glaucus, having tasted honey, died and lived again." I pretend not to believe these stories to be true; but from these instances it may be concluded, that they believed it possible that there should be a resurrection from the dead; and natural reason, and their philosophy, did not wholly destroy their hopes and expectation to have a portion in this article.

For God, knowing that the great hopes of man, that the biggest endearment of religion, the sanction of private justice, the band of piety and holy courage,—does wholly derive from the article of the resurrection,—was pleased not only to make it credible, but easy and familiar to us; and so we converse every night with the image of death, that every morning we find an argument of the resurrection. Sleep and death have but one mother, and they have one name in common.

> Soles occidere et redire possunt;
> Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
> Nox est perpetua una dormienda. CATULL.

Charnel-houses are but κοιμητήρια, "cemeteries" or sleeping-places; and they that die, are fallen asleep, and the resurrection is but an awakening and standing up from sleep: but in sleep our senses are as fast bound by nature, as our joints are by the grave-clothes; and unless an angel of God awaken us every morning, we must confess ourselves as unable to converse with men, as we now are afraid to die and to converse with spirits. But, however, death itself is no more; it is but darkness and a shadow, a rest and a forgetfulness. What is there more in death? What is there less in sleep? For do we not see by experience that nothing of equal loudness does awaken us sooner than a man's voice, especially if he be called by name? and thus also it shall be in the resurrection: we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, and he that called Lazarus by name from his grave, shall also call us: for although St. Paul affirms, "that the trumpet shall sound, and there shall be the voice of an archangel;" yet this is not a word of nature, but of office and ministry: Christ himself is that archangel, and he shall "descend with a mighty shout," saith the apostle;[a] "and all that are in the grave shall hear his voice," saith St. John:[b] so that we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, because we are only fallen asleep by the decree of God; and when the cock and the lark calls us up to prayer and labour, the first thing we see is an argument of our resurrection from the dead. And when we consider what the Greek church reports,—that amongst them the bodies of those that die excommunicate, will not return to dust till the censure be taken off;—we may, with a little faith and reason, believe, that the same power that keeps them from their natural dissolution, can recall them to life and union. I

[z] Lib. i. c. 8.

[a] 1 Thes. iv. 16. [b] John v. 28.

will not now insist upon the story of the rising bones seen every year in Egypt, nor the pretences of the chemists, that they, from the ashes of flowers, can reproduce, from the same materials, the same beauties in colour and figure; for he that proves a certain truth from an uncertain argument, is like him that wears a wooden leg, when he hath two sound legs already; it hinders his going, but helps him not: the truth of God stands not in need of such supporters; nature alone is a sufficient preacher:

> Quæ nunc herba fuit, lignum jacet, herba futura,
> Aeriæ nudantur aves cum penna vetusta,
> Et nova subvestit reparatas pluma volucres.[c]

Night and day; the sun returning to the same point of east; every change of species in the same matter; generation and corruption; the eagle renewing her youth, and the snake her skin; the silk-worm and the swallows; the care of posterity, and the care of an immortal name; winter and summer; the fall and spring; the Old Testament and the New; the words of Job; and the visions of the prophets; the prayer of Ezekiel for the resurrection of the men of Ephraim; and the return of Jonas from the whale's belly; the histories of the Jews and the narratives of christians; the faith of believers and the philosophy of the reasonable;—all join in the verification of this mystery. And amongst these heaps, it is not of the least consideration, that there was never any good man, who having been taught this article, but if he served God, he also relied upon this. If he believed God, he believed this; and therefore St. Paul says, that they who were ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, were also ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμῳ, "they who had no hope" (meaning of the resurrection) "were also atheists, and without God in the world." And it is remarkable what St. Austin observes, that when the world saw the righteous Abel destroyed, and that the murderer outlived his crime, and built up a numerous family, and grew mighty upon earth,—they neglected the service of God upon that account, till God, in pity of their prejudice and foolish arguings, took Enoch up to heaven to recover them from their impieties, by showing them that their bodies and souls should be rewarded for ever in an eternal union. But Christ, the first-fruits, is gone before, and himself did promise, that when himself was lifted up, he would draw all men after him: "Every man in his own order; first Christ, then they that are Christ's at his coming."—And so I have done with the second particular; not Christ only, but we also shall rise in God's time and our order.

But concerning this order I must speak a word or two, not only for the fuller handling the text, but because it will be matter of application of what hath been already spoken of the article of the resurrection.

3. First Christ, and then we; and we, therefore, because Christ is already risen: but you must remember, that the resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the reward of his perfect obedience and purest holiness; and he calling us to an imitation of the same obedience, and the same perfect holiness, prepares a way for us to the same resurrection. If we, by holiness, become the sons of God, as Christ was, we shall also, as he was, become the sons of God in the resurrection: but upon no other terms. So said our blessed Lord himself: "Ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel."[d] For as it was with Christ the first-fruits, so it shall be with all christians in their own order: as with the head, so it shall be with the members. He was the Son of God by love and obedience, and then became the Son of God by resurrection from the dead to life eternal, and so shall we; but we cannot be so in any other way. To them that are Christ's, and to none else, shall this be given: for we must know that God hath sent Christ into the world to be a great example and demonstration of the economy and dispensation of eternal life. As God brought Christ to glory, so he will bring us, but by no other method. He first obeyed the will of God, and patiently suffered the will of God; he died and rose again, and entered into glory; and so must we. Thus Christ is made "via, veritas, et vita," "the way, the truth, and the life;" that is, the true way to eternal life: he first trod this winepress, and we must insist in the same steps, or we shall never partake of this blessed resurrection. He was made the Son of God in a most glorious manner, and we by him, by his merit, by his grace, and by his example; but other than this there is no way of salvation for us: that is the first and great effect of this glorious order.

4. But there is one thing more in it yet: "Every man in his own order; first Christ, and then they that are Christ's:" but what shall become of them that are not Christ's? why there is an order for them too: first, "they that are Christ's; and then they that are not his:" "Blessed and holy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection:"[e] there is a first and a second resurrection even after this life; "The dead in Christ shall rise first:"[f] now blessed are they that have their portion here; "for upon these the second death shall have no power." As for the recalling the wicked from their graves, it is no otherwise in the sense of the Spirit to be called a resurrection, than taking a criminal from the prison to the bar is a giving of liberty. When poor Attilius Aviola had been seized on by an apoplexy, his friends, supposing him dead, carried him to his funeral pile; but when the fire began to approach, and the heat to warm the body, he revived, and seeing himself encircled with funeral flames, called out aloud to his friends to rescue, not the dead, but the living Aviola from that horrid burning: but it could not be, he only was restored from his sickness to fall into death, and from his dull disease to a sharp and intolerable torment.[g] Just so shall the wicked live again; they shall receive their souls, that they may be a portion for devils; they shall receive their bodies, that they may feel the everlasting burning; they shall see Christ, that they may "look on him whom they have pierced;" and they shall hear the voice of God passing upon

[c] Dracontius de Opere Dei. [d] Luke xiv. 14. [e] Rev. xx. 6. [f] 1 Thess. iv. 16. [g] Pliny.

them the intolerable sentence; they shall come from their graves, that they may go into hell; and live again, that they may die for ever. So have we seen a poor condemned criminal, the weight of whose sorrows, sitting heavily upon his soul, hath benumbed him into a deep sleep, till he hath forgotten his groans, and laid aside his deep sighings; but, on a sudden, comes the messenger of death, and unbinds the poppy garland, scatters the heavy cloud that encircled his miserable head, and makes him return to acts of life, that he may quickly descend into death and be no more. So is every sinner that lies down in shame, and makes his grave with the wicked; he shall indeed rise again, and be called upon by the voice of the archangel; but then he shall descend into sorrows greater than the reason and the patience of a man, weeping and shrieking louder than the groans of the miserable children in the valley of Hinnom.

These, indeed, are sad stories, but true as the voice of God, and the sermons of the holy Jesus. They are God's words, and God's decrees; and I wish that all who profess the belief of these, would consider sadly what they mean. If ye believe the article of the resurrection, then you know, that, in your body, you shall receive what you did in the body, whether it be good or bad. It matters not now very much, whether our bodies be beauteous or deformed; for if we glorify God in our bodies, God shall make our bodies glorious. It matters not much, whether we live in ease and pleasure, or eat nothing but bitter herbs; the body that lies in dust and ashes, that goes stooping and feeble, that lodges at the foot of the cross, and dwells in discipline, shall be feasted at the eternal supper of the Lamb. And ever remember this, that beastly pleasures, and lying lips, and a deceitful tongue, and a heart that sendeth forth proud things, are no good dispositions to a blessed resurrection.

Οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλύεμεν ἀνθρώποιο.

"It is not good, that in the body we live a life of dissolution, for that is no good harmony with that purpose of glory which God designs the body."

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν εἰς φάος ἐλθεῖν,
Λείψαν' ἀτοιχομένων· ὀπίσω δὲ θεοὶ τελέθονται,

said Phocylides; "for we hope that from our beds of darkness we shall rise into regions of light, and shall become like unto God:" they shall partake of a resurrection to life; and what this can infer is very obvious: for if it be so hard to believe a resurrection from one death, let us not be dead in trespasses and sins; for a resurrection from two deaths will be harder to be believed, and harder to be effected. But if any of you have lost the life of grace, and so forfeited all your title to a life of glory, betake yourselves to an early and an entire piety, that when, by this first resurrection, you have made this way plain before your face, you may with confidence expect a happy resurrection from your graves: for if it be possible that the Spirit, when it is dead in sin, can arise to a life of righteousness; much more it is easy to suppose, that the body, after death, is capable of being restored again: and this is a consequent of St. Paul's argument: "If, when ye were enemies, ye were reconciled by his death, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life;"[h] plainly declaring, that it is a harder and more wonderful thing for a wicked man to become the friend of God, than for one that is so, to be carried up to heaven and partake of his glory. The first resurrection is certainly the greater miracle: but he that hath risen once, may rise again; and this is as sure as that he that dies once may die again, and die for ever. But he who partakes of the death of Christ by mortification, and of his resurrection by holiness of life and a holy faith, shall, according to the expression of the prophet Isaiah, "Enter into his chamber of death;"[i] when nature and God's decree "shall shut the doors upon him, and there he shall be hidden for a little moment:" but then shall they that dwell in dust awake and sing; with Christ's dead body shall they arise; all shall rise, but "every man in his own order; Christ, the first-fruits, then they that are Christ's at his coming." Amen.

I have now done with my meditation of the resurrection; but we have a new and a sadder subject to consider. It is glorious and brave when a christian contemplates those glories, which stand at the foot of the account of all God's servants; but when we consider, that before all or any thing of this happens, every christian must twice "exuere hominem," "put off the old man," and then lie down in dust and the dishonours of the grave; it is "vinum myrrhatum," there is "myrrh put into our wine;" it is wholesome, but it will allay all our pleasures of that glorious expectation; but no man can escape it. After that the great Cyrus had ruled long in a mighty empire, yet there came a message from heaven, not so sad it may be, yet as decretory as the hand-writing on the wall that arrested his successor Darius, Σὺ σκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε. ἤδη γὰρ εἰς Ξεοὺς ἄπει, "Prepare thyself, O Cyrus, and then go unto the gods;"[k] he laid aside his tire and his beauteous diadem, and covered his face with a cloth, and in a single linen laid his honoured head in a poor humble grave: and none of us all can avoid this sentence; for if wit and learning, great fame and great experience; if wise notices of things, and an honourable fortune; if courage and skill, if prelacy and an honourable age, if any thing that could give greatness and immunity to a wise and prudent man, could have been put in bar against a sad day, and have gone for good plea, this sad scene of sorrows had not been the entertainment of this assembly. But tell me, where are those great masters, who while they lived, flourished in their studies? "Jam eorum præbendas alii possident, et nescio utrum de iis cogitant;" "other men have got their prebends and their dignities, and who knows whether ever they remember them or no?" While they lived, they seemed nothing; when they are dead, every man for a while speaks of them what they please; and afterwards they are as if

[h] Rom. v. 10.

[i] Isai. xxvi. 20.

[k] Cyrop.

they had not been. But the piety of the christian church hath made some little provision towards an artificial immortality for brave and worthy persons; and the friendships which our dead contracted while they were alive, require us to continue a fair memory as long as we can; but they expire in monthly minds, or at most in a faint and declining anniversary;

——— ἐπεὶ φίλος, ὅστις ἑταίρου
Μέμνηται κταμένοιο καὶ ἄχνυται οὐκ ἔτ' ἐόντος.

And we have great reason so to do in this present sad accident of the death of our late most reverend primate, whose death the church of Ireland hath very great reason to deplore; and we have great obligation to remember his very many worthy deeds, done for this poor afflicted and despised church. St. Paul made an excellent funeral oration, as it were instituting a feast of all saints, who all died "having obtained a good report:" and that excellent preacher, in the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews, made a sermon of their commemoration. For since good men, while they are alive, have their conversation in heaven; when they are in heaven, it is also fit that they should, in their good names, live upon earth. And as their great examples are an excellent sermon to the living, and the praising them, when envy and flattery can have no interest to interpose, as it is the best and most vigorous sermon and incentive to great things; so to conceal what good God hath wrought by them, is great unthankfulness to God and to good men.

When Dorcas died, the apostle came to see the dead corpse, and the friends of the deceased expressed their grief and their love, by showing the coats that she, whilst she lived, wrought with her own hands; she was a good needle-woman and a good housewife, and did good to mankind in her little way, and that itself ought not to be forgotten; and the apostle himself was not displeased with their little sermons, and that εὐφήμισμος which the women made upon that sad interview. But if we may have the same liberty to record the worthy things of this our most venerable father and brother, and if there remains no more of that envy which usually obscures the splendour of living heroes; if you can with your charitable though weeping eyes behold the great gifts of God with which he adorned this great prelate, and not object the failings of humanity to the participation of the graces of the Spirit, or think that God's gifts are the less because they are born in earthen vessels, πάντες γὰρ κλύτα ὄῶρα κερασσάμενοι φορέουσιν, for all men bear mortality about them, and the cabinet is not so beauteous as the diamond that shines within its bosom; then we may, without interruption, pay this duty to piety, and friendship, and thankfulness; and deplore our sad loss by telling a true and sad story of this great man, whom God hath lately taken from our eyes.

He was bred in Cambridge, in Sidney College, under Mr. Hulet, a grave and a worthy man; and he showed himself not only a fruitful plant by his great progress in his studies, but made him another return of gratitude, taking care to provide a good employment for him in Ireland, where he then began to be greatly interested. It was spoken as an honour to Augustus Cæsar, that he gave his tutor an honourable funeral; and Marcus Antoninus erected a statue unto his; and Gratian the emperor made his master Ausonius to be consul; and our worthy primate, knowing the obligation which they pass upon us, who do "obstetricare gravidæ animæ," "help the parturient soul" to bring forth fruits according to its seminal powers, was careful not only to reward the industry of such persons, so useful to the church in the cultivating "infantes palmarum," "young plants," whose joints are to be stretched and made straight; but to demonstrate that his scholar knew how to value learning, when he knew so well how to reward the teacher.

Having passed the course of his studies in the university, and done his exercise with that applause which is usually the reward of pregnant wit and hard study, he was removed into Yorkshire, where first, in the city of York, he was an assiduous preacher; but, by the disposition of the Divine Providence, he happened to be engaged at Northallerton in disputation with three pragmatical Romish priests of the Jesuits' order, whom he so much worsted in the conference, and so shamefully disadvantaged by the evidence of truth, represented wisely and learnedly, that the famous primate of York, Archbishop Matthews, a learned and an excellent prelate, and a most worthy preacher, hearing of that triumph, sent for him, and made him his chaplain; in whose service he continued till the death of the primate, but, in that time, had given so much testimony of his dexterity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that he grew dear to his master. In that employment he was made prebendary of York, and then of Rippon, the dean of which church having made him his sub-dean, he managed the affairs of that church so well, that he soon acquired a greater fame, and entered into the possession of many hearts, and admiration to those many more that knew him. There and at his parsonage he continued long to do the duty of a learned and good preacher, and by his wisdom, eloquence, and deportment, so gained the affections of the nobility, gentry, and commons of that country, that at his return thither upon the blessed restoration of his most sacred majesty, he knew himself obliged enough, and was so kind as to give them a visit; so they, by their coming in great numbers to meet him, their joyful reception of him, their great caressing of him when he was there, their forward hopes to enjoy him as their bishop, their trouble at his departure, their unwillingness to let him go away, gave signal testimonies that they were wise and kind enough to understand and value his great worth.

But while he lived there, he was like a diamond in the dust, or Lucius Quinctius at the plough; his low fortune covered a most valuable person, till he became observed by Sir Thomas Wentworth, lord president of York, whom we all knew for his great excellencies, and his great but glorious misfortunes.

This rare person espied the great abilities of Doctor Bramhall, and made him his chaplain, and brought him into Ireland, as one who, he believed, would prove the most fit instrument to serve in that design, which, for two years before his arrival here, he had greatly meditated and resolved, the reformation of religion, and the reparation of the broken fortunes of the church. The complaints were many, the abuses great, the causes of the church vastly numerous; but as fast as they were brought in, so fast they were by the lord deputy referred back to Dr. Bramhall, who, by his indefatigable pains, great sagacity, perpetual watchfulness, daily and hourly consultations, reduced things to a more tolerable condition, than they had been left in by the schismatical principles of some, and the unjust prepossessions of others, for many years before: for at the reformation, the popish bishops and priests seemed to conform, and did so, that keeping their bishoprics they might enrich their kindred and dilapidate the revenues of the church, which by pretended offices, false informations, fee-farms at contemptible rents, and ungodly alienations, were made low as poverty itself, and unfit to minister to the needs of them that served the altar, or the noblest purposes of religion: for hospitality decayed, and the bishops were easy to be oppressed by those that would; and they complained, but for a long time had no helper, till God raised up that glorious instrument the Earl of Strafford, who brought over with him as great affections to the church and to all public interests, and as admirable abilities, as ever before his time did invest and adorn any of the king's vicegerents; and God fitted his hand with an instrument good as his skill was great: for the first specimen of his abilities and diligence in recovery of some lost tithes, being represented to his late majesty, of blessed and glorious memory, it pleased his majesty, upon the death of Bishop Downham, to advance the Doctor to the bishopric of Derry, which he not only adorned with an excellent spirit and a wise government, but did more than double the revenue, not by taking any thing from them to whom it was due, but by resuming something of the churches' patrimony, which by undue means was detained in unfitting hands.

But his care was beyond his diocess, and his zeal broke out to warm all his brethren; and, though by reason of the favour and piety of king James, the escheated counties were well provided for their tithes, yet the bishoprics were not so well, till the primate, then bishop of Derry by the favour of the lord lieutenant and his own incessant and assiduous labour and wise conduct, brought in divers impropriations, cancelled many unjust alienations, and did restore them to a condition much more tolerable; I say much more tolerable; for though he raised them above contempt, yet they were not near to envy; but he knew there could not in all times be wanting too many, that envied to the church every degree of prosperity: so Judas did to Christ the expense of ointment; and so Dionysius told the priest, when himself stole the golden cloak from Apollo, and gave him one of Arcadian home-spun, that it was warmer for him in winter and cooler in summer. And for ever since, the church, by God's blessing and the favour of religious kings and princes, and pious nobility, hath been endowed with fair revenues, "inimicus homo," "the enemy" hath not been wanting, by pretences of religion, to take away God's portion from the church, as if his word were intended as an instrument to rob his houses. But when the Israelites were governed by a θεοκρατία, and "God was their king," and Moses his lieutenant, and things were of his management,—he was pleased, by making great provisions for them that ministered in the service of the tabernacle, to consign this truth for ever;—that men, as they love God, at the same rate are to make provisions for his priests. For when himself did it, he not only gave the forty-eight cities, with a mile of glebe round about their city every way, and yet the whole country was but a hundred and forty miles long, or thereabouts, from Dan to Beersheba; but besides this they had the tithe of all increase, the first-fruits, offerings, vows, redemptions, and in short, they had twenty-four sorts of dues, as Buxtorf relates; and all this either brought to the barn home to them without trouble, or else, as the nature of the thing required, brought to the temple; the first to make it more profitable, and the second to declare that they received it not from the people, but from God, not the people's kindness but the Lord's inheritance: insomuch that this small tribe of Levi, which was not the fortieth part of the people, as the Scripture computes them, had a revenue almost treble to any of the largest of the tribes.[m] I will not insist on what Villalpandus observes,[n] it may easily be read in the forty-fifth of Ezekiel, concerning that portion which God reserves for himself and his service; but whatsoever it be, this I shall say, that it is confessedly a prophecy of the gospel; but this I add, that they had as little to do, and much less than a christian priest; and yet in all the twenty-four courses the poorest priest among them might be esteemed a rich man.[o] I speak not this to upbraid any man, or any thing but sacrilege and murmur, nor to any other end but to represent upon what great and religious grounds the then bishop of Derry did, with so much care and assiduous labour, endeavour to restore the church of Ireland to that splendour and fulness; which as it is much conducing to the honour of God and of religion, God himself being the judge, so it is much more necessary for you than it is for us; and so this wise prelate rarely well understood it; and having the same advantage and blessing as now we have, a gracious king, and a lieutenant patron of religion and the church, he improved the "deposita pietatis," as Origen[p] calls them, "the gages of piety," which the religion of the ancient princes and nobles of this kingdom had bountifully given to such a comfortable competency, that though there be place left for present and future piety to enlarge itself, yet no man hath reason to be discouraged in his duty; insomuch that as I have heard from a most

[m] Numb. i. 46. iii. 39.
[n] Seld. Hist. of Tithes, c. 2.
[o] See Philo. περὶ, τοῦ τινὰ γέρα ἱερέων.
[p] Tract. 25. in St. Matthew.

worthy hand, that at his going into England he gave account to the archbishop of Canterbury of 30,000*l.* a year, in the recovery of which he was greatly and principally instrumental. But the goods of this world are called "waters" by Solomon: stolen waters are sweet, and they are too unstable to be stopped: some of these waters did run back from their proper channel, and return to another course than God and the laws intended; yet his labours and pious counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good men, and therefore by a thankful and honourable recognition, the convocation of the church of Ireland has transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honour will for ever remain to that bishop of Derry; he had a Zerubbabel who repaired the temple and restored its beauty; but he was the Joshua, the high priest, who under him ministered this blessing to the congregations of the Lord.

But his care was not determined in the exterior part only, and accessaries of religion; he was careful, and he was prosperous in it, to reduce that divine and excellent service of our church to public and constant exercise, to unity and devotion; and to cause the articles of the church of England to be accepted as the rule of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be "populus unius labii," "of one heart and one lip," building up our hopes of heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that Shibboleth which made this church lisp too indecently, or rather, in some little degree, to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan; and the excellent and wise pains he took in this particular, no man can dehonestate or reproach, but he that is not willing to confess, that the church of England is the best reformed church in the world. But when the brave Roman infantry, under the conduct of Manlius, ascended up to the capitol to defend religion and the altars from the fury of the Gauls, they all prayed to God, "Ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum templum ejus concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur:" "That as they came to defend his temple by their arms, so he would defend their persons and that cause with his power and divinity. "And this excellent man in the cause of religion found the like blessing which they prayed for; God, by the prosperity of his labours and a blessed effect, gave testimony not only of the piety and wisdom of his purposes, but that he loves to bless a wise instrument, when it is vigorously employed in a wise and religious labour. He overcame the difficulty in defiance of all such pretences, as were made even from religion itself, to obstruct the better procedure of real and material religion.

These were great things and matter of great envy, and, like the fiery eruptions of Vesuvius, might, with the very ashes of consumption, have buried another man. At first indeed, as his blessed Master, the most holy Jesus, had, so he also had his "annum acceptabilem." At first the product was nothing but great admiration at his stupendous parts, and wonder at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things; but this quickly passed into the natural daughters of envy, suspicion, and detraction, the spirit of obloquy and slander. His zeal for recovery of the church-revenues was called oppression and rapine, covetousness and injustice; his care of reducing religion to wise and justifiable principles was called popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signify what the authors are pleased to mean, and the people to construe and to hate. The intermedial prosperity of his person and fortune, which he had as an earnest of a greater reward to so well-meant labours, was supposed to be the production of illiberal arts and ways of getting; and the necessary refreshment of his wearied spirits, which did not always supply all his needs, and were sometimes less than the permissions even of prudent charity, they called intemperance: "Dederunt enim malum Metelli Nævio poetæ;" their own surmises were the bills of accusation; and the splendour of his great ἀγαθοεργία, or "doing of good works," was the great probation of all their calumnies. But if envy be the accuser, what can be the defences of innocence?

> Saucior invidiæ morsu, quærenda medela est;
> Dic quibus in terris sentiet æger opem?

Our blessed Saviour, knowing the unsatisfiable angers of men if their money or estates were meddled with, refused to divide an inheritance amongst brethren: it was not to be imagined that this great person (invested, as all his brethren were, with the infirmities of mortality, and yet employed in dividing, and recovering, and apportioning of lands) should be able to bear all that reproach, which jealousy, and suspicion, and malicious envy could invent against him. But ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ, said Sophocles: and so did he; the affrightments brought to his great fame and reputation made him to walk more warily, and do justly, and act prudently, and conduct his affairs by the measures of laws, as far as he understood, and indeed that was a very great way: but there was "aperta justitia, clausa manus," "justice was open, but his hand was shut;" and, though every slanderer could tell a story, yet none could prove that ever he received "a bribe to blind his eyes, to the value of a pair of gloves:" it was his own expression, when he gave glory to God who had preserved him innocent. But, because every man's cause is right in his own eyes, it was hard for him so to acquit himself, that in the intrigues of law and difficult cases, some of his enemies should not seem (when they were heard alone) to speak reason against him. But see the greatness of truth and prudence, and how greatly God stood with him. When the numerous armies of vexed people,

> Turba gravis paci, placidæque inimica quieti. MART.

heaped up catalogues of accusations, when the parliament of Ireland, imitating the violent procedures of the then disordered English, when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences; when petitions were invited

and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power, when there were above two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations; yet then he himself, standing almost alone, like Callimachus at Marathon, invested with enemies and covered with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact, and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced; they found they had done like Æsop's viper, they licked the file till their tongues bled; but himself was wholly invulnerable. They were therefore forced to leave their muster-rolls and decline the particulars, and fall to their ἓν μέγα, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws: the way by which great Strafford and Canterbury fell; which was a device, when all reasons failed, to oppress the enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove: they did like those "gladiators" whom the Romans called "retiarii," when they could not stab their enemy with their daggers, they threw nets over him, and covered him with a general mischief. But the martyr King Charles the First, of most glorious and eternal memory, seeing so great a champion likely to be oppressed with numbers and despair, sent what rescue he could, his royal letter for his bail, which was hardly granted to him; and when it was, it was upon such hard terms, that his very delivery was a persecution. So necessary it was for them, who intended to do mischief to the public, to take away the strongest pillars of the house. This thing I remark to acquit this great man from the tongue of slander, which had so boldly spoken, that it was certain something would stick; yet was so impotent and unarmed, that it could not kill that great fame, which his greater worthiness had procured him. It was said of Hippasus the Pythagorean, that being asked how and what he had done, he answered, "Nondum nihil; neque enim adhuc mihi invidetur;" "I have done nothing yet, for no man envies me." He that does great things, cannot avoid the tongues and teeth of envy; but if calumnies must pass for evidences, the bravest heroes must always be the most reproached persons in the world.

> Nascitur Ætolicus, pravum ingeniosus ad omne;
> Qui facere assuerat, patriæ non degener artis,
> Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.

Every thing can have an ill name and an ill sense put upon it; but God who takes care of reputations as he does of lives, by the orders of his Providence confutes the slander, "ut memoria justorum sit in benedictionibus," "that the memory of the righteous man might be embalmed with honour:" and so it happened to this great man; for by a public warranty, by the concurrent consent of both houses of parliament, the libellous petitions against him, the false records and public monuments of injurious shame, were cancelled, and he was restored, "in integrum," to that fame where his great labours and just procedures had first estated him; which though it was but justice, yet it was also such honour, that it is greater than the virulence of tongues, which his worthiness and their envy had armed against him.

But yet the great scene of his troubles was but newly opened. I shall not refuse to speak yet more of his troubles, as remembering that St. Paul, when he discourses of the glories of the saints departed, he tells more of their sufferings than of their prosperities, as being that laboratory and crucible, in which God makes his servants vessels of honour to his glory. The storm quickly grew high; "et transitum est à linguis ad gladios;" and that was indeed ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα, "Iniquity had put on arms;" when it is "armata nequitia," then a man is hard put to it. The rebellion breaking out, the bishop went to his charge at Derry; and because he was within the defence of walls, the execrable traitor, Sir Phelim O'Neale, laid a snare to bring him to a dishonourable death; for he wrote a letter to the bishop, pretending intelligence between them, desired that according to their former agreement such a gate might be delivered to him. The messenger was not advised to be cautious, nor at all instructed in the art of secrecy; for it was intended that he should be searched, intercepted, and hanged for aught they cared: but the arrow was shot against the bishop, that he might be accused for base conspiracy, and die with shame and sad dishonour. But here God manifested his mighty care of his servants; he was pleased to send into the heart of the messenger such an affrightment, that he directly ran away with the letter, and never durst come near the town to deliver it. This story was published by Sir Phelim himself, who added, that if he could have thus insnared the bishop, he had good assurance the town should have been his own: "Sed bonitas Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis;" "The goodness of God is greater than all the malice of men;" and nothing could so prove how dear that sacred life was to God, as his rescue from the dangers. "Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos:"[q] "To have kept him in a warm house had been nothing, unless the roof had fallen upon his head; that rescue was a remark of Divine favour and providence." But it seems Sir Phelim's treason against the life of this worthy man had a correspondent in the town; and it broke out speedily; for what they could not effect by malicious stratagem, they did in part by open force; they turned the bishop out of the town, and upon trifling and unjust pretences searched his carriages, and took what they pleased, till they were ashamed to take more: they did worse than divorce him from his church; for in all the Roman divorces they said, "Tuas tibi res habeto," "Take your goods and be gone;" but plunder was religion then. However, though the usage was sad, yet it was recompensed to him by his taking sanctuary in Oxford, where he was

[q] Mart.

graciously received by that most incomparable and divine prince; but having served the king in Yorkshire, by his pen, and by his counsels, and by his interests, he returned back to Ireland, where, under the excellent conduct of his Grace the now lord lieutenant, he ran the risk and fortune of oppressed virtue.

But God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forced into the fortune of the patriarchs, to leave his country and his charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange land; for so the prophets were used to do, wandering up and down in sheep's clothing; but poor as they were, the world was not worthy of them: and this worthy man, despising the shame, took up his cross and followed his Master.

> Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri,
> Et desiderium dulce levat patriæ.

He was not ashamed to suffer, where the cause was honourable and glorious; but so God provided for the needs of his banished, and sent a man who could minister comfort to the afflicted, and courage to the persecuted, and resolutions to the tempted, and strength to that religion for which they all suffered.

And here this great man was indeed triumphant; this was one of the last and best scenes of his life: *ἡμέραι γὰρ ἐπίλογοι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι*, "The last days are the best witnesses of a man." But so it was, that he stood up in public and brave defence for the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; first, by his sufferings and great example; for, "Verbis tantùm philosophari, non est doctoris, sed histrionis;" "To talk well and not to do bravely, is for a comedian, not a divine:" but this great man did both; he suffered his own calamity with great courage, and by his wise discourses strengthened the hearts of others.

For there wanted not diligent tempters in the church of Rome, who taking advantage of the afflictions of his sacred majesty, in which state men commonly suspect every thing, and like men in sickness are willing to change from side to side, hoping for ease and finding none, flew at royal game, and hoped to draw away the king from that religion which his most royal father, the best man and the wisest prince in the world, had sealed with the best blood in christendom, and which himself sucked in with his education, and had confirmed by choice and reason, and confessed publicly and bravely, and hath since restored prosperously. Millitiere was the man, witty and bold enough to attempt a zealous and a foolish undertaking, who addressed himself with ignoble, indeed, but witty arts, to persuade the king to leave what was dearer to him than his eyes. It is true, it was a wave dashed against a rock, and an arrow shot against the sun, it could not reach him; but the bishop of Derry turned it also, and made it fall upon the shooter's head; for he made so ingenious, so learned, and so acute reply to that book; he so discovered the errors of the Roman church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth, and shamed their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the bishop's learning, great parts, deep judgment, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity in the catholic and apostolic faith; or of the follies and prevarications of the church of Rome. He wrote no apologies for himself, though it were much to be wished that, as Junius wrote his own life, or Moses his own story, so we might have understood from himself how great things God had done for him and by him: but all that he permitted to God, and was silent in his own defences; "Gloriosius enim est injuriam tacendo fugere, quàm respondendo superare:" but when the honour and conscience of his king, and the interest of a true religion was at stake, the fire burned within him, and at last he spake with his tongue; he cried out like the son of Crœsus, *Ἄνθρωπε, μὴ κτείνε Κροῖσον*,[r] Take heed and meddle not with the king: his person is too sacred, and religion too dear to him, to be assaulted by vulgar hands. In short, he acquitted himself in this affair with so much truth and piety, learning and judgment, that in those papers his memory will last until very late succeeding generations.

But this most reverend prelate found a nobler adversary, and a braver scene for his contention: he found that the Roman priests, being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English divines, had studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last upon a general charge, imputing to the church of England the great crime of schism; and by this they thought they might with most probability deceive unwary and unskilful readers; for they saw the schism, and they saw we had left them; and because they considered not the causes, they resolved to out-face us in the charge: but now it was that "dignum nactus argumentum," "having an argument fit" to employ his great abilities,

> Consecrat hic præsul calamum calamique labores,
> Ante aras Domino læta trophæa suo;

"the bishop now dedicates his labours to the service of God" and of his church, undertook the question, and in a full discourse proves the church of Rome not only to be guilty of the schism, by making it necessary to depart from them; but they did actuate the schisms, and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the pope's supremacy, which was the palladium for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the popes of Rome were usurpers of the rights of kings and bishops; that they brought in new doctrines in every age, that they imposed their own devices upon christendom as articles of faith, that they prevaricated the doctrines of the apostles, that the church of England only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and his apostles, that she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say, they were never more materially confuted by any man, since the

[r] Herod.

questions have so unhappily disturbed christendom. "Verum hoc eos malè ussit:" and they finding themselves smitten under the fifth rib, set up an old champion of their own, a Goliah to fight against the armies of Israel; the old bishop of Chalcedon, known to many of us, replied to this excellent book; but was so answered by a rejoinder made by the lord bishop of Derry, in which he so pressed the former arguments, refuted the cavils, brought in so many impregnable authorities and probations, and added so many moments and weights to his discourse, that the pleasures of reading the book would be the greatest, if the profit to the church of God were not greater.

> Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris ibant,
> Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella. OVID.

For so Samson's riddle was again expounded, "Out of the strong came meat, and out of the eater came sweetness." His arguments were strong, and the eloquence was sweet and delectable; and though there started up another combatant against him, yet he had only the honour to fall by the hands of Hector: still "hæret lateri lethalis arundo;" the headed arrow went in so far, that it could not be drawn out, but the barbed steel stuck behind: and whenever men will desire to be satisfied in those great questions, the bishop of Derry's book shall be his oracle.

I will not insist upon his other excellent writings; but it is known every where with what piety and acumen he wrote against the Manichean doctrine of "fatal necessity," which a late witty man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor: but this excellent person washed off the ceruse and the meretricious paintings, rarely well asserted the economy of the Divine Providence, and having once more triumphed over his adversary, "plenus victoriarum et tropæorum," betook himself to the more agreeable attendance upon sacred offices; and having usefully and wisely discoursed of the sacred rite of confirmation, imposed his hands upon the most illustrious princes, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the princess royal, and ministered to them the promise of the Holy Spirit, and ministerially established them in the religion and service of the holy Jesus. And one thing more I shall remark; that at his leaving those parts upon the king's return, some of the remonstrant ministers of the Low Countries coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that by his means the church of England would be kind to them, he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things of a most excellent belief; yet he reproved them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the Socinians.

He thus having served God and the king abroad, God was pleased to return to the king and to us all, as in the days of old, and we sung the song of David, "In convertendo captivitatem Sion," when king David and all his servants returned to Jerusalem. This great person having trod in the winepress, was called to drink of the wine, and, as an honorary reward of his great services and abilities, was chosen primate of this national church, in which time we are to look upon him, as the king and the king's great vicegerent did, as a person concerning whose abilities the world had too great testimony ever to make a doubt. It is true he was in the declension of his age and health; but his very ruins were goodly; and they who saw the broken heaps of Pompey's theatre, and the crushed obelisks, and the old face of beauteous Philænium, could not but admire the disordered glories of such magnificent structures, which were venerable in their very dust.

He ever was used to overcome all difficulties, only mortality was too hard for him; but still his virtues and his spirit were immortal; he still took great care, and still had new and noble designs, and proposed to himself admirable things. He governed his province with great justice and sincerity;

> Unus amplo consulens pastor gregi,
> Somnos tuetur omnium solus vigil.

And had this remark in all his governments, that as he was a great hater of sacrilege, so he professed himself a public enemy to non-residence, and often would declare wisely and religiously against it, allowing it, in no case but of necessity, or the greater good of the church. There are great things spoken of his predecessor, St. Patrick, that he founded seven hundred churches and religious convents, that he ordained five thousand priests, and, with his own hands, consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops. How true the story is I know not; but we were all witnesses that the late primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did, by an extraordinary contingency of Providence, in one day, consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches in Ireland, and was greatly instrumental to the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry, was inferior to none of his most glorious antecessors.

Since the canonization of saints came into the church, we find no Irish bishop canonized, except St. Laurence of Dublin, and St. Malachias of Down; indeed Richard of Armagh's canonization was propounded, but not effected; but the character which was given of that learned primate by Trithemius,[1] does exactly fit this our late father: "Vir in Divinis Scripturis eruditus, secularis philosophiæ jurisque canonici non ignarus, clarus ingenio, sermone scholasticus, in declamandis sermonibus ad populum excellentis industriæ:" "He was learned in the Scriptures, skilled in secular philosophy, and not unknowing in the civil and canon laws, (in which studies I wish the clergy were, with some carefulness and diligence, still more conversant,) he was of an excellent spirit, a scholar in his discourses, an early and industrious preacher to the people." And as if there were a more particular sympathy between their souls, our primate had so great a veneration to his memory, that he purposed, if he had lived, to have restored his monument in Dundalk,

[1] De Scriptor. Eccles.

which time, or impiety, or unthankfulness, had either omitted or destroyed. So great a lover he was of all true and inherent worth, that he loved it in the very memory of the dead, and to have such great examples transmitted to the intuition and imitation of posterity.

At his coming to the primacy, he knew he should at first espy little besides the ruins of discipline, a harvest of thorns, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and, therefore, he set himself to weed the fields of the church; he treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently and in his own person, not by proxies and instrumental deputations: "Quærens non nostra, sed nos, et quæ sunt Jesu Christi:" "He designed nothing that we knew of but the redintegration of religion," the honour of God and the king, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the churches. And still he was indefatigable, and, even at the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a regal visitation. "Quid enim vultis me otiosum à Domino comprehendi?" said one, "He was not willing that God should take him unemployed:" but, good man, he felt his tabernacle ready to fall in pieces, and could go no further,—for God would have no more work done by that hand; he, therefore, espying this, put his house in order, and had lately visited his diocess, and done what he then could, to put his charge in order; for he had, a good while since, received the sentence of death within himself, and knew he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship; he, therefore, upon a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last January, made his will; in which, besides the prudence and presence of spirit manifested in making just and wise settlement of his estate, and provisions for his descendants; at midnight, and in the trouble of his sickness and circumstances of addressing death, still kept a special sentiment, and made confession of God's admirable mercies, and gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed restoration of his majesty and the church of England, confessed his faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God that he was born and bred up in this religion, and prayed to God, and hoped he should die in the communion of this church, which he declared to be the most pure and apostolical church in the whole world.

He prayed to God to pardon his frailties and infirmities, relied upon the mercies of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, and, with a singular sweetness, resigned up his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

But God, who is the great Choragus and Master of the scenes of life and death, was not pleased then to draw the curtains; there was an epilogue to his life yet to be acted and spoken. He returned to actions and life, and went on in the methods of the same procedure as before; was desirous still to establish the affairs of the church, complained of some disorders which he purposed to redress, girt himself to the work; but though his spirit was willing, yet his flesh was weak; and as the apostles in the vespers of Christ's passion, so he in the eye of his own dissolution, was heavy, not to sleep, but heavy unto death; and looked for the last warning, which seized on him in the midst of business; and though it was sudden, yet it could not be unexpected, or unprovided by surprise, and therefore, could be no other than that εὐθανασία which Augustus used to wish unto himself, a civil and well-natured death, without the amazement of troublesome circumstances, or the great cracks of a falling house, or the convulsions of impatience. Seneca tells that Bassus Aufidius was wont to say, "Sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu; si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsâ brevitate solatii:"[t] "He hoped that the pains of the last dissolution were little or none; or if they were it was full of comfort that they could be but short." It happened so to this excellent man; his passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and therefore there was the less need of it now; his active graces had been abundantly demonstrated by the great and good things he did; and therefore, his last scene was not so laborious, but God called him away something after the manner of Moses, which the Jews express by "osculum oris Dei," "the kiss of God's mouth;" that is, a death indeed fore-signified, but gentle and serene, and without temptation.

To sum up all: he was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful servant to his masters, a loyal subject to the king, a zealous assertor of his religion against popery on the one side, and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his religion was not so much in forms and exterior ministries, though he was a great observer of all the public rites and ministries of the church, as it was in doing good for others. He was like Myson, whom the Scythian Anacharsis so greatly praised, ὁ Μύσων ἦν οἶκον οἰκῆσας καλῶς, "he governed his family well," he gave to all their due of maintenance and duty; he did great benefit to mankind; he had the fate of the apostle St. Paul, he passed "through evil report and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true." He was a man of great business and great resort: "Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo," as the Corinthians said; "There was always somebody in Cydon's house." He was μερίζων τὸν βιὸν ἔργῳ καὶ βίβλῳ,[u] "he divided his life into labour and his book." He took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of Armagh and St. Peter's church in Drogheda. He was an excellent scholar, and rarely well accomplished; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. Melancthon was used to say, that himself was a logician, Pomeranus a grammarian, Justus Jonas an orator, but that Luther was all these. It was

[t] Epist. 30.

[u] Synes. Ep. 57.

greatly true of him, that the single perfections which make many men eminent, were united in this primate, and made him illustrious.

> At, at, Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
> Urget? cui Pudor, et, Justitiæ soror,
> Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
> Quando ullum invenient parem?

It will be hard to find his equal in all things: "Fortasse tanquam Phœnix anno quingentesimo nascitur," (that I may use the words of Seneca,) "nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari; mediocria et in turbam nascentia sæpe fortuna producit: eximia vero ipsâ raritate commendat." For in him were visible the great lines of Hooker's judiciousness, of Jewel's learning, of the acuteness of bishop Andrews. He was skilled in more great things than one: and as one said of Phidias, he could not only make excellent statues of ivory, but he could work in stone and brass. He showed his equanimity in poverty, and his justice in riches; he was useful in his country, and profitable in his banishment; for, as Paræus was at Anvilla, Luther at Wittenburg, St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom in their banishment, St. Jerome in his retirement at Bethlehem, they were oracles to them that needed it: so was he in Holland and France, where he was abroad; and beside the particular endearments which his friends received from him, for he did do relief to his brethren that wanted, and supplied the soldiers out of his store in Yorkshire, when himself could but ill spare it: but he received public thanks from the convocation of which he was president, and public justification from the parliament where he was speaker; so that although, as one said, "Miraculi instar vitæ iter, si longum, sine offensione percurrere;" yet no man had greater enemies, and no man had greater justifications.

But God hath taken our Elijah from our heads this day: I pray God that at least his mantle may be left behind, and that his spirit may be doubled upon his successor; and that we may all meet together with him at the right hand of the Lamb, where every man shall receive according to his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil. I conclude with the words of Caius Plinius: "Equidem beatos puto quibus Deorum munere datum est, aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda:" "he wrote many things fit to be read, and did very many things worthy to be written:" which if we wisely imitate, we may hope to meet him in the resurrection of the just, and feast with him in the eternal supper of the Lamb, there to sing perpetual anthems to the honour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; to whom be all honour, &c.

VIII.

A FUNERAL SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE OBSEQUIES

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST VIRTUOUS LADY,

THE LADY FRANCES,

COUNTESS OF CARBERY,

WHO DECEASED OCTOBER 9, 1650, AT HER HOUSE, GOLDEN GROVE, IN CAERMARTHENSHIRE.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND TRULY NOBLE

RICHARD LORD VAUGHAN,

EARL OF CARBERY, BARON OF EMLIN AND MOLINGER, KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

MY LORD,

I AM not ashamed to profess, that I pay this part of service to your lordship most unwillingly; for it is a sad office to be the chief minister in a house of mourning, and to present an interested person with a branch of cypress and a bottle of tears. And indeed, my Lord, it were more proportionable to your needs to bring something that might alleviate or divert your sorrow, than to dress the hearse of your dear lady, and to furnish it with such circumstances, that it may dwell with you, and lie in your closet, and

make your prayers and your retirements more sad and full of weepings. But, because the Divine Providence hath taken from you a person so excellent, a woman fit to converse with angels and apostles, with saints and martyrs, give me leave to present you with her picture, drawn in little and in water colours, sullied, indeed, with tears and the abrupt accents of a real and consonant sorrow, but drawn with a faithful hand, and taken from the life; and indeed, it were too great a loss to be deprived of her example and of her rule, of the original and of the copy too. The age is very evil and deserved her not; but because it is so evil, it hath the more need to have such lives preserved in memory, to instruct our piety or upbraid our wickedness. For now that God hath cut this tree of Paradise down from its seat of earth, yet so the dead trunk may support a part of the declining temple, or, at least, serve to kindle the fire on the altar. My Lord, I pray God this heap of sorrow may swell your piety, till it breaks into the greatest joys of God and of religion; and remember, when you pay a tear upon the grave, or to the memory of your lady, that dear and most excellent soul, that you pay two more; one of repentance for those things that may have caused this breach, and another of joy for the mercies of God to your dear departed saint, that he hath taken her into a place where she can weep no more. My Lord, I think *I* shall, so long as I live, that is, so long as I am

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Pietati et Memoriæ Sacrum.

Monumentum doloris singularis, paris fati et conditionis, posuit Richardus Comes Carberiensis sibi vivo, et mortem nec exoptanti nec metuenti: et dilectissimæ suæ conjugi Franciscæ Comitissæ in flore ætatis casibus puerperii raptæ ex amplexibus sanctissimi amoris. Fuit illa (descendat lacrimula, amice lector) fuit inter castissimas prima, inter conjuges amantissima, mater optima: placidi oris, severæ virtutis, conversationis suavissimæ: vultum hilarem fecit bona conscientia; amabilem, forma plusquam uxoria. Claris orta natalibus, fortunam non mediocrem habuit; erat enim cum uniciâ germanâ hæres ex asse. Annos XIII. Menses IV. supra biduum vixit in sanctissimo matrimonio cum suo quem effusissimè dilexit, et sanctè observavit; quem novit prudentissimum, sensit amantissimum, virum optimum vidit et lætata est. Enixa prolem numerosam, pulchram, ingenuam, formæ et spei optimæ; quatuor masculos, Franciscum Dominum Vaughan, Johannem, Althamum, quartum immaturum; fœminas sex, Dominam Franciscam, Elizabethas duas, Mariam, Margaretam, et Althamiam;—post cujus partum paucis diebus obdormiit. Totam prolem masculam (si demas abortivum illum) et fœminas omnes, præter Elizabetham alteram, et Mariam, superstites reliquit. Pietatis adeòque spei plena obiit ix. Octobr. MDCL. Lacrymis suorum omnium tota irrigua conditur in hoc cœmeterio, ubi cùm Deo Opt. Max. visum fuerit, sperat se reponendum conjux mœstissimus; intereà temporis luctui, sed pietati magis vacat, ut in suo tempore simul lætentur par tam pium, tam nobile, tam christianum in gremio Jesu, usque dum coronæ adornentur accipiendæ in adventu Domini. Amen.

Cum ille vitâ defunctus fuerit, marmor loquetur, quod adhuc tacere jubet virtus modesta: interim vitam ejus observa, et leges quod posteâ hîc inscriptum amabunt et colent posteri. Ora et abi.

SERMON.

For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again; neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means, that his banished be not expelled from him.—2 Sam. xiv. 14.

When our blessed Saviour and his disciples viewed the temple, some one amongst them cried out, "Magister, aspice, quales lapides!" "Master, behold what fair, what great stones are here!" Christ made no other reply, but foretold their dissolution, and a world of sadness and sorrow which should bury that whole nation, when the teeming cloud of God's displeasure should produce a storm, which was the daughter of the biggest anger, and the mother of the greatest calamity, which ever crushed any of the sons of Adam; "The time shall come, that there shall not be left one stone upon another." The whole temple and the religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the nation beloved by God, and the fabric erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period, and lie down in their several graves. Whatsoever had a beginning, can also have an ending; and it shall die, unless it be daily

watered with the purls flowing from the fountain of life, and refreshed with the dew of heaven and the wells of God: and therefore, God had provided a tree in Paradise to have supported Adam in his artificial immortality: immortality was not in his nature, but in the hands and arts, in the favour and superadditions of God. Man was always the same mixture of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture; ever the same weak thing, apt to feel rebellion in the humours, and to suffer the evils of a civil war in his body natural: and, therefore, health and life was to descend upon him from heaven, and he was to suck life from a tree on earth; himself being but ingrafted into a tree of life, and adopted into the condition of an immortal nature. But he that in the best of his days was but a scion of this tree of life, by his sin was cut off from thence quickly, and planted upon thorns, and his portion was for ever after among the flowers, which to-day spring and look like health and beauty, and in the evening they are sick, and at night are dead, and the oven is their grave: and, as before, even from our first spring from the dust on earth, we might have died, if we had not been preserved by the continual flux of a rare providence; so now that we are reduced to the laws of our own nature, "we must needs die." It is natural, and therefore necessary: it is become a punishment to us, and therefore it is unavoidable; and God hath bound the evil upon us by bands of natural and inseparable propriety, and by a supervening unalterable decree of heaven; and we are fallen from our privilege, and are returned to the condition of beasts, and buildings, and common things: and we see temples defiled unto the ground, and they die by sacrilege; and great empires die by their own plenty and ease, full humours, and factious subjects; and huge buildings fall by their own weight, and the violence of many winters eating and consuming the cement, which is the marrow of their bones; and princes die like the meanest of their servants; and every thing finds a grave and a tomb: and the very tomb itself dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury,

———Phario nutantia pondera saxo.
Quæ cineri vanus dat ruitura labor. MART.

and becomes as friable and uncombined dust, as the ashes of the sinner or the saint that lay under it, and is now forgotten in his bed of darkness. And to this catalogue of mortality man is enrolled with a "statutum est;" "It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death comes judgment:" and if a man can be stronger than nature, or can wrestle with a decree of heaven, or can escape from a Divine punishment by his own arts, so that neither the power nor the providence of God, nor the laws of nature, nor the bands of eternal predestination can hold him, then he may live beyond the fate and period of flesh, and last longer than a flower; but if all these can hold us and tie us to conditions, then we must lay our heads down upon a turf, and entertain creeping things in the cells and little chambers of our eyes, and dwell with worms till time and death shall be no more. "We must needs die"—that is our sentence: but that is not all.

"We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again." Stay,

1. We are as water, weak, and of no consistence, always descending, abiding in no certain place, unless where we are detained with violence; and every little breath of wind makes us rough and tempestuous, and troubles our faces; every trifling accident discomposes us; and, as the face of the waters wafting in a storm, so wrinkles itself, that it makes upon its forehead furrows deep and hollow like a grave; so do our great and little cares and trifles first make the wrinkles of old age, and then they dig a grave for us: and there is in nature nothing so contemptible, but it may meet with us in such circumstances, that it may be too hard for us in our weaknesses; and the sting of a bee is a weapon sharp enough to pierce the finger of a child or the lip of a man; and those creatures which nature hath left without weapons, yet they are armed sufficiently to vex those parts of men, which are left defenceless and obnoxious to a sun-beam, to the roughness of a sour grape, to the unevenness of a gravel stone, to the dust of a wheel, or the unwholesome breath of a star looking awry upon a sinner.

2. But besides the weaknesses and natural decayings of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the preternatural causes of our death: so that he is a vain person, whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by reason of his health; and he is too unreasonably timorous, who thinks his hopes at an end when he dwells in sickness. For men die without rule, and with and without occasions; and no man suspecting or foreseeing any of death's addresses, and no man in his whole condition is weaker than another. A man in a long consumption is fallen under one of the solemnities and preparations to death; but at the same instant, the most healthful person is as near death, upon a more fatal and a more sudden, but a less discerned cause. There are but few persons upon whose foreheads every man can read the sentence of death, written in the lines of a lingering sickness, but they sometimes hear the passing-bell ring for stronger men, even long before their own knell calls at the house of their mother to open her womb, and make a bed for them. No man is surer of to-morrow than the weakest of his brethren: and when Lepidus and Aufidius stumbled at the threshold of the senate, and fell down and died, the blow came from heaven in a cloud; but it struck more suddenly than upon the poor slave that made sport upon the theatre with a premeditated and fore-described death: "Quod quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis Cautum est in horas." There are sicknesses that walk in darkness; and there are exterminating angels, that fly wrapt up in the curtains of immateriality and an uncommunicating nature; whom we cannot see, but we feel their force, and sink under their sword; and from heaven the veil descends that wraps our heads in the fatal sentence. There is no age of man but it hath proper to itself some posterns and outlets for

death, besides those infinite and open ports out of which myriads of men and women every day pass into the dark, and the land of forgetfulness. Infancy hath life but in effigy, or like a spark dwelling in a pile of wood; the candle is so newly lighted, that every little shaking of the taper, and every ruder breath of air, puts it out, and it dies. Childhood is so tender, and yet so unwary; so soft to all the impressions of chance, and yet so forward to run into them, that God knew there could be no security without the care and vigilance of an angel-keeper; and the eyes of parents and the arms of nurses, the provisions of art, and all the effects of human love and providence, are not sufficient to keep one child from horrid mischiefs, from strange and early calamities and deaths, unless a messenger be sent from heaven to stand sentinel, and watch the very playings and sleepings, the eatings and drinkings of the children; and it is a long time before nature makes them capable of help: for there are many deaths, and very many diseases to which poor babes are exposed; but they have but very few capacities of physic; to show that infancy is as liable to death as old age, and equally exposed to danger, and equally incapable of a remedy; with this only difference, that old age hath diseases incurable by nature, and the diseases of childhood are incurable by art; and both the states are the next heirs of death.

3. But all the middle way the case is altered: nature is strong, and art is apt to give ease and remedy, but still there is no security; and there the case is not altered. 1. For there are so many diseases in men that are not understood. 2. So many new ones every year. 3. The old ones are so changed in circumstance, and intermingled with so many collateral complications. 4. The symptoms are oftentimes so alike. 5. Sometimes so hidden and fallacious. 6. Sometimes none at all; as in the most sudden and most dangerous imposthumations. 7. And then, the diseases, in the inward parts of the body, are oftentimes such, to which no application can be made. 8. They are so far off, that the effects of all medicines can no otherwise come to them, than the effect and juices of all meats; that is, not till after two or three alterations and decoctions, which change the very species of the medicament. 9. And, after all this, very many principles in the art of physic are so uncertain, that after they have been believed seven or eight ages, and that upon them much of the practice hath been established, they come to be considered by a witty man, and others established in their stead; by which men must practise, and by which three or four generations of men more (as happens) must live or die. 10. And all this while the men are sick, and they take things that certainly make them sicker for the present, and very uncertainly restore health for the future: that it may appear of what a large extent is human calamity; when God's Providence hath not only made it weak and miserable upon the certain stock of a various nature, and upon the accidents of an infinite contingency; but even from the remedies which are appointed, our dangers and our troubles are certainly increased: so that we may well be likened to water; our nature is no stronger, our abode no more certain; if the sluices be opened, "it falls away and runneth apace;" if its current be stopped it swells and grows troublesome, and spills over with a greater diffusion; if it be made to stand still, it putrifies: and all this we do. For,

4. In all the process of our health, we are running to our grave: we open our own sluices by viciousness and unworthy actions; we pour in drink, and let out life; we increase diseases, and know not how to bear them; we strangle ourselves with our own intemperance; we suffer the fevers and the inflammations of lust, and we quench our souls with drunkenness: we bury our understandings in loads of meat and surfeits; and then we lie down upon our beds, and roar with pain and disquietness of our souls: nay, we kill one another's souls and bodies with violence and folly, with the effects of pride and uncharitableness; we live and die like fools, and bring a new mortality upon ourselves; wars and vexatious cares, and private duels and public disorders, and every thing that is unreasonable, and every thing that is violent: so that now we may add this fourth gate to the grave: besides nature, and chance, and the mistakes of art, men die with their own sins, and then enter into the grave in haste and passion, and pull the heavy stone of the monument upon their own heads. And thus we make ourselves like water spilt on the ground; we throw away our lives as if they were unprofitable (and indeed most men make them so); we let our years slip through our fingers like water; and nothing is to be seen but like a shower of tears upon a spot of ground; there is a grave digged, and a solemn mourning and a great talk in the neighbourhood, and when the days are finished, they shall be, and they shall be remembered no more: and that is like water too,—when it is spilt, "it cannot be gathered up again."

There is no redemption from the grave.

> —— inter se mortales mutua vivunt:
> Et, quasi cursores, vitäi lampada tradunt. LUCR.

Men live in their course and by turns; their light burns awhile, and then it burns blue and faint, and men go to converse with spirits, and then they reach the taper to another; and as the hours of yesterday can never return again, so neither can the man whose hours they were, and who lived them over once, he shall never come to live them again, and live them better. When Lazarus, and the widow's son of Nain, and Tabitha, and the saints that appeared in Jerusalem at the resurrection of our blessed Lord, arose, they came into this world, some as strangers only to make a visit, and all of them to manifest a glory: but none came upon the stock of a new life, or entered upon the stage as at first, or to perform the course of a new nature: and therefore it is observable, that we never read of any wicked person that was raised from the dead: Dives would fain have returned to his brother's house; but neither he, nor any from him could be sent: but all the rest in the New Testament (one only excepted) were expressed to have been

holy persons, or else by their age were declared innocent. Lazarus was beloved of Christ: those souls that appeared at the resurrection, were the souls of saints: Tabitha, raised by St. Peter, was a charitable and a holy christian: and the maiden of twelve years old, raised by our blessed Saviour, had not entered into the regions of choice and sinfulness: and the only exception of the widow's son, is indeed none at all, for in it the Scripture is wholly silent; and therefore it is very probable that the same process was used, God, in all other instances, having chosen to exemplify his miracles of nature to purposes of the spirit, and in spiritual capacities. So that, although the Lord of nature did not break the bands of nature in some instances, to manifest his glory to succeeding great and never-failing purposes; yet (besides that this shall be no more) it was also instanced in such persons who were holy and innocent, and within the verge and comprehensions of the eternal mercy. We never read that a wicked person felt such a miracle, or was raised from the grave to try the second time for a crown; but where he fell, there he lay down dead, and saw the light no more.

This consideration I intend to you as a severe monitor and an advice of carefulness, that you order your affairs so that you may be partakers of the first resurrection; that is, from sin to grace, from the death of vicious habits to the vigour, life, and efficacy of an habitual righteousness: for (as it happened to those persons in the New Testament now mentioned, to them, I say, in the literal sense) "Blessed are they that have part in the first resurrection; upon them the second death shall have no power:" meaning that they who, by the power of Christ and his Holy Spirit were raised to life again, were holy and blessed souls, and such who were written in the book of God; and that this grace happened to no wicked and vicious person: so it is most true in the spiritual and intended sense: you only that serve God in a holy life; you who are not dead in trespasses and sins; you who serve God with an early diligence, and an unwearied industry, and a holy religion, you, and you only, shall come to life eternal, you only shall be called from death to life; the rest of mankind shall never live again, but pass from death to death; from one death to another, to a worse; from the death of the body to the eternal death of body and soul: and therefore in the Apostles' Creed there is no mention made of the resurrection of wicked persons; but of "the resurrection of the body to everlasting life." The wicked indeed shall be haled forth from their graves, from their everlasting prisons, where, in chains of darkness, they are kept unto the judgment of the great day: but this therefore cannot be called, "in sensu favoris," a resurrection; but the solemnities of the eternal death; it is nothing but a new capacity of dying again; such a dying as cannot signify rest; but where death means nothing but an intolerable and never ceasing calamity; and therefore these words of my text are otherwise to be understood of the wicked, otherwise of the godly: the wicked are spilt like water, and shall never be gathered up again; no, not in the gatherings of eternity; they shall be put into vessels of wrath, and set upon the flames of hell; but that is not a gathering, but a scattering from the face and presence of God. But the godly also come under the sense of these words: they descend into their graves, and shall no more be reckoned among the living; they have no concernment in all that is done under the sun. Agamemnon hath no more to do with the Turk's armies invading and possessing that part of Greece, where he reigned, than had the Hippocentaur, who never had a being; and Cicero hath no more interest in the present evils of christendom, than we have to do with his boasted discovery of Catiline's conspiracy. What is it to me that Rome was taken by the Gauls? and what is it now to Camillus, if different religions be tolerated amongst us? These things that now happen concern the living, and they are made the scenes of our duty or danger respectively: and when our wives are dead, and sleep in charnel-houses, they are not troubled when we laugh loudly at the songs sung at the next marriage-feast; nor do they envy when another snatches away the gleanings of their husbands' passion.

It is true, they envy not, and they lie in a bosom where there can be no murmur; and they that are consigned to kingdoms, and to the feast of the marriage-supper of the Lamb, the glorious and eternal Bridegroom of holy souls, they cannot think our marriages here, our lighter laughings and vain rejoicings, considerable, as to them. And "yet there is a relation continued still:" Aristotle said, that to affirm the dead take no thought for the good of the living, is a disparagement to the laws of that friendship, which, in their state of separation, they cannot be tempted to rescind. And the church hath taught in general, that they pray for us, they recommend to God the state of all their relatives, in the union of the intercession that our blessed Lord makes for them and us: and St. Ambrose gave some things in charge to his dying brother Satyrus, that he should do for him in the other world: he gave it him, I say, when he was dying, not when he was dead. And certain it is, that, though our dead friends' affection to us is not to be estimated according to our low conceptions, yet it is not less, but much more than ever it was; it is greater in degree, and of another kind.

But then we should do well also to remember that in this world we are something besides flesh and blood; that we may not, without violent necessities, run into new relations, but preserve the affections we bore to our dead when they were alive: we must not so live as if they were perished, but so as pressing forward to the most intimate participation of the communion of saints. And we also have some ways to express this relation, and to bear a part in this communion, by actions of intercourse with them, and yet proper to our state: such as are strictly performing the will of the dead, providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating their children, paying their debts, imitating their good example, preserving their memories privately, and publicly keeping their memorials, and desiring of

God, with hearty and constant prayer, that God would give them a joyful resurrection, and a merciful judgment,—for so St. Paul prayed in behalf of Onesiphorus;[a]—that "God would show them mercy in that day;" that fearful, and yet much to be desired day, in which the most righteous person hath need of much mercy and pity, and shall find it. Now these instances of duty show, that the relation remains still; and though the relict of a man or woman hath liberty to contract new relations, yet I do not find they have liberty to cast off the old, as if there were no such thing as immortality of souls. Remember that we shall converse together again; let us therefore never do any thing of reference to them, which we shall be ashamed of in the day when all secrets shall be discovered, and that we shall meet again in the presence of God: in the mean time, God watcheth concerning all their interest, and he will, in his time, both discover and recompense. For though, as to us, they are like water spilt; yet, to God, they are as water fallen in the sea, safe and united in his comprehension and enclosures.

But we are not yet passed the consideration of the sentence: this descending to the grave is the lot of all men, "neither doth God respect the person of any man:" the rich is not protected for favour, nor the poor for pity; the old man is not reverenced for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tenderness; youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength, lie down equally in the dishonours of the grave. All men, and all natures, and all persons resist the addresses and solemnities of death, and strive to preserve a miserable and unpleasant life; and yet they all sink down and die. For so have I seen the pillars of a building, assisted with artificial props, bending under the pressure of a roof, and pertinaciously resisting the infallible and prepared ruin,

> Donec certa dies, omni compage solutâ,
> Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium;

"till the determined day comes, and then the burden sunk upon the pillars, and disordered the aids and auxiliary rafters into a common ruin and a ruder grave: so are the desires and weak arts of man; with little aids and assistances of care and physic, we strive to support our decaying bodies, and to put off the evil day; but quickly that day will come, and then neither angels nor men can rescue us from our grave; but the roof sinks down upon the walls, and the walls descend to the foundation; and the beauty of the face, and the dishonours of the belly, the discerning head and the servile feet, the thinking heart and the working hand, the eyes and the guts together shall be crushed into the confusion of a heap, and dwell with creatures of an equivocal production, with worms and serpents, the sons and daughters of our own bones, in a house of dirt and darkness.

Let not us think to be excepted or deferred: if beauty, or wit, or youth, or nobleness, or wealth, or virtue, could have been a defence and an excuse from the grave, we had not met here to-day to mourn upon the hearse of an excellent lady: and God only knows, for which of us next the mourners shall go about the streets, or weep in houses.

> Ζεὺς μέν που τόγε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
> Ὁπποτέρῳ θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν. Il. γ.

We have lived so many years; and every day, and every minute, we make an escape from those thousands of dangers and deaths that encompass us round about: and such escapings we must reckon to be an extraordinary fortune; and, therefore, that it cannot last long. Vain are the thoughts of man, who, when he is young or healthful, thinks he hath a long thread of life to run over, and that it is violent and strange for young persons to die, and natural and proper only for the aged. It is as natural for a man to die by drowning as by a fever: and what greater violence or more unnatural thing is it, that the horse threw his rider into the river, than that a drunken meeting cast him into a fever? and the strengths of youth are as soon broken by the strong sicknesses of youth, and the stronger intemperance, as the weakness of old age by a cough, or an asthma, or a continual rheum: nay, it is more natural for young men and women to die, than for old; because that is more natural which hath more natural causes, and that is more natural which is most common: but to die with age is an extreme rare thing; and there are more persons carried forth to burial before the five and thirtieth year of their age, than after it: and, therefore, let no vain confidence make you hope for long life: if you have lived but little, and are still in youth, remember that now you are in your biggest throng of dangers, both of body and soul; and the proper sins of youth to which they rush infinitely and without consideration, are also the proper and immediate instruments of death. But if you be old, you have escaped long and wonderfully, and the time of your escaping is out: you must not for ever think to live upon wonders, or that God will work miracles to satisfy your longing follies, and unreasonable desires of living longer to sin and to the world. Go home and think to die, and what you would choose to be doing when you die, that do daily: for you will all come to that pass to rejoice that you did so, or wish that you had: that will be the condition of every one of us: for "God regardeth no man's person."

Well! but all this you will think is but a sad story. What? we must die, and go to darkness and dishonour; and we must die quickly, and we must quit all our delights, and all our sins, or do worse, infinitely worse; and this is the condition of us all, from which none can be excepted; every man shall be spilt and fall into the ground, and "be gathered up no more." Is there no comfort after all this? "shall we go from hence, and be no more seen," and have no recompence?

> "Misero misere," aiunt, "omnia ademit.
> Una dies infausta tibi tot præmia vitæ."—Lucr.

Shall we exchange our fair dwellings for a coffin, our softer beds for the moistened and weeping turf, and our pretty children for worms; and is there no

[a] 2 Tim. i. 18.

allay to this huge calamity? yes, there is: there is a *yet* in the text. "for all this, *yet* doth God devise means that his banished be not expelled from him:" —All this sorrow and trouble is but a phantasm, and receives its account and degrees from our present conceptions, and the proportion to our relishes and gust.

When Pompey saw the ghost of his first lady, Julia, who vexed his rest and his conscience, for superinducing Cornelia upon her bed, within the ten months of mourning, he presently fancied it, either to be an illusion, or else that death could be no very great evil:

> Aut nihil est sensûs animis in morte relictum,
> Aut mors ipsa nihil ——— LUCAN.

"Either my dead wife knows not of my unhandsome marriage, and forgetfulness of her; or if she does, then the dead live."

> ——longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
> Mors media est ——— Id.

"Death is nothing but the middle point between two lives, between this and another:" concerning which comfortable mystery the Holy Scripture instructs our faith, and entertains our hope in these words: God is still the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for all do live to him;" and the souls of saints are with Christ: "I desire to be dissolved," (saith St. Paul,) "and to be with Christ, for that is much better:" and, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labours, and their works follow them: for we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens:" and this state of separation St. Paul calls "a being absent from the body, and being present with the Lord."[b] This is one of God's means which he hath devised, that although our dead are like persons banished from this world, yet they are not expelled from God: they are "in the hands of Christ;" they are "in his presence;" they are, or shall be, "clothed with a house of God's making;" "they rest from all their labours;" "all tears are wiped from their eyes," and all discontents from their spirits; and in the state of separation, before the soul be re-invested with her new house, the spirits of all persons are with God, so secured, and so blessed, and so sealed up for glory, that this state of interval and imperfection is, in respect of its certain event and end, infinitely more desirable than all the riches, and all the pleasures, and all the vanities, and all the kingdoms of this world.

I will not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of holy souls in their separate dwellings; and yet, possibly, that might be easier than to tell what or how the soul is and works in this world, where it is in the body "tanquam in alienâ domo," "as in prison," in fetters and restraints; for here the soul is discomposed and hindered; it is not as it shall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be; it is not permitted to its own freedom and proper operation; so that all that we can understand of it here, is, that it is so incommodated with a troubled and abated instrument, that the object we are to consider, cannot be offered to us in a right line, in just and equal propositions: or if it could, yet because we are to understand the soul by the soul, it becomes not only a troubled and abused object, but a crooked instrument; and we here can consider it just as a weak eye can behold a staff thrust into the waters of a troubled river, the very water makes a refraction, and the storm doubles the refraction, and the water of the eye doubles the species, and there is nothing right in the thing: the object is out of its just place, and the medium is troubled, and the organ is impotent: "At cum exierit, et in liberum cœlum, quasi in domum suam, venerit;" "when the soul is entered into her own house, into the free regions of the rest," and the neighbourhood of heavenly joys, then its operations are more spiritual, proper, and proportioned to its being; and, though we cannot see at such a distance, yet the object is more fitted, if we had a capable understanding; it is in itself in a more excellent and free condition.

Certain it is that the body does hinder many actions of the soul; it is an imperfect body and a diseased brain, or a violent passion, that makes fools: no man hath a foolish soul; and the reasonings of men have infinite difference and degrees, by reason of the body's constitution. Among beasts, which have no reason, there is a greater likeness than between men, who have; and as by faces it is easier to know a man from a man, than a sparrow from a sparrow, or a squirrel from a squirrel; so the difference is very great in our souls; which difference, because it is not originally in the soul, (and indeed cannot be in simple or spiritual substances of the same species or kind,) it must needs derive wholly from the body, from its accidents and circumstances; from whence it follows, that because the body casts fetters and restraints, hinderances and impediments upon the soul, that the soul is much freer in the state of separation; and if it hath any act of life, it is much more noble and expedite.

That the soul is alive after our death, St. Paul affirms: "Christ died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him."[c] Now it were strange that we should be alive, and live with Christ, and yet do no act of life: the body when it is asleep, does many; and if the soul does none, the principle is less active than the instrument; but if it does any act at all in separation, it must necessarily be an act or effect of understanding; there is nothing else it can do, but this it can; for it is but a weak and an unlearned proposition to say, that the soul can do nothing of itself, nothing without the phantasms and provisions of the body: for,

1. In this life the soul hath one principle clearly separate, abstracted, and immaterial; I mean "the spirit of grace," which is a principle of life and action, and in many instances does not at all com-

[b] 1 Thess. v. 10.

[c] 1 Cor. xv. 18. 1 Thess. iv. 16. Rev. xiv. 13. John v. 24. 2 Cor. v. 6, 8.

municate with matter, as in the infusion, superinduction, and creation of spiritual graces.

2. As nutrition, generation, eating and drinking, are actions proper to the body and its state; so ecstasies, visions, raptures, intuitive knowledge and consideration of itself, acts of volition, and reflex acts of understanding, are proper to the soul.

3. And therefore it is observable that St. Paul said, that "he knew not whether his visions and raptures were in or out of the body;" for by that we see his judgment of the thing, that one was as likely as the other, neither of them impossible or unreasonable; and therefore, that the soul is as capable of action alone as in conjunction.

4. If in the state of blessedness, there are some actions of the soul which do not pass through the body, such as contemplation of God, and conversing with spirits, and receiving those influences and rare immissions, which coming from the holy and mysterious Trinity, make up the crown of glory; it follows that the necessity of the body's ministry is but during the state of this life, and as long as it converses with fire and water, and lives with corn and flesh, and is fed by the satisfaction of material appetites; which necessity and manner of conversation, when it ceases, it can be no longer necessary for the soul to be served by phantasms and material representations.

5. And therefore, when the body shall be reunited, it shall be so ordered that then the body shall confess it gives not any thing, but receives all its being and operation, its manner and abode, from the soul; and that then it comes not to serve a necessity, but to partake a glory: for as the operations of the soul, in this life, begin in the body, and by it the object is transmitted to the soul; so then they shall begin in the soul, and pass to the body; and as the operations of the soul, by reason of its dependence on the body, are animal, natural, and material; so in the resurrection, the body shall be spiritual, by reason of the pre-eminence, influence, and prime operation of the soul. Now between these two states stands the state of separation, in which the operations of the soul are of a middle nature, that is, not so spiritual as in the resurrection, and not so animal and natural as in the state of conjunction.

To all which I add this consideration, that our souls have the same condition that Christ's soul had in the state of separation, because he took on him all our nature, and all our condition; and it is certain, Christ's soul, in the three days of his separation, did exercise acts of life, of joy and triumph, and did not sleep, but visited the souls of the fathers, trampled upon the pride of devils, and satisfied those longing souls which were prisoners of hope: and from all this we may conclude, that the souls of all the servants of Christ are alive, and therefore do the actions of life, and proper to their state; and, therefore, it is highly probable that the soul works clearer, and understands brighter, and discourses wiser, and rejoices louder, and loves nobler, and desires purer, and hopes stronger, than it can do here.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the felicity of God's saints cannot fail: for suppose the body to be a necessary instrument, but out of tune and discomposed by sin and anger, by accident and chance, by defect and imperfections, yet that it is better than none at all; and that if the soul works imperfectly with an imperfect body, that then she works not at all when she hath none: and suppose also that the soul should be as much without sense or perception in death, as it is in a deep sleep, which is the image and shadow of death; yet then God devises other means that his banished be not expelled from him. For,

2. God will restore the soul to the body, and raise the body to such a perfection, that it shall be an organ fit to praise him upon; it shall be made spiritual to minister to the soul, when the soul is turned into a spirit; then the soul shall be brought forth by angels from her incomparable and easy bed, from her rest in Christ's holy bosom, and be made perfect in her being, and in all her operations: and this shall first appear by that perfection, which the soul shall receive, as instrumental to the last judgment; for then she shall see clearly all the records of this world, all the register of her own memory: for all that we did in this life is laid up in our memories; and though dust and forgetfulness be drawn upon them, yet when God shall lift us from our dust, then shall appear clearly all that we have done, written in the tables of our conscience, which is the soul's memory. We see many times, and in many instances, that a great memory is hindered and put out, and we, thirty years after, come to think of something that lay so long under a curtain; we think of it suddenly, and without a line of deduction, or proper consequence: and all those famous memories of Simonides and Theodactes, of Hortensius and Seneca, of Sceptius, Metrodorus, and Carneades, of Cyneas the ambassador of Pyrrhus, are only the records better kept, and less disturbed by accident and disease: for even the memory of Herod's son of Athens, of Bathyllus, and the dullest person now alive, is so great, and by God made so sure a record of all that ever he did, that as soon as ever God shall but tune our instrument, and draw the curtains, and but light up the candle of immortality, there we shall find it all, there we shall see all, and the whole world shall see all; then we shall be made fit to converse with God after the manner of spirits, we shall be like to angels.

In the mean time, although upon the persuasion of the former discourse, it be highly probable that the souls of God's servants do live in a state of present blessedness, and in the exceeding joys of a certain expectation of the revelation of the day of the Lord, and the coming of Jesus; yet it will concern us only to secure our state by holy living, and leave the event to God, that (as St. Paul said) "whether present or absent, whether sleeping or waking," whether perceiving or perceiving not, "we may be accepted of him;" that when we are banished this world, and from the light of the sun, we may not be expelled from God, and from the light of his countenance, but that, from our beds of sorrow, our souls may pass into the bosom of Christ,

and from thence to his right hand in the day of sentence: "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;" and then if we have done well in the body, we shall never be expelled from the beatifical presence of God, but be domestics of his family, and heirs of his kingdom, and partakers of his glory. Amen.

I have now done with my text, but yet am to make you another sermon. I have told you the necessity and the state of death, it may be too largely for such a sad story; I shall, therefore, now with a better compendium teach you how to live, by telling you a plain narrative of a life, which if you imitate, and write after the copy, it will make that death shall not be an evil, but a thing to be desired, and to be reckoned among the purchases and advantages of your fortune. When Martha and Mary went to weep over the grave of their brother, Christ met them there, and preached a funeral sermon, discoursing of the resurrection, and applying to the purposes of faith, and confession of Christ, and glorification of God. We have no other, we can have no better precedent to follow: and now that we are come to weep over the grave of our dear sister, this rare personage, we cannot choose but have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and some to exercise.

I choose not to declare her extraction and genealogy; it was indeed fair and honourable; but having the blessing to be descended from worthy and honoured ancestors, and herself to be adopted and ingrafted into a more noble family; yet she felt such outward appendages to be none of hers, because not of her choice; but the purchase of the virtues of others, which although they did engage her to do noble things, yet they would upbraid all degenerate and less honourable lives than were those, which began and increased the honour of the families. She did not love her fortune for making her noble; but thought it would be a dishonour to her, if she did not continue a nobleness and excellency of virtue fit to be owned by persons relating to such ancestors. It is fit for us all to honour the nobleness of a family; but it is also fit for them that are noble, to despise it, and to establish their honour upon the foundation of doing excellent things, and suffering in good causes, and despising dishonourable actions, and in communicating good things to others: for this is the rule in nature; those creatures are most honourable, which have the greatest power and do the greatest good; and accordingly myself have been a witness of it, how this excellent lady would, by an act of humility and christian abstraction, strip herself of all that fair appendage and exterior honour, which decked her person and her fortune, and desired to be owned by nothing but what was her own, that she might only be esteemed honourable according to that which is the honour of a christian and a wise man.

2. She had a strict and severe education, and it was one of God's graces and favours to her: for being the heiress of a great fortune, and living amongst the throng of persons, in the sight of vanities and empty temptations, that is, in that part of the kingdom where greatness is too often expressed in great follies and great vices, God had provided a severe and angry education to chastise the forwardnesses of a young spirit and a fair fortune, that she might for ever be so far distant from a vice, that she might only see it and loathe it, but never taste of it, so much as to be put to her choice whether she would be virtuous or no. God intending to secure this soul to himself, would not suffer the follies of the world to seize upon her, by way of too near a trial, or busy temptation.

3. She was married young; and besides her businesses of religion, seemed to be ordained in the providence of God to bring to this honourable family a part of her fair fortune, and to leave behind her a fairer issue, worth ten thousand times her portion: and as if this had been all the public business of her life, when she had so far served God's ends, God in mercy would also serve hers, and take her to an early blessedness.

4. In passing through which line of providence, she had the art to secure her eternal interest, by turning her condition into duty, and expressing her duty in the greatest eminency of a virtuous, prudent, and rare affection, that hath been known in any example. I will not give her so low a testimony, as to say only that she was chaste; she was a person of that severity, modesty, and close religion, as to that particular, that she was not capable of uncivil temptation; and you might as well have suspected the sun to smell of the poppy that he looks on, as that she could have been a person apt to be sullied by the breath of a foul question.

5. But that which I shall note in her, is that which I would have exemplar to all ladies, and to all women: she had a love so great for her lord, so entirely given up to a dear affection, that she thought the same things, and loved the same loves, and hated according to the same enmities, and breathed in his soul, and lived in his presence, and languished in his absence; and all that she was or did, was only for, and to, her dearest lord:

> Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hunc loquitur;
> Cœnat, propinat, poscit, negat, innuit, unus
> Nævius est: —— MARTIAL.

And although this was a great enamel to the beauty of her soul, yet it might in some degrees be also a reward to the virtue of her lord: for she would often discourse it to them that conversed with her, that he would improve that interest which he had in her affection, to the advantages of God and of religion; and she would delight to say, that he called her to her devotions, he encouraged her good inclinations, he directed her piety, he invited her with good books; and then she loved religion, which she saw was not only pleasing to God, and an act or state of duty, but pleasing to her lord, and an act also of affection and conjugal obedience; and what at first she loved the more forwardly for his sake, in the using of religion, left such relishes upon her spirit, that she found in it amability enough to make her love it for its own. So God usually brings us to him by instruments of nature and affections, and then incorporates us into his inheritance by the

more immediate relishes of heaven, and the secret things of the Spirit. He only was (under God) the light of her eyes, and the cordial of her spirits, and the guide of her actions, and the measure of her affections, till her affections swelled up into a religion, and then it could go no higher, but was confederate with those other duties which made her dear to God: which rare combination of duty and religion, I choose to express in the words of Solomon; "She forsook not the guide of her youth, nor brake the covenant of her God."[d]

6. As she was a rare wife, so she was an excellent mother: for in so tender a constitution of spirit as hers was, and in so great a kindness towards her children, there hath seldom been seen a stricter and more curious care of their persons, their deportment, their nature, their disposition, their learning, and their customs: and if ever kindness and care did contest and make parties in her, yet her care and her severity was ever victorious; and she knew not how to do an ill turn to their severer part, by her more tender and forward kindness. And as her custom was, she turned this also into love to her lord: for she was not only diligent to have them bred nobly and religiously, but also was careful and solicitous, that they should be taught to observe all the circumstances and inclinations, the desires and wishes of their father; as thinking that virtue to have no good circumstances, which was not dressed by his copy, and ruled by his lines and his affections: and her prudence in the managing her children was so singular and rare, that whenever you mean to bless this family, and pray a hearty and a profitable prayer for it, beg of God, that the children may have those excellent things which she designed to them, and provided for them in her heart and wishes; that they may live by her purposes, and may grow thither, whither she would fain have brought them. All these were great parts of an excellent religion, as they concerned her greatest temporal relations.

7. But if we examine how she demeaned herself towards God, there also you will find her not of a common, but of an exemplar piety: she was a great reader of Scripture, confining herself to great proportions every day; which she read, not to the purposes of vanity, and impertinent curiosities, not to seem knowing, or to become talking, not to expound and rule; but to teach her all her duty, to instruct her in the knowledge and love of God and of her neighbours; to make her more humble, and to teach her to despise the world and all its gilded vanities; and that she might entertain passions wholly in design and order to heaven. I have seen a female religion that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue; that like a wanton and an undressed tree, spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leaves and gum, and after all such goodly outsides, you should never eat an apple, or be delighted with the beauties or the perfumes of a hopeful blossom. But the religion of this excellent lady was of another constitution; it took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in the substantial graces of a christian, in charity and justice, in chastity and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetness of society: she had not very much of the forms and outsides of godliness, but she was hugely careful for the power of it, for the moral, essential, and useful parts; such which would make her be, not seem to be, religious.

8. She was a very constant person at her prayers, and spent all her time, which nature did permit to her choice, in her devotions, and reading, and meditating, and the necessary offices of household government; every one of which is an action of religion, some by nature, some by adoption. To these, also, God gave her a very great love to hear the word of God preached; in which, because I had sometimes the honour to minister to her, I can give this certain testimony, that she was a diligent, watchful, and attentive hearer: and to this, had so excellent a judgment, that if ever I saw a woman whose judgment was to be revered, it was hers alone: and I have sometimes thought that the eminency of her discerning faculties did reward a pious discourse, and placed it in the regions of honour and usefulness, and gathered it up from the ground, where commonly such homilies are spilt, or scattered in neglect and inconsideration. But her appetite was not soon satisfied with what was useful to her soul: she was also a constant reader of sermons, and seldom missed to read one every day; and that she might be full of instruction and holy principles, she had lately designed to have a large book, in which she purposed to have a stock of religion transcribed in such assistances as she would choose, that she might be "readily furnished and instructed to every good work." But God prevented that, and hath filled her desires, not out of cisterns and little aqueducts, but hath carried her to the fountain, where "she drinks of the pleasures of the river," and is full of God.

9. She always lived a life of much innocence, free from the violences of great sins; her person, her breeding, her modesty, her honour, her religion, her early marriage, the guide of her soul, and the guide of her youth, were as so many fountains of restraining grace to her, to keep her from the dishonours of a crime. "Bonum est portare jugum ab adolescentiâ: "It is good to bear the yoke of the Lord from our youth:" and though she did so, being guarded by a mighty Providence, and a great favour and grace of God, from staining her fair soul with the spots of hell, yet she had strange fears and early cares upon her; but these were not only for herself, but in order to others, to her nearest relatives: for she was so great a lover of this honourable family, of which now she was a mother, that she desired to become a channel of great blessings to it unto future ages, and was extremely jealous lest any thing should be done, or lest any thing had been done, though an age or two since, which should entail a curse upon the innocent posterity; and, therefore, (although I do not know that ever she was tempted with an offer of the crime,) yet she did infinitely remove all sacrilege from her thoughts, and delighted to see her estate of a clear and disentangled inte-

[d] Prov. ii. 17.

rest: she would have no mingled rights with it; she would not receive any thing from the church, but religion and a blessing; and she never thought a curse and a sin far enough off, but would desire it to be infinitely distant; and that as to this family God had given much honour, and a wise head to govern it, so he would also for ever give many more blessings: and because she knew the sins of parents descend upon children, she endeavoured, by justice and religion, by charity and honour, to secure that her channel should convey nothing but health, and a fair example, and a blessing.

10. And though her accounts to God were made up of nothing but small parcels, little passions, and angry words, and trifling discontents, which are the allays of the piety of the most holy persons; yet she was early at her repentance; and toward the latter end of her days grew so fast in religion, as if she had had a revelation of her approaching end, and, therefore, that she must go a great way in a little time: her discourses more full of religion, her prayers more frequent, her charity increasing, her forgiveness more forward, her friendships more communicative, her passion more under discipline; and so she trimmed her lamp, not thinking her night was so near, but that it might shine also in the daytime, in the temple, and before the altar of incense.

But in this course of hers there were some circumstances, and some appendages of substance, which were highly remarkable.

1. In all her religion, and in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity, with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen a river, deep and smooth, passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the "fiscus," the great "exchequer" of the sea, the prince of all the watery bodies, a tribute large and full; and hard by it, a little brook skipping and making a noise upon its unequal and neighbour bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it paid to its common audit no more than the revenues of a little cloud, or a contemptible vessel: so have I sometimes compared the issues of her religion to the solemnities and famed outsides of another's piety. It dwelt upon her spirit, and was incorporated with the periodical work of every day: she did not believe that religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls. For religion is like the breath of heaven; if it goes abroad into the open air, it scatters and dissolves like camphire; but if it enters into a secret hollowness, into a close conveyance, it is strong and mighty, and comes forth with vigour and great effect at the other end, at the other side of this life, in the days of death and judgment.

2. The other appendage of her religion, which also was a great ornament to all the parts of her life, was a rare modesty and humility of spirit, a confident despising and undervaluing of herself. For though she had the greatest judgment, and the greatest experience of things and persons, that I ever yet knew in a person of her youth, and sex, and circumstances; yet, as if she knew nothing of it, she had the meanest opinion of herself; and like a fair taper, when she shined to all the room, yet round about her own station, she had cast a shadow and a cloud, and she shined to every body but herself. But the perfectness of her prudence and excellent parts could not be hid; and all her humility, and arts of concealment, made the virtues more amiable and illustrious. For as pride sullies the beauty of the fairest virtues, and makes our understanding but like the craft and learning of a devil; so humility is the greatest eminency, and art of publication in the whole world; and she, in all her arts of secrecy and hiding her worthy things, was but "like one that hideth the wind, and covers the ointment of her right hand."

I know not by what instrument it happened; but when death drew near, before it made any show upon her body, or revealed itself by a natural signification, it was conveyed to her spirit: she had a strange secret persuasion that the bringing this child should be her last scene of life: and we have known, that the soul, when she is about to disrobe herself of her upper garment, sometimes speaks rarely; "Magnifica verba mors propè admota excutit;"[c] sometimes it is prophetical; sometimes God, by a superinduced persuasion wrought by instruments, or accidents of his own, serves the ends of his own providence, and the salvation of the soul: but so it was, that the thought of death dwelt long with her, and grew from the first steps of fancy and fear, to a consent,—from thence to a strange credulity, and expectation of it; and without the violence of sickness she died, as if she had done it voluntarily, and by design, and for fear her expectation should have been deceived; or that she should seem to have had an unreasonable fear or apprehension; or rather, as one said of Cato, "Sic abiit è vitâ, ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet;" "she died as if she had been glad of the opportunity."

And in this I cannot but adore the providence and admire the wisdom and infinite mercies of God; for having a tender and soft, a delicate and fine constitution and breeding, she was tender to pain, and apprehensive of it as a child's shoulder is of a load and burden: "Grave est teneræ cervici jugum:" and in her often discourses of death, which she would renew willingly and frequently, she would tell, that "she feared not death, but she feared the sharp pains of death:" "Emori nolo, me esse mortuam non curo." The being dead, and being freed from the troubles and dangers of this world, she hoped would be for her advantage, and therefore, that was no part of her fear; but she believing the pangs of death were great, and the use and aids of reason little, had reason to fear lest they should do violence to her spirit, and the decency of her resolution. But God, that knew her fears and her jealousy concerning herself, fitted her with a death so easy, so harmless, so painless, that it did not put her patience to a severe trial. It was not in all appearance of so much trouble as two fits of a common ague, so careful was God to demonstrate to all that stood

[c] Seneca.

in that sad attendance, that this soul was dear to him,—and that since she had done so much of her duty towards it, he that began would also finish her redemption by an act of a rare providence and a singular mercy. Blessed be that goodness of God, who does such careful actions of mercy for the ease and security of his servants! But this one instance was a great demonstration, that the apprehension of death is worse than the pains of death; and that God loves to reprove the unreasonableness of our fears, by the mightiness and by the arts of his mercy.

She had in her *sickness*, if I may so call it,—or rather in the solemnities and graver preparations towards death,—some curious and well-becoming fears concerning the final state of her soul; but from thence she passed into a "deliquium," or "a kind of trance;" and as soon as she came forth of it, as if it had been a vision, or that she had conversed with an angel, and from his hand had received a label or scroll of the book of life, and there seen her name enrolled, she cried out aloud, "Glory be to God on high! now I am sure I shall be saved." Concerning which manner of discoursing we are wholly ignorant what judgment can be made; but, certainly, there are strange things in the other world, and so there are in all the immediate preparations to it; and a little glimpse of heaven, a minute's conversing with an angel, any ray of God, any communication extraordinary from the spirit of comfort, which God gives to his servants in strange and unknown manners, are infinitely far from illusions, and they shall then be understood by us when we feel them, and when our new and strange needs shall be refreshed by such unusual visitations.

But I must be forced to use summaries and arts of abbreviature in the enumerating those things, in which this rare personage was dear to God and to all her relatives.

If we consider her person, she was in the flower of her age, "jucundum cum ætas florida ver ageret;"[f] of a temperate, plain, and natural diet, without curiosity or an intemperate palate; she spent less time in dressing than many servants; her recreations were little and seldom, her prayers often, her reading much; she was of a most noble and charitable soul, a great lover of honourable actions, and as great a despiser of base things; hugely loving to oblige others, and very unwilling to be in arrear to any upon the stock of courtesies and liberality; so free in all acts of favour, that she would not stay to hear herself thanked, as being unwilling that what good went from her to a needful or an obliged person, should ever return to her again. She was an excellent friend, and hugely dear to very many, especially to the best and most discerning persons; to all that conversed with her, and could understand her great worth and sweetness. She was of an honourable, a nice and tender reputation; and of the pleasures of this world, which were laid before her in heaps, she took a very small and inconsiderable share, as not loving to glut herself with vanity, or take her portion of good things here below.

[f] Catullus.

If we look on her as a wife, she was chaste and loving, fruitful and discreet, humble and pleasant, witty and compliant, rich and fair; and wanted nothing to the making her a principal and precedent to the best wives of the world, but a long life and a full age.

If we remember her as a mother, she was kind and severe, careful and prudent, very tender, and not at all fond; a greater lover of her children's souls than of their bodies, and one that would value them more by the strict rules of honour and proper worth, than by their relation to herself.

Her servants found her prudent and fit to govern, and yet open-handed and apt to reward; a just exactor of their duty, and a great rewarder of their diligence.

She was in her house a comfort to her dearest lord, a guide to her children, a rule to her servants, an example to all.

But as she related to God in the offices of religion, she was even and constant, silent and devout, prudent and material; she loved what she now enjoys, and she feared what she never felt, and God did for her what she never did expect; her fears went beyond all her evil; and yet the good which she hath received, was, and is, and ever shall be, beyond all her hopes.

She lived as we all should live, and she died as I fain would die:

> Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
> Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos. MART.

I pray God I may feel those mercies on my deathbed that she felt, and that I may feel the same effect of my repentance which she feels of the many degrees of her innocence. Such was her death, that she did not die too soon; and her life was so useful and excellent, that she could not have lived too long: "Nemo parum diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectæ perfecto functus est munere." And as now in the grave it shall not be inquired concerning her, how long she lived, but how well; so to us who live after her, to suffer a longer calamity,— it may be some ease to our sorrows, and some guide to our lives, and some security to our conditions, to consider that God hath brought the piety of a young lady to the early rewards of a never-ceasing and never-dying eternity of glory. And we also, if we live as she did, shall partake of the same glories; not only having the honour of a good name and a dear and honoured memory, but the glories of these glories, the end of all excellent labours, and all prudent counsels, and all holy religion, even the salvation of our souls, in that day when all the saints, and among them this excellent woman, shall be shown to all the world to have done more, and more excellent things than we know of, or can describe. "Mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum, et qui timent, laudant:" "death consecrates and makes sacred that person, whose excellency was such, that they that are not displeased at the death, cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly, think they can never commend sufficiently."

SERMON IX.

PREACHED IN

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, OXFORD,

UPON

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN, CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

My most honourable good Lord;

May it please your Grace,

It was obedience to my superior, that engaged me upon this last anniversary commemoration of the great goodness of God Almighty to our king and country, in the discovery of the most damnable powder-treason. It was a blessing which no tongue could express, much less mine, which had scarce learned to speak,—at least, was most unfit to speak in the schools of the prophets. "Delicata autem est illa obedientia, quæ causas quærit." It had been no good argument of my obedience to have disputed the inconvenience of my person, and the unaptness of my parts, for such an employment. I knew God, out of the mouth of infants, could acquire his praise, and if my heart were actually as votive as my tongue should have been, it might be one of God's "magnalia" to perfect his own praise out of the weakness and imperfection of the organ. So as I was able, I endeavoured to perform it, having my obedience ever ready for my excuse to men, and my willingness to perform my duty, for the assoilment of myself before God; part of which I hope was accepted, and I have no reason to think that the other was not pardoned.

When I first thought of the barbarism of this treason, I wondered not so much at the thing itself, as by what means it was possible for the devil to gain so strong a party in men's resolutions, as to move them to undertake a business so abhorring from christianity, so evidently full of extreme danger to their lives, and so certainly to incur the highest wrath of God Almighty. My thoughts were thus rude at first; but, after a strict inquisition, I found it was apprehended as a business, perhaps, full of danger to their bodies, but advantageous to their souls, consonant to the obligation of all christians, and meritorious of an exceeding weight of glory; for now it was come to pass, which our dear Master foretold, "Men should kill us, and think they did God good service in it." I could not think this to be a part of any man's religion, nor do I yet believe it. For it is so apparently destructive of our dear Master's royal laws of charity and obedience, that I must not be so uncharitable as to think they speak their own mind truly, when they profess their belief of the lawfulness and necessity, in some cases, of rebelling against their lawful prince, and using all means to throw him from his kingdom, though it be by taking of his life. But it is but just that they who break the bonds of duty to their prince, should likewise forfeit the laws of charity to themselves, and if they say not true, yet to be more uncharitable to their own persons, than I durst be, though I had their own warrant. Briefly, Most Reverend Father, I found amongst them of the Roman party such prevailing opinions, as could not consist with loyalty to their prince, in case he were not the pope's subject; and these so generally believed, and [illegible]

peril of their souls, that I could not but point at these dangerous rocks, at which, I doubt not, but the loyalty of many hath suffered shipwreck, and of thousands more might, if a higher star had not guided them better than their own pilots.

I could not, therefore, but think it very likely, that this treason might spring from the same fountain; and I had concluded so in my first meditations, but that I was willing to consider, whether or no it might not be, that these men were rather exasperated than persuaded,—and whether it were not that the severity of our laws against them might rather provoke their intemperate zeal, than religion thus move their settled conscience. It was a material consideration, because they ever did, and still do, fill the world with outcries against our laws, for making a rape upon their consciences; have printed catalogues of their English martyrs; drawn schemes of most strange tortures imposed on their priests, such as were unimaginable by Nero, or Dioclesian, or any of the worst and cruelest enemies of christianity, endeavouring thus to make us partly guilty of our own ruin, and so washing their hands, in token of their own innocence, even then when they were dipping them in the blood royal, and would have emptied the best veins in the whole kingdom to fill their lavatory. But I found all these to be but calumnies, strong accusations, upon weak presumptions, and that the cause did rest where I had begun, I mean upon the pretence of the Catholic cause, and that the imagined iniquity of the laws of England could not be made a veil to cover the deformity of their intentions, for our laws were just, honourable, and religious.

Concerning these and some other appendices to the business of the day, I expressed some part of my thoughts, which because happily they were but a just truth, and this truth not unseasonable for these last times, in which (as St. Paul prophesied) "Men would be fierce, traitors, heady and high-minded, creeping into houses, leading silly women captive;" it pleased some who had power to command me, to wish me to a publication of these my short and sudden meditations, that, if it were possible, even this way, I might express my duty to God and the king.

Being thus far encouraged, I resolved to go something further, even to the boldness of a dedication to your Grace, that since I had no merit of my own, to move me to the confidence of a public view, yet I might dare to venture under the protection of your Grace's favour. But since my boldness doth as much need a defence, as my sermon a patronage, I humbly crave leave to say, that though it be boldness, even to presumption, yet my address to your Grace is not altogether unreasonable.

For since all know that your Grace thinks not your life your own, but when it spends itself in the service of your king, opposing your great endeavours against the zealots of both sides, who labour the disturbance of the church and state, I could not think it *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* to present to your Grace this short discovery of the king's enemies, *ὡς ἐπικουρίαν βασιλικὴν φιλοβασιλεῖ*, and proper to your Grace, who is so true, so zealous a lover of your prince and country. It was likewise appointed to be the public voice of thanksgiving for your University, (though she never spake weaker than by so mean an instrument,) and, therefore, is accountable to your Grace, to whom, under God and the king, we owe the blessing and prosperity of all our studies. Nor yet can I choose but hope, that my great obligations to your Grace's favour may plead my pardon (since it is better that my gratitude should be bold, than my diffidence ungrateful): but that this is so far from expressing the least part of them, that it lays a greater bond upon me, either for a debt of delinquency in presenting it, or of thankfulness, if your Grace may please to pardon it.

I humbly crave your Grace's benediction, pardon, and acceptance of the humblest duty and observance of

Your Grace's

Most observant and obliged Chaplain,

JER. TAYLOR.

SERMON.

But when James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did?—Luke ix. 54.

I SHALL not need to strain much to bring my text and the day together. Here is "fire," in the text, "consuming fire," like that whose "Antevorta" we do this day commemorate. This fire called for by the disciples of Christ; so was ours too, by Christ's disciples at least, and some of them entitled to our great Master by the compellation of his holy name of Jesus.

I would say the parallel holds thus far, but that the persons of my text, however "Boanerges," "sons of thunder," and of a reprovable spirit, yet are no way considerable in the proportion of malice with the persons of the day. For if I consider the cause that moved James and John to so inconsiderate a wrath, it bears a fair excuse:[a] the men of Samaria turned their Lord and Master out of doors, denying to give a night's lodging to the Lord of heaven and earth. It would have disturbed an ex-

[a] Ver. 53.

cellent patience to see him, whom but just before they beheld transfigured, and in a glorious epiphany upon the mount, to be so neglected by a company of hated Samaritans, as to be forced to keep his vigils where nothing but the welkin should have been his roof, not any thing to shelter his precious head from the descending dew of heaven.

——— Quis talia fando
Temperet? Æn.

It had been the greater wonder if they had not been angry. But now if we should level our progress by the same line, and guess that in the present affair there was an equal cause, because a greater fire was intended,—we shall too much betray the ingenuity of apparent truth, and the blessing of this anniversary. They had not half such a cause for an excuse to a far greater malice, it will prove they had none at all; and, therefore, their malice was so much the more malicious, because causeless and totally inexcusable.

However, I shall endeavour to join their consideration in as near a parallel as I can; which if it be not exact,—as certainly it cannot, where we have already discovered so much difference in degrees of malice, yet, by laying them together, we may better take their estimate, though it be only by seeing their disproportion.

The words, as they lay in their own order, point out, 1. The persons that asked the question. 2. The cause that moved them. 3. The person to whom they propounded it. 4. The question itself. 5. And the precedent they urged to move a grant, drawn from a very fallible topic, a singular example, in a special and different case. The persons here were Christ's disciples, and so they are in our case, designed to us by that glorious surname of christianity: they will be called catholics; but if our discovery perhaps rise higher, and that the see apostolic prove sometimes guilty of so reprovable a spirit, then we are very near to a parallel of the persons, for they were disciples of Christ and apostles. 2. The cause was the denying of toleration of abode upon the grudge of an old schism; religion was made the instrument. That which should have taught the apostles to be charitable, and the Samaritans hospitable, was made a pretence to justify the unhospitableness of the one, and the uncharitableness of the other. Thus far we are right; for the malice of this present treason stood upon the same base. 3. Although neither side much doubted of the lawfulness of their proceedings, yet St. James and St. John were so discreet as not to think themselves infallible, therefore they asked their Lord: so did the persons of the day ask the question too, but not of Christ, for he was not in all their thoughts; but yet they asked of Christ's delegates, who, therefore, should have given their answer "ex eodem tripode," from the same spirit. They were the fathers confessors who were asked. 4. The question is of both sides concerning a consumptive sacrifice, the destruction of a town there, of a whole kingdom here, but differing in the circumstance of place whence they would fetch their fire. The apostles would have had it from heaven, but these men's conversation was not there. Τὰ κάτωθεν, "things from beneath," from an artificial hell, but breathed from the natural and proper, were in all their thoughts. 5. The example, which is the last particular, I fear I must leave quite out; and when you have considered all, perhaps you will look for no example.

First of the persons; they were disciples of Christ and apostles: "But when James and John saw this." When first I considered they were apostles, I wondered they should be so intemperately angry; but when I perceived they were so angry, I wondered not that they sinned. Not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, not the nature of angels, not the condition of immortality, can guard from the danger of sin; but if we be overruled by passion, we almost subject ourselves to its necessity. It was not, therefore, without reason altogether, that the Stoics affirmed wise men to be void of passions; for sure I am, the inordination of any passion is the first step to folly. And although of them, as of waters of a muddy residence, we may make good use, and quench our thirst, if we do not trouble them; yet upon any ungentle disturbance we drink down mud instead of a clear stream, and the issues of sin and sorrow, certain consequents of temerarious or inordinate anger. And, therefore, when the apostle had given us leave to "be angry," as knowing the condition of human nature, he quickly enters a caveat that "we sin not;" he knew sin was very likely to be hand-maid where anger did domineer, and this was the reason why St. James and St. John are the men here pointed at; for the Scripture notes them for "Boanerges," "sons of thunder," men of an angry temper, "et quid mirum est filios tonitru fulgurâsse voluisse?" said St. Ambrose. But there was more in it than thus. Their spirits, of themselves hot enough, yet met with their education under the law, whose first tradition was in fire and thunder, whose precepts were just, but not so merciful; and this inflamed their distemper to the height of a revenge. It is the doctrine of St. Jerome[b] and Titus Bostrensis,[c] —the law had been their schoolmaster, and taught them the rules of justice, both punitive and vindictive; but Christ was the first that taught it to be a sin to retaliate evil with evil; it was a doctrine they could not read in the killing letter of the law. There they might meet with precedents of revenge and anger of a high severity, "an eye for an eye," and "a tooth for a tooth," and "let him be cut off from his people:" but forgiving injuries, praying for our persecutors, loving our enemies, and relieving them, were doctrines of such high and absolute integrity, as were to be reserved for the best and most perfect lawgiver, the bringer of the best promises, to which the most perfect actions have the best proportion, and this was to be when Shiloh came. Now then the spirit of Elias is out of date,

——— Jam ferrea primum
Desinit, ac t to surgit gens aurea mundo.

[b] Epist. ad Algas.

[c] In Lucam.

And, therefore, our blessed Master reproved them of ignorance, not of the law, but of his Spirit, which had they but known or could but have guessed at the end of his coming, they had not been such abecedarii in the school of mercy.

And now we shall not need to look far for persons, disciples professing at least in Christ's school, yet as great strangers to the merciful spirit of our Saviour, as if they had been sons of the law, or foster-brothers to Romulus, and sucked a wolf; and they are Romanists too: this day's solemnity presents them to us, πηλὸς αἵματι συμπεφυρμένος;[e] and yet were that washed off, underneath they write Christian and Jesuit.

One would have expected that such men, set forth to the world's acceptance with so merciful a "cognomentum," should have put a hand to support the ruinous fabric of the world's charity, and not have pulled the frame of heaven and earth about our ears. But yet,—"Ne credite, Teucri!" Give me leave first to make an inquisition after this antichristian pravity, and try who is of our side, and who loves the king, by pointing at those whose sermons do blast loyalty, breathing forth treason, slaughters, and cruelty, the greatest imaginable contrariety to the spirit and doctrine of our dear Master. So we shall quickly find out more than a pareil for St. James and St. John, the Boanerges of my text.

"It is an act of faith, by faith to conquer the enemies of God and holy church," saith Sanders, our countryman.[f] Hitherto nothing but well; if James and John had offered to do no more than what they could have done with "the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith," they might have been inculpable, and so had he if he had said no more; but the blood boils higher, the manner spoils all. "For it is not well done, unless a warlike captain be appointed by Christ's vicar to bear a crusade in a field of blood." And if the other apostles did not proceed such an angry way as James and John, it was only discretion that detained them, not religion. "For so they might, and it were no way unlawful for them to bear arms to propagate religion, had they not wanted an opportunity;" if you believe the same author: "for fighting is proper for St. Peter and his successors, therefore, because Christ gave him commission to feed his lambs."[g] A strange reason!

I had thought Christ would have his lambs fed with the sincere milk of his word, not like to cannibals,

> ——solitisque cruentum
> Lac potare Getis, et pocula tingere venis,

To mingle blood in their sacrifices, (as Herod to the Galileans,) and quaff it off for an "auspicium" to the propagation of the christian faith. Methinks here is already too much clashing of armour, and effusion of blood, for a christian cause; but this were not altogether so unchristian-like, if the sheep, though with blood, yet were not to be fed with the blood of their shepherd Cyrus, I mean their princes. But I find many such "nutritii" in the nurseries of Rome, driving their lambs from their folds, unless they will be taught to worry the lion.

Emanuel Sà, in his Aphorisms, affirms it lawful to kill a king; indeed not every king, but such a one as rules with tyranny; and not then, unless the pope hath sentenced him to death, but then he may, though he be his lawful prince.[h] Not the necessitude which the law of nations hath put between prince and people, not the obligation of the oath of allegiance, not the sanctions of God Almighty himself, must reverse the sentence against the king when once passed; but any one of his subjects, of his own sworn subjects, may kill him.

This perfidious treasonable position of Sà is not a single testimony. For 1. it slipped not from his pen by inadvertency; it was not made public until after forty years' deliberation, as himself testifies in his preface.[i] 2. After such an avisamente, it is now the ordinary received manual for the fathers confessors of the Jesuits' order.

This doctrine, although—"Titulo res digna sepulcri"—yet is nothing if compared with Mariana.[k] For 1. he affirms the same doctrine in substance. 2. Then he descends to the very manner of it, ordering how it may be done with the best convenience: he thinks poison to be the best way, but yet that, for the more secrecy, it be cast upon the chairs, saddles, and garments of his prince. It was the old laudable custom of the Moors of Spain.[l] 3. He adds examples of the business, telling us that this was the device, to wit, by poisoned boots, that old Henry of Castile was cured of his sickness. 4. Lastly, this may be done, not only if the pope judge the king a tyrant, (which was the utmost Emanuel Sà affirmed,) but it is sufficient proof of his being a tyrant if learned men, though but few, and those seditious too, do but murmur it, or begin to call him so.[m] I hope this doctrine was long since disclaimed by the whole society, and condemned "ad umbras Acherunticas." Perhaps so; but yet these men who use to object to us an infinity of divisions among ourselves, who boast so much of their own union and consonancy in judgment, with whom nothing is more ordinary than to maintain some opinions quite throughout their order, (as if they were informed by some common "intellectus agens,") should not be divided in a matter of so great moment, so much concerning the monarchy of the see apostolic, to which they are vowed liegemen. But I have greater reason to believe them united in this doctrine, than is the greatness of this probability. For 1. There was an apology printed in Italy, "permissu superiorum," in the year 1610, that

[e] Sueton.

[f] Sanderus de Clave David, lib. ii. c. 15.

[g] Ibid. c. 14.

[h] Tyrannicè gubernans justè acquisitum dominium non potest spoliari sine publico judicio. Latâ verò sententiâ, quisque potest fieri executor. Potest autem à populo etiam qui juravit ei obedientiam, si monitus, non vult corrigi.—Verb. Tyrannus.

[i] Præsertim cum in hoc opus per annos ferè quadraginta diligentissime incubuerim.

[k] De Rege et R. Institut. lib. i. c. vi.

[l] Qui est l'artifice dont je trouve que les rois Mores ont souvent usé, c. 7.

[m] Postquam à paucis seditiosis, sed doctis, cœperit tyrannus appellari.

says, "They were all enemies of that holy name of Jesus, that condemned Mariana for any such doctrine." I understand not why, but sure I am that the Jesuits do or did think his doctrine innocent: for in their apology put forth in the name of the whole society against the accusations of Anticoton, they deny that the assassin of Henry IV., I mean Ravaillac, was moved to kill the king by reason of Mariana, and are not ashamed to wish that he had read him.[n] Perhaps they mean it might have wrought the same effect upon him, which the sight of a drunkard did upon the youth of Lacedæmon; else I am sure it is not very likely he should have been dissuaded from his purpose by reading in Mariana, that it was lawful to do what he intended. 3. I add, they not only thought it innocent, and without positive hurt, but good and commendable; so that it is apparent that it was not the opinion of Mariana alone, but that the Moors of Spain had more disciples than Mariana. 1. He says it himself; for, commending the young monk that killed Henry III., he says he did it "having been informed, by several divines, that a tyrant might lawfully be killed."[o] 2. The thing itself speaks it, for his book was highly commended by Gretser[p] and Bonarscius,[q] both for style and matter,—higher yet by Petrus de Onna, provincial of Toledo, who was so highly pleased with it, he was sorry he wanted leisure[r] to read it the second and third time over, and, with this censure prefixed, was licensed to the press. Further yet, for Stephen Hoyeda, visitor of the Jesuits for the same province, approved it not only from his own judgment, but as being before approved by grave and learned men of the Jesuits' order,[s] and so with a special commission from Claudius Aquaviva, their general, with these approbations, and other solemn privileges, it was printed at Toledo[t] and Mentz;[u] and lastly, inserted into the catalogues of the books of their order by Petrus Ribadineira.

What negligence is sufficient that such a doctrine as this should pass so great supervisors, if in their hearts they disavow it? The children of this world are not such fools in their generations. The fathers of the society cannot but know, how apt these things of themselves are to public mischief, how invidious to the christian world, how scandalous to their order; and yet they rather excuse, than condemn, Mariana: speaking of him, at the hardest, but very gently, as if his only fault had been his speaking a truth "in tempore non opportuno," "something out of season; or as if they were forced to yield to the current of the times, and durst not profess openly of what, in their hearts, they were persuaded. I speak of some of them, for others, you see, are of the same opinion. But I would fain learn why they are so sedulous and careful to procure the decrees of the rector and deputies of Paris, rescripts of the bishop, revocation of arrest of the parliament which had been against them, and all to acquit the fathers of the society from these scandalous opinions; as if these laborious devices could make what they have said and done, to be unspoken and undone, or could change their opinions from what indeed they are; whereas they never went "ex animo" to refute these theorems, never spake against them in the real and serious dialect of an adversary, never condemned them as heretical, but what they have done they have been shamed to, or forced upon, as Père Coton by the king of France, and Servin to a confutation of Mariana (from which he desired to be excused, and after the king's death wrote his declaratory letter to no purpose); the apologists of Paris, by the outcries of christendom against them; and when it is done, done so coldly in their reprehensions with a greater readiness to excuse all, than condemn any. I say, these things, to a considering man, do increase the supicion, if at least that may be called suspicion, for which we have had so plain testimonies of their own.

I add this more, to put the business past all question; that when some things of this nature were objected to them by Arnald, the French king's advocate, they were so far from denying them, or excusing them, that they maintained them in spite of opposition, putting forth a book, entitled, "Veritas defensa contra actionem Antonii Arnaldi." What the things were, for which they stood up patrons, hear themselves speaking,[x] "Tum enim id non solum potest papa, sed etiam debet, se ostendere superiorem illis principibus. Exceptio hæc stomachum tibi commovet, facit ut ringaris, sed oportet haurias, et de cætero fatearis tibi nec rationem esse, nec conscientiam." Hard words these! The advocate is affirmed to be void both of reason and honesty, for denying the pope's dominion over kings. The reason follows, "The pope could not keep them to their duties, unless he kept them in awe with threatening them the loss of their kingdoms." But this is but the least part of it. They add, "If the subjects had been but disposed as they should have been, there was no time but it might have been profitable to have exercised the sword upon the persons of kings."[y] Let them construe their meaning, those are their words. But see further.

The damned act of Jacques Clément, the monk, upon the life of Henry III. of France, of Jean Chastel and Ravaillac upon Henry IV. are notorious in the christian world, and yet the first of these was commended by F. Guignard,[z] in a discourse of purpose, and by Mariana, as I before cited him. The second had two apologies made for him, the one by

[n] Quodammodo optandum esse ut ille Alastor Marianam legisset.

[o] Cum cognito à theologis quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse. Cap. 6.

[p] Chauvesaurit polit.

[q] Amphith. Honoris, lib. i. c. 12.

[r] Iterum et tertio facturus, si per otium et tempus licuisset.

[s] Ut approbatos priùs a viris doctis et gravibus ex eodem nostro ordine.

[t] By Petrus Rhodriques, 1599.

[u] By Balth. Lippius, 1605.

[x] Page 7, 1st. edit.

[y] Page 67, 1st. edit.

[z] Voyez le Procès du Parlem. de Paris contre le père Guignard prêtre Jésuite.

Constantinus Veruna,[a] the other,[b] without a name indeed, but with the mark and cognizance of the Jesuits' order, and the last was publicly commended, in a sermon by a monk of Cologne, as it is reported by the excellent Thuanus.

Not much less than this is that of Baronius, just, I am sure, of the same spirit with James and John, for he calls for a ruin upon the Venetians, for opposing of his holiness. "Arise, Peter, not to feed these wandering sheep, but to destroy them; throw away thy pastoral staff, and take thy sword." I confess here is some more ingenuity, to oppose murdering to feeding, than to make them all one, as Sanders[c] doth, but yet the same fiery spirit inflames them both, as if all Rome were on fire, and would put the world in a combustion.

Further yet. Guignard, a Jesuit of Clerimont college in Paris, was executed by command of the parliament,[d] for some conclusions he had written, which were of a high nature treasonable; and yet as if either there were an infallibility in every person of the society, or as if the parliament had done injustice in condemning Guignard, or lastly, as if they approved his doctrine, he was apologized for by Lewis Richeome,[e] and Bonarscius.[f] I know they will not say, that every Jesuit is infallible, they are not come to that yet; it is plain then, they are of the same mind with Guignard, or else (which I think they dare not say) the parliament was unjust in the condemnation of him; but if they do, they thus proclaim their approbation of these doctrines he was hanged for; for that he had such, was under his own hand, by his own confession, and of itself evident, as is to be seen in the arrest of the parliament against him.

Lastly, more pertinent to the day is the fact of Garnet,—who, because a Jesuit, could have done nothing for which he should not have found an apologist, for even for this his last act of high treason he was apologized for, by Bellarmine,[g] Gretser,[h] and Eudæmon Johannes.[i]

Thus far we have found out persons fit enough to match any malice; Boanerges all, and more than a pareil for James and John: but I shall anon discover the disease to be more epidemical, and the pest of a more catholic infection; and yet if we sum up our accounts, we shall already find the doctrine to be too catholic. For we have already met with Emanuel Sà, a Portuguese: Mariana and Ribadineira, Spaniards; Bonarscius, a bas Almain: Gretser, a German; Eudæmon Johannes, a false Greek; Guignard, Richeome, and the apologists for Chastel, Frenchmen; Bellarmine and Baronius, Italians; Garnet and Sanders, English.

The doctrine, you see, they would fain make catholic; now, if it prove to be but apostolic too, then we have found out an exact parallel for James and John, great disciples and apostles: and whether or no the see apostolic may not sometime be of a fiery and consuming spirit, we have so strange examples, even in our own home, that we need seek no farther for resolution of the 'Quære.' In the bull of excommunication put forth by Pius Quintus against Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, there is more than a naked encouragement, as much as comes to a "Volumus et jubemus ut adversus Elizabetham, Angliæ reginam, subditi arma capessant." —"Bone Jesu! in quæ nos reservasti tempora?" Here is a command to turn rebels, a necessity of being traitors. "Quid eo infelicius, cui jam esse malum necesse est."

The business is put something further home by Catena and Gabutius, who wrote the life of Pius Quintus, were resident at Rome, one of them an advocate in the Roman court; their books both printed at Rome, "con licenza," and "con privilegio."[k] And now hear their testimonies of the whole business between the queen and his holiness.

"Pius Quintus published a bull against Queen Elizabeth, declared her a heretic, and deprived her of her kingdom, absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, excommunicated her, and gave power to any one to rebel against her," &c.[l] This was but the first step; he therefore thus proceeds; "He procures a gentleman of Florence to move her subjects to a rebellion against her for her destruction."[m] Further yet; he thought this would be such a real benefit to christendom to have her "destroyed, that the pope was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the see apostolic, all the chalices and crosses of the church, and even his very clothes, to promote so pious a business as was the destruction of Queen Elizabeth."[n]

The witnesses of truth usually agree in one. The same story is told by Antonius Gabutius,[o] and some more circumstances added. First, he names the end of the pope's design, it was "to take her life away, in case she would not turn Roman catholic."—"To achieve this, because no legate could come into England, nor any public messenger from the see apostolic, he employed a Florentine merchant to stir her subjects to a rebellion for her perdition."[p] Nothing but "sollevamento," "rebellion," perdition and destruction to the queen could be thought upon by his holiness.

More yet; for when the Duke of Alva had seized upon the English merchants' goods which were at Antwerp, the pope took the occasion, instigated the king of Spain to aid "the pious attempts of those who conspired against the queen:" they are the words of Cabutius.[q] This rebellion was intended to be under the conduct of the Duke of Norfolk, "viro

[a] Vid. cap. 3.
[b] Lugduni, de justâ abdicatione Hen. III. 1610.
[c] De clave David, c. 14. Vid. page 7.
[d] Arrest. de Parliam. 7 de Tanv. 1595.
[e] Expostul. Apologet. pro Societ. Jes.
[f] Amphith. Honor. lib. i.
[g] Apol. adv. R. Angliæ.
[h] Stigm. Miseric.
[i] Apol. pro Garnetto.
[k] 1588, et 1605.
[l] Pio publicò una bolla e sentezza contra Elisabetta, dichiarandola heretica, e priva del regno, . . in tal forma concedendo, che ciascuno andar contra le potesse, &c. Girolamo Catena, p. 114.
[m] Il quale . . . . muovesse gli animi al sollevamento per distruttione d'Elisabetta, p. 113.
[n] L'andare in persona, impegna e tutte le sostanze della sede apostolica, e calici, e i proprj vestimenti, p. 117.
[o] De Vitâ et Gestis Pii V. lib. iii. c. 9.
[p] Qui incolarum animos ad Elizabethæ perditionem, rebellione factâ, commoveret.
[q] Efflagitabat ab rege, ut Anglorum in Elizabetham piè conspirantium studia foveret.

catholico," "a Roman catholic;" Gabutius notes it, for fear some heretic might be suspected of the design, and so the catholics lose the glory of the action. However Pius Quintus "intended to use the utmost and most extreme remedies to cure her heresy, and all means to increase and strengthen the rebellion." I durst not have thought so much of his holiness, if his own had not said it; but if this be not worse than the fiery spirit which our blessed Saviour reproved in James and John, I know not what is.

I have nothing to do to specify the spirit of Paulus Quintus in the Venetian cause; this only, Baronius[r] propounded the example of Gregory VII. to him, of which how far short he came, the world is witness. Our own business calls to mind the bulls of Pope Clement VIII., in which the Catholics in England were commanded to see, that however the right of succession did entitle any man to the crown of England, yet, if he were not a catholic, they should have none of him, but with all their power they should hinder his coming in. This bull Bellarmine[s] doth extremely magnify; and, indeed, it was for his purpose, for it was (if not author) yet the main encourager of Catesby to the powder-treason. For, when Garnet would willingly have known the pope's mind in the business, Catesby eased him of the trouble of sending to Rome, since the pope's mind was clear. "I doubt not" (said Catesby) "at all of the pope's mind, but that he, who commanded our endeavours to hinder his coming in, is willing enough we should throw him out."[t] It was but a reasonable collection.

I shall not need to instance in the effects which this bull produced; the treason of Watson and Cleark, two English seminaries, is sufficiently known; it was as a "præludium" or warning-piece to the great "fougade," the discharge of the powder-treason. Briefly, the case was so, that after the publication of the bull of Pius Quintus, these catholics in England durst not be good subjects till F. Parsons and Campian got a dispensation that they might for awhile do it; and "rebus sic stantibus," with a safe conscience profess a general obedience in causes temporal: and, after the bull of Clement, a great many of them were not good subjects; and if the rest had not taken to themselves the privilege which the pope[u] sometimes gave to the archbishop of Ravenna, "either to do as the pope bid them, or to pretend a reason why they would not:" we may say, as Creswell, in defence of Cardinal Allen, "Certainly we might have had more bloody tragedies in England, if the moderation of some more discreetly tempered had not been interposed."[x] However, it is no thank to his holiness; his spirit blew high enough.

But I will open this secret no farther, if I may have but leave to instance once more. If I mistake not, it was Sixtus Quintus who sometimes pronounced a speech in full consistory,[y] in which he compares the assassinat of Jacques Clément upon Henry III. to the exploits of Eleazar and Judith; where, after having aggravated the faults of the murdered king, concluded him to have died impenitent, denied him the solemnities of mass, dirge, and requiem for his soul, at last he ends with a prayer, "that God would finish what in this (bloody) manner had been begun."—I will not aggravate the foulness of the thing by any circumstances (though I cannot but wonder that his holiness should say a prayer of so much abomination); it is of itself too bad.

If his holiness be wronged in the business, I have no hand in it; the speech was printed at Paris,[z] three months after the murder of the king, and avouched for authentic by the approbation of three doctors, Boucher, Decreil, and Ancelein; let them answer it; I wash my hands of the accusation, and only consider the danger of such doctrines, if set forth with so great authority, and practised by so uncontrollable persons.

If the disciples of Christ, if apostles, if the see apostolic, if the fathers confessors, prove "boutefeus" and incendiaries, I'll no more wonder if the people call for fire to consume us, but rather wonder if they do not. And indeed, although it be no rare or unusual thing for a papist to be "de facto" loyal and duteous to his prince, yet it is a wonder that he is so, since such doctrines have been taught by so great masters; and at the best he depends but upon the pope's pleasure for his loyalty, which upon what security it rests, you may easily guess from the antecedents.

Thus much for consideration of the persons who asked the question; they were Christ's disciples, they were James and John.

But when James and John "saw this." Our next inquiry shall be of the cause of this their angry question. This we must learn from the foregoing story. Christ was going to the feast at Jerusalem, and passing through a village of Samaria, asked lodging for a night;[a] but they, perceiving that he was a Jew, would by no means entertain him, as being of a different religion. For although God appointed that all of the seed of Jacob should go up to Jerusalem to worship, *ἀπρέπη γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ προσκύνησις*,[b] yet the tribes of the separation first under Jeroboam, worshipped in groves and high places; and after the captivity, being a mixed people, half Jew, half gentile, procured a temple to be built them by Sanballat, their president,[c] near the city Sichem, upon the mountain Gerizim, styling themselves "pertinentes ad montem benedictum,"[d] by allusion to the words of God by Moses, "they shall stand upon the mount Gerizim to bless the people, and these upon mount Ebal to curse." And in case arguments should fail to make this schism plausible, they will make it good by turning their adversaries out of doors: they shall not come near their blessed mount of Gerizim, but fastening an anathema on them, let them go to Ebal, and curse there. And now I

[r] Hildebrand. [s] Apol. adv. R. Angl.
[t] Proced. agt. Traytors.
[u] Innoc. Decretal. de rescript. cap. si quando.
[x] Philop. p. 212, n. 306. [y] Sep. 11, 1589.
[z] By Nichol. Nivelle, and Rollin Thierry.
[a] Ver. 50. [b] Chrysost. in hunc locum.
[c] Josephi Antiq. lib. vi. c. 6.
[d] Postellus de Linguis, lib. xii. Deut. 27.

wonder not that these disciples were very angry at them, who had lost the true religion, and neglected the offices of humanity to them that kept it. They might go near now to make it a cause of religion; σεμνότερον ὄνομα τῆς εὐσεβείας, as Nazianzen[e] speaks, might seem to apologize for them; and so it might, if it had not led them to indiscreet and uncharitable zeal. But men care not how far they go, if they do but once think they can make God a party of their quarrel. For when religion, which ought to be the antidote of our malice, proves its greatest incentive, our uncharitableness must needs run faster to mischief, by how much that which stopped its course before, drives it on with the greater violence. And, therefore, as it is ordinary for charity to be called coldness in religion, so it is as ordinary for a pretence of religion to make cold charity.

The present case of the disciples, and the same spirit, which, for the same pretended cause, is taken up by the persons of the day, proves all this true; with whom fire and faggot is esteemed the best argument to convince the understanding, and the inquisitors of heretical pravity, the best doctors and subtlest disputants, determining all with a "viris ignem, fossam mulieribus."[f] For thus we had like to have suffered; it was mistaken religion that moved these traitors to so damnable a conspiracy, not for any defence of their own cause, but for extirpation of ours. For else what grievances did they groan under? "In quos eorum populum exæstuantem sollicitavimus? quibus vitæ periculum attulimus?" it was Nazianzen's question to the apostate.[g] Give me leave to consider it as applicable to our present case, and try if I can make a just discovery of the cause that moved these traitors to so accursed a conspiracy.

1. Then there was no cause at all given them by us; none put to death for being a Roman catholic, nor any of them punished for his religion.

This hath been the constant attestation of our princes and state, since the first laws made against recusants; and the thing itself will bear them record.[h]

From "primo of Elizabeth to undecimo," the papists made no scruple of coming to our churches; recusancy was not then so much as a chrisom, not an embryo. But when Pius Quintus sent forth his briefs of excommunication and deposition of the queen, then first they forbore to pray with us, or to have any religious communion. This, although every where known, yet being a matter of fact, and so as likely to be denied by others, as affirmed by us, without good evidence, see it therefore affirmed expressly by an act of parliament in "decimo-tertio of Elizabeth," which specifies this as one inconvenience and ill consequences of the bull; "whereby hath grown great disobedience and boldness in many, not only to withdraw and absent themselves from divine service, now most godly set forth, and used within this realm, but also have thought themselves discharged of all obedience," &c. Not only recusancy, but likewise disobedience; therefore both recusancy and disobedience.

Two years, therefore, after this bull, this statute was made, if it was possible, to nullify the effects of it, to hinder its execution, and, if it might be, by this means to keep them, as they had been before, in communion with the church of England, and obedience to her majesty. This was the first statute that concerned them in special, but yet their religion was not meddled with; for this statute against execution of the pope's bulls, was no more than what had been established by act of parliament in the sixteenth year of Richard II., by which it was made "præmunire" to purchase bulls from Rome; and the delinquents in this kind, with all their "abettors, fautors, procurators, and maintainers, to be referred to the king's council for further punishment." There was indeed this severity expressed in the act of decimo-tertio of the queen, that the putting them in execution should be capital; and yet this severity was no more than what was inflicted upon the bishop of Ely, in Edward III.'s time, for publishing of a bull against the Earl of Chester, without the king's leave; and on the bishop of Carlisle, in the time of Henry IV., for the like offence. Thus far our laws are innocent.

But when this statute did not take the good effect for which it was intended, neither keeping them in their ancient communion nor obedience, but for all this, Mayne, Campian, and many others, came as the pope's emissaries for execution of the bull, the state proceeded to a further severity, making laws against recusancy, against seditious and traitorous books, and against the residence of Romish priests in England; making the first finable with a pecuniary mulct, the two latter capital, as being made of a treasonable nature. Of these in order:

1. The mulct which was imposed for recusancy, was not soul money, or paid for religion; and that for these reasons: 1. Because it is plain, religion did not make them absent themselves from our churches, unless they had changed their religion since the bull came over: for if religion could consist with their communion with us before the bull, as it is plain it did, then why not after the bull? unless it be part of their religion to obey the pope, rather than to obey God commanding us to obey our prince.—2. Their recusancy was an apparent mischief to our kingdom, and it was the prevention or diversion of this that was the only or special end of these laws.

The mischief is apparent these two ways: 1. Because by their recusancy they gave attestation that they held the bull to be valid; for else why should they, after the bull, deny their communion, which, before, they did not? Either they must think the queen, for a just cause, and by a just power, excommunicate; or why did they separate from her communion? Now if the queen, by virtue of the bull, was excommunicate, why should they stop here? She was by the same deposed, they ab-

[e] Orat. 12.
[f] Decret. Carol quinti, pro Flandris.
[g] Orat. 2. in Julian.
[h] Vid. L. Burleigh's book called "Execution for Treason, not Religion." King James's Declaration to all Christian Kings and Princes, and the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech in Star-chamber in Burton's case.

solved from all allegiance to her, and commanded to take arms against her. I confess it is no good argument of itself to say, the pope might excommunicate the queen, therefore depose her from her kingdom: but this concludes with them sufficiently, with whom excommunication not only drives from spirituals, but deprives of temporals, and is not to mend our lives, but to take them away. I speak how it is in the case of princes, and I shall anon prove it; for they being public persons from whose deposition more may be gotten, are like to suffer more. "Ut ex tunc ipse (pontifex) vassallos ab ejus fidelitate denuntiet absolutos, et terram exponat catholicis occupandam;" as they are taught by Pope Innocent III., in the eighth Lateran council. Such is their excommunication for matter of heresy, as was this pretended in the queen's case, so that in respect of them the danger was apparent.

2. It is plain that recusancy and disobedience came actually hand in hand: I say not that the one was the issue of the other, but that they were coetaneous, for the same persons that moved them to recusancy by virtue of the bull, moved them to the execution of it "per omnia." Now see whither this would tend. They by recusancy were better able to judge of their forces in England, and what party they were able to make for execution of the bull; whilst by that, as by a discriminative cognizance, they were pointed at as abettors of the catholic cause.

Thus far they suffered not for their religion or conscience, unless it were against their conscience to be good subjects; and then it was not religion, at least not christian, that was inconsistent with their loyalty: and so hitherto, in respect of us, their machination was altogether causeless.

2. For the second, (of which sometimes they accuse our laws,)—I mean the writing and publishing of seditious and traitorous books; I shall not need to say any thing in defence of its being made capital; for they were ever so, and of a high nature treasonable, and the publishers of them, by the canons of the church, were "ipso facto" excommunicate.[i] This I noted, because the same censure involves more, by virtue of the same canon: I mean not only the seditious libellers, but impugners of the king's regalities; as also the bringers, publishers, and executioners of the bull; as is to be seen in the constitution of Archbishop Stephen, in a council held at Oxford.—But, secondly, whether they were or were not, it matters nothing: this I suppose was no part of their religion, therefore this might be made treason, and yet their religion and peace of conscience undisturbed. 3. But the next is the main outcry of all, the very "conclamatum est" of the catholic cause, if suffered: it was made treason to be a priest, or at least if any of their priests should be found in England, he should be adjudged a traitor; and these laws were not yet repealed, but then in execution.

When certain sycophants told Philip of Macedon, that some of his discontented subjects called him tyrant, his answer was, "Rudes sunt Macedones, et scapham vocant scapham." I wish these men who object this, had the same ingenuity, and would acknowledge that the rudeness of a Macedonian tell-truth is no apparent calumny: and truly, as the case then stood, it was no worse. For consider that the statute against priests was not made till sixteen years after the bull of Pius V., and after much evidence, both by the confession of some priests themselves, and divers lay persons, that at least many of them came into England with this errand, that they might instigate the queen's liege people to the execution of it. This is very plain in the case of Mayne the Jesuit, and M. Tregion, who were executed at Launceston for the same business.[k]

The state could not certainly know what would be the issue, but yet could not but think it likely to produce more and worse consequences for the future. "Ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint."[l] The queen then providing for her safety, banished these priests out of her dominions. This was all; and this done with so much lenity and moderation, as if of purpose to render good for their evil; such was her innocence; —and yet to provide for her safety, such was her prudence. She gave them forty days' time of preparation for their journey, imposed no penalty for their longer stay, in case that any of them were less healthful, or that the winds were cross, or that the weather served not: provided that during their stay, they gave security for their due obedience to her laws, and that they should attempt nothing against her person or government, for this was all she aimed at; but if they obeyed not the proscription, having no just cause to the contrary, such as were expressed in the act, then it should be adjudged their errand was not right, and, therefore, not their religion, but their disobedience, treasonable.

This was the highest ἀκμὴ of the severity of this state against them. Now first I shall briefly show, that this proscription, which was the highest penalty, was for just cause, as the case then stood, and deserved on their part. 2. It was but reasonable, in case they obeyed not the proscription, their stay should be made treason. 1. Because the priests did generally preach the pope's power, either directly over temporals, or else in order to spirituals,—of which the pope being judge, it would come to the same issue, and this was dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and entrenched too much upon the regalty. In particular, the case of bringing from the see of Rome, and publishing of bulls, was by the lords of the parliament, in the sixteenth year of Richard the Second, judged to be "clearly in derogation of the king's crown and of his regalty, as it is well known, and hath been of a long time known;" and, therefore, they protested "together and every one severally by himself, that they would be with the same crown and regalty, in these cases specially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted

[i] Apud Linwood de senten. excommunicat. Item omnes illos excommunicationis innodamus sententiâ, qui pacem et tranquillitatem Domini Regis et Regni, injuriose perturbare præsumunt, et qui jura Domini Regis injuste detinere contendunt.

[k] 1577.

[l] Tacitus, lib. iii. Annal.

against the same crown and regalty, in all points. with all their power." I hope then if the state, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, having far greater reason than ever, shall judge that these bulls, the publishing of them, the preaching of their validity, and reconciling, by virtue of them, her subjects to the see of Rome, be derogatory to her crown and regalty,—I see no reason she should be frighted from her just defence with the bugbear of pretended religion; for if it was not against religion then, why is it now? I confess there is a reason for it, to wit, because now the pope's power is an article of faith, as I shall show anon, but then it was not with them, any more than now it is with us: but whether this will convince any man of reason, I leave it to himself to consider.

But one thing is observable in that act of parliament of Richard the Second, I mean this clause, "As it is well known, and hath been of a long time known." The pope's encroachments upon the state of England had been an old sore, and by its eld almost habituate; but yet it grieved them nevertheless, nor was the less a fever for being hectical: but so it is, that I am confident, upon very good grounds, it may be made as apparent as the noon sun, for these six hundred years and upwards, that the bishops of Rome have exercised so extreme and continual tyranny and exactions in this kingdom, that our condition was under him worse than the state of the Athenians under their thirty tyrants, or than our neighbours are now under their Belgic tributes. So many grievances of the people, expilations of the church, abuses to the state, entrenchments upon the royalties of the crown, were continued, that it was a great blessing of Almighty God, our kingdom was delivered from them upon so easy terms, which Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, thought would never be done, but in "Ore gladii cruentandi:" and now to have all these mischiefs return with more strength upon us, by the attempts of these priests, had been the highest point of indiscretion and sleepiness. I said, *with more strength*,—because what anciently at the highest was thought but a privilege of the church, began now to be an article of faith; and, therefore, if admitted, would have bound stronger and without all possibility of redress.

And now, if after all this, any man should doubt of the justice of these laws against the priests obtruding upon the state of the pope's power, I only refer him to the parliament of Paris, where let him hold his plea against those great sages of the law, for their just censures upon Florentinus Jacobus, Thomas Blanzius,[m] and John Tanquerell, who were all condemned to a solemn honorary penance and satisfaction to the state, and not without extreme difficulty escaped death, for the same cause: but this is not all. I add,

Secondly; the pope had his agent in England, to stir up the subjects to rebel against the queen, as I proved before by the testimonies of Catena and Gabutius. It is not then imaginable that he should so poorly intend his own designs, to employ one on purpose, and he but a merchant; and that the priests, who were the men, if any, most likely to do the business, should be unemployed. I speak not of the argument from matter of fact; (for it is apparent that they were employed, as I showed but now;) but it is plain also that they must have been employed, if we had had no other argument but a presumption of the pope's ordinary discretion. Things then remaining in this condition, what security could the queen or state have, without the absence of those men who must be the instruments of their mischief?

Thirdly, there was great reason those men might be banished, who might from their own principles plead immunity from all laws, and subordination to the prince. But that so these priests might, I only bring two witnesses, leading men of their own side. Thus Bellarmine:[n] "The pope hath exempted all clerks from subjection to princes." The same is taught by Emanuel Sà in his "Aphorisms," verbo "clericus." I must not dissemble that this aphorism, however it passed the press at first, yet in the edition of Paris it was left out. The cause is known to every man: for that it was merely to serve their ends is apparent; for their French freedom was there taken from them, they durst not "parler tout" so near the parliament; but the aphorism is to this day retained in the editions of Antwerp and Cologne.

If this be their doctrine, as it is plain it is taught by these leading authors, I mean Sà and Bellarmine, I know no reason but it may be very just and most convenient to deny those men the country from whose laws they plead exemption.

Secondly: It was but reasonable, in case they obeyed not the proscription, their disobedience should be made capital. For if they did not obey, then either they sinned against their conscience, in disobeying their lawful prince, and so are *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, and inexcusable from the law's penalty, which may be extended at the pleasure of the lawgiver, where there is no positive injustice in the disproportion; or if they did not sin against their conscience, then of necessity must they think her to be no lawful prince, or not their lawful prince, nor they her subjects, and so "ipso facto" are guilty of high treason, and their execution was for "treason, not religion;" and so the principle is evicted which I shall beg leave to express in St. Cyprian's language, "Non erat illa fidei corona, sed pœna perfidiæ; nec religiosæ virtutis exitus gloriosus, sed desperationis interitus."[o]

For if Valentius banish Eusebius from Samosata, and Eusebius obey not the edict, if Valentius puts him to death, it is not for his being a christian that he suffers death; but for staying at Samosata, against the command of Valentius.[p] Such was the case of the priests, whom for just cause, as I have proved, and too apparent proof of seditious practices, the queen banished. Now if the queen was their lawful sovereign, then were they bound to obey her decree of exile, though it had been unjust, as was the case of Eusebius; or if they did not obey, not to think the laws unjust for punishing their dis-

[m] 1561. [n] Lib. i. c. 28. De Clericis. [o] De Simplic. Prælat. [p] Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 14.

obedience. I say again their disobedience, not their religion; for that it was not their religion that was struck at by the justice of these laws, but the security of the queen and state only aimed at,—besides what I have already said, is apparent to the evidence of sense. For when Hart and Bosgrave, Jesuits both, came into England against the law, they were apprehended and imprisoned: for the laws without just execution were of no force for the queen's safety; but when these men had acknowledged the queen's legitimate power, and put in their security for their due obedience, they obtained their pardon and their liberty. The same proceedings were in the case of Horton and Rishton, all which I hope were not apostates from their order or religion, but so they must have been, or not have escaped death, in case that their religion had been made capital. Lastly, this statute extended only to such priests who were made priests, since "Primo of Elizabeth," and were born in England. It was not treason for a French priest to be in England, but yet so it must have been, if religion had been the thing they aimed at. But it is so foul a calumny, I am ashamed to stand longer to refute it. The proceedings of the church and state of England were just, honourable, and religious, full of mercy and discretion, and unless it were that as C. Fimbria complained of Q. Scævola, we did not open our breasts wide enough to receive the danger, there is no cause imaginable, I mean on our parts, to move them to so damned a conspiracy, or indeed to any just complaint.

Secondly: If these were not the causes, (as they would fain abuse the world into a persuasion that they were,) what was? I shall tell you, if you will give me leave ἄνωθεν τὴν πηγὴν διορύττειν, "to derive it from its very head," and then I will leave it to you to judge whether or no my augury fails me.

First, I guess that the traitors were encouraged and primarily moved to this treason, from the prevailing opinion which is most generally received, on that side, of the lawfulness of deposing princes that are heretical. I say, generally received, and I shall make my words good, or else the blame shall lay on themselves for deceiving me, when they declare their own minds. I instance, first, in the fathers of the society.[q] Bellarmine teacheth that kings "have no wrong done them, if they be deprived of their kingdoms, when they prove heretics."—Creswell, in his "Philopater" goes further, saying, "that if his heresy be manifest, he is deposed without any explicit judicial sentence of the pope, the law itself hath passed the sentence of deposition."[r] And therefore,

Bonarscius is very angry[s] at Arnald, the French king's advocate, for affirming that religion could be no just cause to depose a lawful prince; if he had been brought up in their schools, he might have learnt another lesson; "papa potest mutare regna, et uni auferre, atque alteri conferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem," saith Bellarmine.[t] He gives his reason too, "Quia alioqui possent mali principes impunè fovere hæreticos;"[u] which is a thing not to be suffered by his holiness.

This doctrine is not the private opinion of these doctors, but "est certa, definita, atque indubitata virorum clarissimorum sententia," saith F. Creswell,[x] I suppose he means in his own order; and yet I must take heed what I say, for Eudæmon Johannes[y] is very angry with Sir Edward Cooke, for saying it is the doctrine of the Jesuits. Do they then deny it? No, surely, but "Non est Jesuitarum propria," it is not theirs alone, "sed, ut Garnettus respondit, totius Ecclesiæ, et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina nostra est;" and there he reckons up seven-and-twenty famous authors of the same opinion. Creswell, in his Philopater,[z] says as much if not more: "Hinc etiam infert universa theologorum et jurisconsultorum ecclesiasticorum schola, et est certum, et de fide, quemcunque principem christianum, si a religione catholicâ manifestè deflexerit, et alios avocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsâ vi juris, tum humani, tum Divini." You see how easily they swallow this great camel. Add to this, that Bellarmine[a] himself proves, that the pope's temporal power, or of disposing of princes' kingdoms, is a catholic doctrine: for he reckons up of this opinion, one-and-twenty Italians, fourteen French, nine Germans, seven English and Scotch, nineteen Spaniards, and these not "è fæce plebis," but "è primoribus," all very famous and very leading authors.

You see it is good divinity amongst them, and I have made it good, that it is a general opinion, received by all their side, if you will believe themselves; and now let us see if it will pass for good law, as well as good divinity.

It is not for nothing that the church of France protests against some of their received canons; if they did not, I know not what would become of their princes. Their "lilies" may be to-day, and to-morrow be cast into the oven, if the pope either call their prince "Huguenot," as he did Henry IV.; or "tyrant," as Henry III.; or, "unprofitable for the church or kingdom," as he did King Childeric, whom Pope Zachary, "de facto" did depose for the same cause, and inserted his act into the body of the law as a precedent for the future, "Quod etiam ex auctoritate frequenti agit sancta ecclesia;" it is impaled in a parenthesis in the body of the canon,[b] lest deposition of princes should be taken for news. The law is clear for matter of fact; the lawfulness follows.

"Hæreticis licitum est auferri quæ habent;"[c] and this not only from a private man, but even from princes, "Nam qui in majore dignitate est, plus

[q] Nec ulla eis injuria fiet, si deponantur. Lib. v. de Rom. Pontif. c. 7.

[r] Ex ipsâ vi juris et ante omnem sententiam supremi pastoris ac judicis contra ipsum prolatam. Lugduni impres. 1593. p. 106. n. 157. Amphith. Honor. p. 117.

[s] Sed heus, Arnalde, à cujus institutione hausisti nullam posse intercidere causam, quæ regem cogat abire regno? Non religionis?

[t] Bellar. de Pont. R. lib. v. c. 6. [u] Cap. 7.

[x] Ubi suprà, p. 107. [y] Apol. pro Garnet. c. 3.

[z] Num. 157. [a] Contra Barclaium in princip. fere.

[b] Can. Alius. Caus. 15. q. 6. [c] Cl. 1. in Summa 23. q. 7.

punitur;" or take it, if you please, in more proper terms. "Dominus papa principem secularem deponere potest propter hæresim;"[d] and so another may be chosen, like the Palatines and Castellans in Poland, just as if the king were dead, "Nam per hæresim plusquam civiliter mortuus censetur," saith Simancha,[e] and that, by virtue of a constitution of Gregory IX., by which every man is freed from all duty, homage, allegiance, or subordination whatsoever due to a heretic, whether due by a natural, civil, or political right; "Aliquo pacto, aut quâcunque firmitate vallatum.—Et sic nota," saith the gloss, "Quod papa potest absolvere laicum de juramento fidelitatis."

I end those things with the attestation of Bellarmine,[f] "Est res certa et explorata, posse pontificem maximum justis de causis temporalibus judicare, atque ipsos temporales principes aliquando deponere."—And again, that we may be sure to know of what nature this doctrine is, he repeats it; "Sic igitur de potestate in temporalibus, quod ea sit in papâ, non opinio, sed certitudo apud catholicos est." And now let any man say, if this be not a catholic doctrine, and a likely antecedent to have treason to be its consequent.

But I fix not here, only this, it is plain that this proposition is no friend to loyalty; but that which follows is absolutely inconsistent with it, in case our prince be of a different persuasion in matters of religion. For,

2. It is not only lawful to depose princes that are heretical, but it is necessary, and the catholics are bound to do it "sub mortali." I know not whether it be so generally, I am sure it is as confidently taught as the former, and by as great doctors.

"Ecclesia nimis graviter erraret, si admitteret aliquem regem, qui vellet impunè fovere quamlibet sectam, et defendere hæreticos:" so Bellarmine.[g] And again,[h] "Non licet Christianis tolerare regem hæreticum, si conetur pertrahere subditos ad suam hæresim." But F. Creswell[i] puts the business home to purpose, "Certè non tantum licet sed summâ etiam juris Divini necessitate ac præcepto, imò conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo, et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine, Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possint." Under peril of their souls they must not suffer an heretical prince to reign over them. "Possunt, et debent eum arcere ex hominum Christianorum dominatu, ne alios inficiat," &c.[k]

3. He that saith subjects "may, and are bound to depose their princes, and to drive them from all rule over christians, if they be able," means something more: for what if the prince resist? still he is bound to depose him if he be able. How if the prince make a war? the catholic subject must do his duty nevertheless, and war too, if he be able. He that says he may wage a war with his prince, I doubt not but thinks he may kill him; and if the fortune of the war lights so upon him, the subject cannot be blamed for doing of his duty.

It is plain that killing a prince is a certain consequent of deposing him, unless the prince be bound in conscience to think himself a heretic, when the pope declares him so, and be likewise bound not to resist; and besides all this, will perform these his obligations, and as certainly think himself heretical, and as really give over his kingdom quietly, as he is bound. For in case any of these should fail, there can be but very slender assurance of his life. I would be loth to obtrude upon men the odious consequences of their opinions, or to make any thing worse which is capable of a fairer construction; but I crave pardon in this particular; the life of princes is sacred, and is not to be violated so much as in thought, or by the most remote consequence of a public doctrine: but here indeed it is so immediate and natural a consequent of the former, that it must not be dissembled. But what shall we think, if even this blasphemy be taught "in terminis?" See this too.

In the year 1407, when the Duke of Orleans had been slain by John of Burgundy, and the fact notorious beyond a possibility of concealment, he thought it his best way to employ his chaplain to justify the act, pretending that Orleans was a tyrant. This stood him in small stead, for by the procurement of Gerson, it was decreed in the council of Constance, that tyranny was no sufficient cause for a man to kill a prince. But yet, I find, that even this decree will not stand princes in much stead. First, because the decree runs "ut nemo privatâ autoritate," &c.; but if the pope commands it, then it is "judicium publicum," and so they are never the more secure for all this. Secondly, because Mariana[l] tells us, that this decree is nothing. "Namque id decretum (Concilii Constantiensis) Romano Pontifici Martino quinto probatum non invenio, non Eugenio aut successoribus, quorum consensu conciliorum ecclesiasticorum sanctitas stat." Thirdly, because though the council had forbidden killing of tyrannical princes, even by public authority, though this decree had been confirmed by the pope, which yet it was not, yet princes are never the more secure, if they be convicted of heresy; and, therefore, let them but add heresy to their tyranny, and this council, "Non obstante," they may be killed by any man; for so it is determined[m] in an apology made for Chastel, "Licitum esse privatis et singulis, reges et principes hæreseos et tyrannidis condemnatos, occidere, non obstante decreto concilii Constantiensis;"—and the author of the book "De justâ Abdicatione Henrici III." affirms it not only lawful but meritorious.

How much less than this is that of Bellarmine?[n] "Si temporalia obsint fini spirituali, spiritualis potestas potest, et debet coercere temporalem, omni ratione ac viâ." If "omni ratione," then this of killing him in case of necessity, or greater conveni-

[d] Gl. cap. excommunicamus, tit. de hæreticis, lib. v.
[e] Cap. 45. de Pœnit.
[f] Contra Barclaium, cap. 3.
[g] Lib. v. de Rom. Pont. c. 7.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Philopat. p. 110. n. 162.
[k] Pag. 106. n. 157.
[l] De Reg. et R. Instit. lib. i. c. 6.
[m] Franc. Verum. Const. p. 2. c. 2.
[n] De Pont. R. lib. v. c. 6.

ence, must not be excluded. But to confess the business openly and freely, it is known that either the consent of the people, or the sentence of the pope, or consent of learned men, is with them held to be a "publicum judicium," and sufficient to sentence a prince, and convict him of heresy or tyranny. That opinion which makes the people judge, is very rare amongst them, but almost generally exploded;[o] that opinion which makes the learned to be their judge is, I think, proper to Mariana, or to a few more with him; but that the sentence of the pope is a sufficient conviction of him, and a complete judicial act, is the most catholic opinion on that side, as I shall show anon. Now whether the pope, or learned men, or the people, be to pass this sentence upon the prince, it is plain that it is a universal doctrine amongst them, that after this sentence (whosesoever it be) it is then without question lawful to kill him; and the most that ever they say is, that it is indeed not lawful to kill a king, not lawful for a private man, of his own head, without the public sentence of his judge; but when this judge (whom they affirm to be the pope) hath passed his sentence, then they doubt not of its being lawful. That I say true, I appeal to Gregory de Valentia,[p] Tolet,[q] Bellarmine,[r] Suarez,[s] Salmeron,[t] Serarius,[u] Molina,[x] Emanuel Sà,[y] Azorius,[z] Martinus Delrius,[a] Lessius,[b] Gretser,[c] Becanus,[d] Sebastan Heissius,[e] Richeome,[f] Eudæmon Johannes,[g] Salianus,[h] Filliucius,[i] Adam Tanner,[k] and their great Thomas Aquinas.[l]

All these, and many more that I have seen, teach the lawfulness of killing kings after public sentence; and then, to beautify the matter, profess that they deny the lawfulness of "regicidium," by a private authority. For if the pope sentence him, then he is no longer a king, and so the killing of him is not "regicidium;" and if any man doth kill him after such sentence, then he kills him not "privatâ autoritate," or "sine judicio publico;" which is all they affirm to be unlawful.

And thus they hope to stop the clamour of the world against them, yet to have their opinions stand entire, the way to their own ends fair, but the prince no jot the more secure of his life. I do them no wrong, I appeal to the authors themselves; there I will be tried. For that either the people, or that a company of learned men, or to be sure the pope, may license a man to kill the king, they speak it with one voice and tongue. And now after all this we may better guess what manner of counsel or threatening (for I know not which to call it) that was which Bellarmine[m] gave sometimes to King James of blessed memory. "Si securus regnare velit rex, si vitæ suæ et suorum consulere cupiat, sinat catholicos frui religione suâ!"—If this be good counsel, then in case the catholics were hindered from the free profession of their religion, at the best it was full of danger, if not certain ruin. But I will no more rake this Augean stable; in my first part I showed it was too catholic a doctrine, and too much practised by the great Cisalpine prelate. I add no more, lest truth itself should blush, fearing to become incredible.

Now, if we put all these things together, and then we should prove to be heretics in their account, we are in a fair case, both prince and people; if we can but guess rightly at this, we shall need, I think, to look no further why fire was called for to consume both our king and country, nor why we may fear it another time.

The author of the "Epistle of Comfort to the Catholics in Prison," printed by authority, in the year of the powder treason, is very earnest to persuade his catholics not to come to our churches, or communicate with us in any part of our divine service; affrighting them with the strange "terriculamenta" of half christians, hypocrites, deniers of Christ, in case they joined with us in our Liturgy.[n] Strange affrightments these, yet not much more than what is true, if they esteem us heretics. For if they think us so, we are so to them; and they communicating with us, do as much sin, as if we were so indeed.

But if we be not heretics, what need all this stir, "permissu superiorum:" the counsel of recusancy was unreasonable, dangerous, schismatical, and, as the case then stood, very imprudent. In charity to their discretion, we cannot but think them uncharitable in their opinion of us.

But there is no need we should dispute ourselves into a conjecture, themselves speak out and plain enough. Hear Bellarmine,[o] under the visor of Tortus, affirming that the king's edict commanded the catholics to go to heretics' churches, speaking of ours. But more plain is that of Champ, the Sorbonist, in his treatise of "Vocation of Bishops." "Therefore, as Arianism is a condemned heresy, and the professors thereof be heretics,—so likewise is protestantism a condemned heresy, and those that profess it be also heretics."[p]

By this time we see too plainly that the state of protestant princes is full of danger, where these men have to do. They may be deposed and expelled from the government of their kingdoms, they must be deposed by the Catholics, under peril of their souls, it may be done any way that is most convenient; they may be rebelled against, fought with,

[n] Vide P. D. M. Image of both Churches.
[o] Tom. iii. disp. 5. q. 8. punct. 3. [q] In Sum. lib. v. c. 6.
[r] Apolog. ad R. Angl. c. 13. [s] Defens. Fidei, lib. vi. c. 4.
[t] In 13 cap. ad. Rom. disp. 5. [u] Quæst. p. in c. 3. Jud.
[x] De Just. et Jure, tom. iv. tr. 3. d. 6.
[y] Aphoris. verb. Tyrannus.
[z] Instit. Moral. 2. p. lib. xi. c. 5. q. 10.
[a] In Hercul. Furent. [b] De Instit. et Jure, c. 9. dub. 4.
[c] Chauvesouris polit.
[d] In Resp. ad. Aphoris. Calvinistarum.
[e] Contr. Calvinist. Aphorism. c. 3. ad Aphor. 1.
In Expostul. ad Henrici. Reg. pro Societate.
[g] In Apolog. pro Henrico Garnetto.
[h] Ad annum mundi, 2669, n. 7.
[i] Tract. 29. p. 2. de quinto precepto Decal. n. 12.
[k] Tom. iii. disp. 4. q. 8. dub. 3. n. 32.
[l] Opusc. 20. et lib. i. de Regim. Præcip. c. 6.
[m] In lib. sub nomine Torti, edit. Colon. Agrip. 1610, p. 21.
[n] Εἴτις Κληρικὸς ἢ Λαϊκὸς εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων, ἢ αἱρετικῶν συνεύξασθαι, καθαιρεῖσθω, καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω. 36 Can. Apost. 33. Laodic. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αἱρετικοὶς συνεύχεσθαι.
[o] Apol. ad. R. Angl.
[p] Cap. 11. p. 149. Douay, 1616.

slain. For all this, it were some ease, if here we might fix a "non ultra." For, perhaps, these princes might put in a plea for themselves, and go near to prove themselves to be no heretics. All is one, for though they do, yet unless they can persuade his holiness not to judge them so, or declare them heretics, all is to no purpose, for to him they must stand or fall. "Nam judicare an rex pertrahat ad hæresim necne, pertinet ad pontificem." So Bellarmine. They need not stay till his heresy be of itself manifest, he is then to be used like a heretic, "when by the pope of Rome he shall be judged heretical."

But what matter is it if the pope be judge, for if they may be deposed, as good he as any else? What grievance then can this be to the state of princes more than the former? Yes, very much. 1. Because the pope, by his order to spirituals, may take away kingdoms upon more pretences than actual heresy. It is a large title, and may do any thing. Bellarmine[q] expresses it handsomely, and it is the doctrine of their great Aquinas.[r] "The pope," saith he, "by his spiritual power may dispose of the temporalities of all the christians in the world, when it is requisite to the end of the spiritual power."—The words are plain that he may do it for his own ends, (for his is the spiritual power,) that is, for the advancement of the see apostolic; and thus (to be sure) he did actually with Frederick Barbarossa, John of Navarre, the Earl of Thoulouse, and our own King John. 2. The pope pretends to a power, that to avoid the probable danger of the increase of heresy, he may take away a territory from the right owner, as is reported by the Cardinal D'Ossat; and this is soon pretended, for who is there that cannot make probabilities, especially when a kingdom is at stake? 3. We find examples, that the pope hath excommunicated princes, and declared them heretics, when all the heresy hath been a not laying their crowns at the feet of St. Peter. The case of Lewis IV. is every where known, whom John XXIII. excommunicated. Platina[s] tells the reason. He called himself emperor without the pope's leave, and aided the Italian deputies to recover Milan. Doubtless a most damnable and fundamental heresy. 4. How, if it proves in the pope's account to be a heresy to defend the immediate right of princes to their kingdoms, dependent only on God, not on the see apostolic. If this be no heresy, nor like heresy to say it, I would fain learn the meaning of Baronius[t] concerning the book of Johannes de Roa, who sometime had been a Jesuit, but then changed his order, and became Augustan, saying, "it was sentenced to the fire before it had escaped the press." And good reason, "Nihil enim tale à patribus societatis didicit." Good men, they never taught him any such doctrine as is contained in that pestilent book, "de juribus principalibus defendendis et moderandis juste." Now, if this be heresy, or like it, to preach such a doctrine, then likely it will be judged heresy in princes to do so, that is, to hold their crowns without acknowledgment of subordination to St. Peter's chair. And if it be not heresy to do so, it is in their account as bad, for so the Jesuits, in their "Veritas defensa" against the action of Arnald the advocate, affirm "in terminis," that the actions of some kings of France against the pope, in defence of their regalties, were but "examples of rebellion, and spots to disgrace the purity of the French lilies." 5. But in case the pope should chance to mistake in his sentence against a prince, for the cause of heresy, yet for all this mistake, he can secure any man to take away the prince's life or kingdom. His lawyers will be his security for this point. For although, in this case, the deposition of the prince should be, and be acknowledged to be, against God's law, the prince being neither tyrant nor heretic, yet his holiness commanding it, takes away the unlawfulness of it, by his dispensation. So D. Marta;[u] and for this doctrine he quotes Hostiensis, Felinus, Gratus the abbot, the archbishop of Florence, Ancharanus, Johannes Andreas, Laurentius, de Pinu, and some others. Indeed his divines deny this, "sed contrarium tamen observatur," as it is very well observed by the same doctor;[w] for he brings the practice and example of Pope Martin V., Julius II., Celestine III., Alexander III., and Sixtus Quintus, all which dispensed in cases acknowledged to be expressly against God's law. 6. Lastly, how if the pope should lay a claim to all the kingdoms of the world, as belonging to St Peter's patrimony, by right of spiritual pre-eminence? I know no great security we have to the contrary. For, first, it is known he hath claimed the kingdom of England, as feudatory to the see apostolic.[x] Which when I considered, I wondered not at that new and insolent title which Mosconius gives his holiness,[y] of "Defensor fidei." He might have added the title of "Rex Catholicus," and "Christianissimus." For D. Marta, in his treatise of "jurisdiction,"[z] which he dedicated to Paulus Quintus, hath that for an argument why he dedicated his book to him, because, forsooth, the pope is the only monarch of the world. But of greater authority is that of Thomas Aquinas,[a] affirming the pope to be the vertical top of all power, ecclesiastical and civil. So that now it may be true which the bishop of Patara told the emperor, in behalf of Pope Sylverius. "Multos esse reges, sed nullum talem, qualis ille, qui est papa super ecclesiam mundi totius."[b]

For these reasons, I think, it is true enough, that the constituting the pope the judge of princes in the matter of deposition, is of more danger than the thing itself. The sum is this. However schism or

[q] Ubi suprâ. [r] De Regim. Princip.
[s] In Clement. Quinto.
[t] Baron. tom. vi. Annal. An. Dom. 417. n. 8.
[u] De Jurisd. cas. lxiv. n. 14. [w] Num. 17.
[x] Rex Anglorum est subditus Romano pontifici, ratione directi dominii, quod in regnum Angliæ et Hiberniæ Romana habet ecclesia. Bellarm. Apol. adv. R. Angl. c. 3.
[y] De Majest. milit. Eccles. c. 1. p. 25.
[z] "Tibi à quo emanat omnis jurisdictio, unicus in orbe pontifex, imperator et rex, omnium principum superior, rerumque et personarum supremus et dominus." Epist. Dedicat.
[a] 2 Sent. Dist. 44. et lib. iii. de Regim. Princ.
[b] Lib. erat. in Breviar. de Causâ Nestorian. c. 21.

heresy may be pretended, yet it is but during the pope's pleasure, that kings or subjects shall remain firm in their mutual necessitude. For if our prince be but excommunicate or declared heretic, then to be a good subject will be accounted no better than irreligion and anti-catholicism. If the conclusion be too hard and intolerable, then so are the premises, and yet they pass for good catholic doctrine among themselves.

But if truly, and "ex animo," they are otherwise affected, they should do well to unsay what hath been said, and declare themselves, by public authority, against such doctrines: and say whether or no their determinations shall be "de fide?" If they be, then all those famous catholic doctors, Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, Creswell, Mariana, Emanuel Sà, &c., are heretics, and their canons teach heresy, and many of their popes to be condemned as heretical, for practising and teaching deposition of princes, by an authority usurped against, and in prejudice of, the christian faith. But if their answers be not "de fide," then they had as good say nothing, for the danger is not at all decreased; because if there be doctors on both sides, by their own assertion[c] they may without sin follow either, but yet more safely, if they follow the most received and the most authorized; and whether this rule will lead them, I will be judged by any man that hath considered the premises. Briefly, either this thing must remain in the same state it is, and our princes still exposed to so extreme hazards, or else let his holiness seat himself in his chair, condemn these doctrines, vow against their future practice, limit his "ordo ad spiritualia," contain himself within the limits of causes directly and merely ecclesiastical, disclaim all power, so much as indirect over princes' temporals, and all this with an intent to oblige all christendom. Which when I see done, I shall be most ready to believe that nothing in popery doth, either directly or by a necessary consequence, destroy loyalty to our lawful prince; but not till then, having so much evidence to the contrary.

Thus much was occasioned by consideration of the cause of the disciples' query, which was when they saw this, that their Lord and Master, for his difference in religion, was turned forth of doors, which when they saw, "They said, Lord:" it was well they asked at all, and would not too hastily act what they too suddenly had intended; but it was better that they asked Christ; it had been the best warrant they could have had, could they have obtained but a "magister dixit." But this was not likely, it was too strange a question to ask of such a Master, "a Magistro mansuetudinis licentiam crudelitatis." Nothing could have come more cross to his disposition. His spirit never was addicted to blood, unless it were to shed his own. He was a Prince of peace, and set forth to us by all the symbols of peace and gentleness, as of a sheep, a lamb, a hen, a gentle twining vine, the healing olive: and is it likely, that such a one should give his "placet" to the utter ruin of a company of poor villagers, for denying him a night's lodging, moved thereto by the foregoing scandal of a schism? he knew better what it cost to redeem a man, and to save his life from destruction, than to be so hasty for his ruin. And if the fathers confessors, who were to answer the question of the day, had but reflected upon this gospel, they might have informed their penitents better, than to have engaged them upon such antichristian and treasonable practices, as to destroy an assembly of christians, as to depose or kill a king.

It is the proper cognizance of Mahometanism, by fire and sword to maintain their cause, and to propagate their religion by ruin of princes and conquering their kingdoms. But it is the excellency of christianity, that by humility and obedience it made princes tributary to our dear Master, and homagers to his kingdom. When Valentinian sent Calligonus, his chamberlain, to St. Ambrose, to threaten him from his faith, his answer was, "Deus permittit tibi ut impleas quod minaris. Ego patiar, quod est episcopi; tu facies, quod est spadonis." He did not stir up the numerous people of his diocess to rebel against the emperor, or depose him, employed no agent in his court to undermine his security, nor assassin to take his life. He and the rest of those good fathers would not have lost their possibility of being martyrs for the world, unless it were by persuading the emperors to the christian faith. "We pray for all our governors, that they might have long life, a secure government, a safe house, strong armies, good subjects, quiet world." So Tertullian.[d]

I had thought that the doctrine and example of our blessed Saviour, the practice apostolical and primitive, had been ties enough to keep us in our obedience to God and the king, and in christian charity to all; but I find that all these precepts come to nothing; for the apostles and primitive christians did not actually depose kings, nor alter states, nor call for fire to consume their enemies: not because it was simply unlawful so to do, or any way adverse to the precepts of Christ, but because they wanted power. So Bellarmine:[e] "The church gave leave that the faithful should obey Julian, because then they wanted forces."—And F. Creswell[f] is very confident of the business, "They might without all question have appointed to themselves other kings and princes, if the christians had been strong enough to bring their intendments to pass." But because they could not, therefore it was not lawful for them to go about it, nor is it for us in the same case, "especially if the prince hath quiet possession, and a strong guard about him, then by no means is it lawful for a single man, by his own authority, to assault his prince that rules tyrannically." So Salmeron.[g] But who sees not that this way murder may be lawful? For true it is God commanded us, saying, "Thou shalt not kill;" that is, if thou art not able to lift up thy hand, or strike a stroke: thou shalt not blaspheme, that is, if thou

[c] Charity maintained by Cath. c. 7.
[d] Apologet.
[e] De Pontif. R. lib. v. c. 7.
[f] Philopater, p. 107. n. 158.
[g] Disp. 5. in c. 13. ad Roman.

beest speechless; thou must be obedient to thy prince, that is, if thou canst not tell how to help it. Good doctrine this! And indeed it might possibly be something if God had commanded our subordination to princes only "for wrath," for then "si vires adsint," if we can defend ourselves we are secure, we need not fear his wrath; but when he adds, "also for conscience' sake," I cannot sufficiently wonder that any man should obtrude so senseless, so illiterate, and so impious an interpretation upon the christian world, under the title of catholic doctrine.

Christ when he was betrayed, and seized upon by his murderers, could have commanded twelve legions of angels for his guard, "Non defuerunt vires;" and, in all human likelihood, such a "satellitium," as that would have moved them to a belief in him, or else, I am sure, might have destroyed the unbelievers. Shall I say more against this rude "glossema?" Then thus. It is false that the primitive christians had not power to defend themselves against their persecutors. Hear St. Cyprian; "Nemo nostrûm, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec se adversus injustitiam, et violentiam vestram, quamvis nimius et copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur." They could have resisted, and that to blood, but they had not so learned Christ. Prayers and tears were the arms of christians, and then they had a defence beyond all this, when they were hard put to it, "Mori potuerunt;" a submission of their bodies to martyrdom was their last refuge.

Thus St. Agnes, Lucia, Agatha, Christina, Domitilla saved both their faith and chastity, "non armis, sed ignibus et carnificis manu;" the tormentor's last cruelty defended them from all succeeding danger.

I will not yet conclude, that that which these men obtrude for catholic doctrine is flat and direct heresy; I will instance but once more, and then I shall. In the fourth council of Toledo, which was assembled when the usurping and tyrannizing Goths did domineer in Europe, the most whereof were tyrants, usurpers, or Arians; the council decreed that if any man did violate the life or person of his king, "aut potestate regni exuerit," kill him or depose him, "Anathema sit," &c., he should be accursed in the sight of God and his holy angels, and together with all the companions of his iniquity, he should be separated from the catholic church. And now, I hope, I may say that these men who either practise or advise such practices as killing or deposing kings, are as formally condemned for heresy, and anathematized, as ever was Manichee or Cataphrygian. I know not, but, perhaps, this might be thought of when the Jesuits were inscribed heretics upon the public pillar before the Louvre, in Paris, upon their banishment: however, let them answer it as they may, it concerns them as much as their being catholics comes to, "Et considerent, quia quæ prædicant tantoperè verba, aut ipsorum summorum pontificum sunt suas fimbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis adulantur," as said Æneas Sylvius;[h] but at no hand can it be christian doctrine.

I instanced in these things to show the antithesis between the spirit of our blessed Saviour, who answered the question of the text, and the fathers confessors, of whom was asked the question of the day.

But give me leave to consider them not only as misinforming their penitents, but as concealing their intended purpose; for even this way, the persons to whom the question was propounded made themselves guilty of the intended machination.[i] For by all law, ecclesiastical and civil, he that conceals an intended murder or treason, makes himself as much a party for concealing, as is the principal for contriving.

Ob. But these fathers confessors could not be accused by virtue of these general laws, as being exempt by virtue of a special case, for they received notice of these things only in confession, the seal of which is so sacred and inviolable, that he is sacrilegious who in any case doth break it open, though it be to avoid the greatest evil that can happen, so Bellarmine;[k] to save the lives of all the kings in christendom, so Binet;[l] though to save a whole commonwealth from damage, temporal or spiritual, of body or soul, so Suarez.[m]

A considerable matter! On the one side we are threatened by sacrilege, on the other by danger of princes and commonwealths; for the case may happen, that either the prince and the whole state may be suffered to perish bodily and ghostly, or else the priest must certainly damn himself by the sacrilegious breach of the holy seal of confession. Give me leave briefly to consider it, and, both for the acquittance of our state in its proceedings against these traitors, and for the regulating of the case itself, to say these two things.

1. This present treason was not revealed to these fathers confessors in formal confession. 2. If it had, it did not bind to secrecy in the present case. Of the first, only a word.

1. It was only propounded to them in way of question or consultation,[n] (like this in the text,) as appeared by their own confessions, and the attestation of then Sir Henry Mountague, recorder of London, to Garnet himself. It could not, therefore, be a formal confession; and, therefore, not bind to the seal. It is the common opinion of their own doctors: "Non enim inducitur obligatio sigilli in confessione, quam quis facit sine ullo animo accipiendi absolutionem, sed solum consilii petendi causa."[o]

2. It was propounded to these fathers confessors as a thing not subjectable to their penitential judicature, because it was a fact not repented of, but then in agitation, and resolved upon for the future. How then could this be a confession, whose institu-

[h] De Gestis Concil. Basil. lib. i.

[i] Cap. quanta de senten excom. &c. delicto ibid. in 6. 13. q. 3. q. 3. lib. i. Occissorum ad ¶ c. Syllanian. et lib. sec. l. ad L. Cornel. de Falsis. l. quisquis ad l. Jul. Majest.

[k] Apol. adv. R. Angl.

[l] Casaub. ad Front. Duc. In 3 part. D. Thom. disp. 33. Sect. i. n. 2.

[m] Vide Casaub. Ep. ad Front. D. p. 133.

[n] De Soto. in lib. iv. Sent. d. 18. q. 4. art. 5. concl. 5. Navar. c. 8. n. 18. Suarez. disp. 33. sec. 2. Coninck. de sigil conf. dub. 1. n. 7.

tion must certainly be in order to absolution, and how could this be in any such order, when it was a business of which they could not expect to be absolved, unless they hoped to sin with a pardon about their necks; and on condition God would be merciful to them in its remission, would come and profess that they were resolved to anger him? In reason, this could be no act of repentance, neither could it, by confession of their own side. It is the doctrine of Hostiensis: and Navarre,[p] and Cardinal Alban[q] confess it to be most commonly received.

3. It was not only not repented of, but by them reputed to be a good action, and so could not be a matter of confession. I appeal to any of their own manuals and penitentiary books. It is culpable, say they. I am sure it is ridiculous in any man to confess, and shrive himself of a good action; and that this was such in their opinion, it is plain, by that impious answer of Garnet, affirming it a business greatly meritorious, if any good might thence accrue to the catholic cause.[r]

4. By this their pretended confession they endeavoured to acquire new complices, as is evident "in the proceedings against the traitors." They were therefore bound to reveal it, for it neither was, nor could be, a proper and formal confession. That this is the common opinion of their own schools, see it affirmed by Ægidius Coninck.[s]

The first particular then is plain. Here neither was the form of confession, nor yet could this thing be a matter of confession; therefore supposing the seal of confession to be sacredly inviolable, in all cases, yet they were highly blamable for their concealment in the present.

2. But the truth of the second particular is more to be inquired of. That is, that though these things had been only revealed in confession, and this confession had been formal and direct, yet they were bound, in the present case, to reveal it, because the seal of confession is not so inviolable, as that in no case it is to be broken up, and if in any, especially it may be opened in the case of treason.

I never knew any thing cried up with so general a voice, upon so little ground, as is the over-hallowed seal of confession.

True it is that an ordinary secret, committed to a friend in civil commerce, is not to be revealed upon every cause, nor upon many; but upon some it may, as they all confess. If thus, then much rather is this to be observed in the revelation of the secrets of our consciences, not only from the ordinary tie to secrecy, but likewise, lest sins should grow more frequent, if so great a remedy of them be made so odious, as to expose us to a public infamy or danger of the law. The council, therefore, that first introduced this obligation, was very prudent and reasonable, pleads a thousand years' prescription, and relies upon good conveniences. This is all that ever could be proved of it, as may appear anon; but these are too weak a base, to build so great a structure on it, as to make it sacrilege, or any sin at all, to reveal confessions, in some cases.

1. For first, if because it is delivered as a secret, and such a secret, it is the more closely and religiously to be kept; it is true,—but concludes no more, but that it must be a greater cause that must authorize a publication of this, than of the secrets of ordinary commerce between friend and friend.

2. If the licensing of publication of confession be a way to make confession odious, and therefore that it may not be published,—I say, if this concludes, then, on the contrary, it concludes far more strongly, that therefore, in some cases, it may be published, because nothing can make a thing more odious and intolerable, than if it be made a cover for grand impieties, so as to engage a true subject, quietly and knowingly, to see his prince murdered.

3. If it be discouragement to the practice of confession, that some sins revealed in it must be published, though with peril to the delinquent's fame and life, then it will be a far greater discouragement to the sin, when that it shall, by a universal judgment, be so detested, that its concealment may not be permitted, though it be with the hazard of discouraging the holy duty of confession: and when the being guilty of such a sin, shall reduce men into such straits, that either they shall want the benefit of absolution, or submit themselves to a public satisfaction, and so, even in this particular, the benefit is far greater than the imaginary inconvenience.

The conveniences of the seal force no more, than that it is convenient to be observed, not simply and absolutely, in all cases necessary. And perhaps Suarez, the great patron of it, perceived it; however, he lays the burden "super communi consensu ecclesiæ, ejusque perpetuâ traditione."[t] If then I can show, that there is no such catholic consent of the present church, nor any universal tradition of the ancient church, for the inviolable seal, but plainly the contrary, then our church, in her permission of the priests to reveal some confessions, is as inculpable as those of the present church, who (besides herself) teach and practise it, and as the primitive church, whose example in this, as in other things, she strictly follows.

Of the first, the church of England, which observes the seal of confession, as sacredly as reason or religion itself can possibly permit, yet forbids not disclosure, in case of murder or treason, but, in these particulars, leaves us entire in our obedience to the common laws of England; and these command it.[u]

That the church of England gives leave, in some cases, to reveal confessions, is argument enough to prove, that the seal is not founded upon the consent of the present catholic church: for it is no more a begging of the question (nor apparently so much) to say, the church of England is a part of the catholic church, and therefore her consent is required to make a thing universal, than to say, the church of Rome is the whole catholic church, therefore her

[p] Cap. Sacerdos. 3. q. n. 116.
[q] In Lucubrat. ad Bartolum. in L. ut vim. n. 22. ff. de Justitia et Jure.
[r] See Proceedings against late Traitors.
[s] Ubi supra.
[t] In 3 part. D. Thom. disp. 33. sec. 1. n. 2.
[u] Can. 113. A. D. 1604.

consent is sufficient to make a thing catholic. But I shall not need to proceed this way. For,

1. It is apparent, that, of their own side, Altisidiorensis largely and professedly proves the lawfulness of publication, in some cases, as it is to be seen. Lib. 4. Summæ tract. 6. cap. 3. q. 7. and Garnet himself,—the man who, if any, had most need to stand in defence of the seal, that the pretence of it might have defended him,—yet confessed of his own accord, "Leges quæ celare hæc prohibent, aprimè esse justas et salutares."[x] He adds his reason, and that is more than his authority; for, saith he, it is not fitting that the life and safety of a prince should depend upon the private niceties of any man's conscience. If two, nay, if one dissent, it is enough to destroy a consent. But see further.

There are many cases, generally confessed amongst themselves, in which the seal of formal, and, as they love to speak, sacramental confession, may be broken open. I instance but in two or three.

First, Confession may be revealed to clear a doubtful case of marriage. It is the opinion of many great canonists,[y] as you may see them quoted by Suarez de Paz, and Covaruvias,[z] and the case of the Venetian, who married a virgin that was both his sister and daughter;—and that at Rome, under Pope Paul III. almost to like purpose,—were long disputed on both sides, whether they were to be revealed or not; so that at most, it is but a doubtful matter in such cases, whether the tie of secrecy doth oblige. Now if for the proof of marriage, the seal may be broken up, that man and wife might live contentedly, and as they ought, strange it should be unlawful to reveal confessions, in case of treason, for the safety of a prince or state!

In case of heresy, the seal binds not, by their own general confession. It is a rule amongst them,

"Hæresis est crimen, quod non confessio celat."

Now I would fain learn why treason is not as revealable as heresy? Is heresy dangerous to souls? Then surely so is treason, unless it be none, or a very small crime. May heresy infect others? So may treason, as it did in the present. It may then as well be revealed as heresy. Now that it may something rather, I have these reasons. 1. Because it is not so certain, that such an opinion is heresy, as that such a fact is treason. 2. Because, although both treason and real heresy be damnable and dangerous to souls, yet heresy kills no kings as treason doth. I confess that heresy may, and doth teach it, but then it degenerates into treason. Now, if some heresy may be treason, then that treason is heresy; and so a case of treason may occur, in which, from their own confession, treason is revealable.

3. By the most general voice of their own side, any man may license his confessor to reveal his confession. It is the doctrine of Scotus, Durandus, Almain, Navarre, Medina, and generally of all the Thomists. I infer, if a private man may license his confessor to reveal his confession, then the seal of confession is not founded upon any Divine commandment; for if it were, the penitent could not give the priest license to break it. But, if the penitent may give his confessor leave, because the tie of secrecy is a bond in which the priest stands bound to the penitent, and, he giving him leave, remits of his own right, then much rather may a whole state authorize this publication;[a] for, whatever personal right a private man hath, that the whole state hath much rather, for he is included in it as a part of the whole; and in such cases as concern the whole commonwealth, as this of treason doth most especially, the rule of the law holds without exception, "refertur ad universos, quod publice fit per majorem partem,"[b] the delinquent gives leave to the publication of confession, therefore, because the whole state doth, whereof he is one member. I add, that in the case of treason, this is much rather true, for here the delinquent loseth all his right whatsoever, prædial, personal, and of privilege; and, therefore, the commonwealth can the better license the publication, and the breach of the bond of secrecy, in which the confessor stood tied to the penitent by virtue of implicit stipulation.

4. Lastly, even in special, in the very case of treason confessed, many of their own do actually practise a publication, when either they are loyal of themselves, or dare not be otherwise.

I instance first in the church of France. For this, see Bodinus,[c] who reports of a Norman gentleman, whom his confessor discovered for having confessed a treasonable purpose he sometimes had, of killing Francis I., of which he was penitent, did his penance, craved absolution, obtained it, but yet was sentenced to the axe by express commission from the king to the parliament of Paris.[d] The like confession was made by the lord of Haulterville when he was in danger of death; which when he had escaped, he incurred it with the disadvantage of public infamy upon the scaffold. I instance not in the case of Barriere, it is every where known as it is reported partly by Thuanus, but more fully by the author of "Histoire de la Paix." Nor yet is France singular in the practice of publication of confessed treason. For at Rome there have been examples of the like, I mean of those who confessed their purpose of killing the pope, who were revealed by their confessors, and accordingly punished.[e]

Thus then the first pretence proves a nullity, and either our laws are just in commanding publication of confession in case of treason, or themselves very culpable in teaching and practising it in the same and in cases of less moment. The second is like the first, for it is extremely vain to pretend that the seal of confession is founded upon catholic tradition. Judge by the sequel.

The first word I hear of concealing confessions

[x] Actio in prodit. lat. p. 99.
[y] Practic. Crim. Ecclesiast. c. 109.
[z] Resol. de Matrimon.
[a] L. quod Major ff. ad Municipalem.
[b] ff. de Regul. Juris. ad sec. refertur. Lib. vii. sec. ult. ff. de pact.
[c] De Republ. lib. ii. c. 5.
[d] Histoire de Lapaix
[e] Dominic. e Soto memb. 3. q. 1. concl. 2. de rat. regend. secret.

is in Sozomen,[f] relating how the Greek church, about the time of Decius the emperor, set over the penitents a public penitentiary priest, who was bound to be "Vir bonæ conversationis, servansque secretùm," "a good man, and a keeper of secrets;" for, indeed, he was bound to conceal some crimes, in particular, those which an adulteress had confessed, I mean, concerning her adultery, as appears in the canons of St. Basil.[g] But yet this priest who was so tied to a religious secresy, did "publish many of them in the congregation before the people," that they might reprove the delinquent and discountenance the sin. The same story is reported by Cassiodore and Nicephorus from the same author.

The lawfulness and practice of publication, in some cases, is as clear in Origen.[h] "If" (saith he) "the physician of thy soul perceives thy sins to be such as to need so harsh a remedy, as to have them published before the assemblies of the people, that others may be admonished, and thou the better cured, he need be very deliberate, and skilful in the application of it." Hitherto, no such thing as a universal tradition for the pretended inviolable sacramental seal; for Origen plainly, and by them confessedly, speaks of such sins, as first were privately confessed to the priest; how else should he deliberate of their publication? but yet he did so, and for all the seal of confession, sometimes opened many of them to no fewer witnesses than a whole assembly. Thus it was, in the Greek church, both law and custom. But now if we look into the Latin church, we shall find that it was taken up from example of the Greeks and somewhile practised, that some particular sins should be published in the church before the congregation, as it is confessed in the council of Mentz, and inserted by Burchard into his decree.[i]

But when the lay-piety began to cool, and the zeal of some clergymen wax too hot, they would needs heighten this custom of publication of some sins, to a law of the publishing of all sins. This being judged to be inconvenient, expressed the first decree for the seal of confession in the Latin church. Now see how it is uttered, and it will sufficiently inform us both of the practice and the opinion, which antiquity had of the obligation to the seal.

"Illam contra apostolicam regulam præsumptionem," &c. that is, "it was against the apostolical ordinance, that a law should enjoin that the priest should reveal all those sins which had been told him in confession."[k] It might be done, so it were not required and exacted, and yet might be so required, so it were not a publication of all. "Non enim omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata;" saith St. Leo: "some sins are inconvenient to be published:" it is not fit the world should know all, therefore some they might, or else he had said nothing. The reason which he gives, makes the business somewhat clearer, for he derives it, not from any simple necessity of the thing, or a Divine right, but lest men out of inordinate love to themselves, "should rather refuse to be washed than buy their purity with so much shame." The whole epistle hath many things in it excellently to the same purpose.

I say no more; the doctrine and practice of antiquity is sufficiently evident, and that there is nothing less than a universal tradition for the seal of confession to be observed in all cases, even of sins of the highest malignity.

Thus these fathers confessors are made totally inexcusable by concealing a treason, which was not revealed to them in a formal confession, and had been likewise culpable though it had, there being, as I have shown, no such sacredness of the seal as to be inviolable in all cases whatsoever.

I have now done with the several considerations of the persons to whom the question was propounded; they were the fathers confessors in the day, but it was Christ the Lord, in my text. The question itself follows, "Shall we command fire to come from heaven and consume them?"

The question was concerning the fate of a whole town of Samaria; in our case it was more, of the fate of a whole kingdom. It had been well if such a question had been silenced by a direct negative, or (as the judges of the Areopagus used to do) put off "ad diem longissimum," that they might have expected the answer three ages after.

"De morte hominis nulla est cunctatio longa;" no demur had been too long in a case of so much and so royal blood, the blood of a king, of a king's children, of a king's kingdom. Πρίαμος Πριαμοῦ τε παῖδες, king and kingdom should have been made a solemn sacrifice to appease their solemn deliberate malice. I said "deliberate," for they were loth to be malicious without good advice, and therefore they asked their question, worthy of an oracle even no less than Delphic, where an evil spirit was the "numen," and a witch the prophet. For the question was such of which a christian could not doubt, though he had been fearfully scrupulous in his resolutions. For who ever questioned the unlawfulness of murder, of murdering innocents, of murdering them who were confessed righteous? For such was their proposal; being rather willing that catholics should perish with those whom they thought heretics, than that there should be no blood spilt.

But to the question. It was fire they called for, the most merciless of all the elements, no possibility of relenting when once kindled, and had its object. It was the fittest instrument for merciless men, men of no bowels, whose malice, like their instrument, did "agere ad extremum suarum virium," "work to the highest of its possibility." Secondly; it was fire indeed they called for, but not like that in my text, not fire from heaven. They might have called as long and as loud as those priests did who contested with Elisha; no fire would have come

[f] Hist. lib. vii. c. 16.

[g] Τὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναῖκας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσας ὀι' ἐὐλάβειαν ἐημοσιεύειν οὐκ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ Πατέρες ἡμῶν.—Epist. ad Amphil.

[h] Homil. 2. in Psal. xxxvii.

[i] Cap. 10. et 21. lib. xix. c. 37.

[k] Decret. S. Leonis. P. M. Epist. 83. ad episc. Campan.

from heaven to have consumed what they had intended for a sacrifice. God's anathemas post not so fast as ours do: "Deus non est sicut homo." Man curseth often when God blesseth; men condemn whom God acquits, and, therefore, they were loth to trust God with their cause, they therefore take it into their own hands. And certainly, if to their anathemas they add some faggots of their own, and gunpowder, it is odds but then we may be consumed indeed; and so did they; their fire was not from heaven.

Lastly, it was a fire so strange, that it had no example. The apostles, indeed, pleaded a mistaken precedent for the reasonableness of their demand, they desired leave to do but "even as Elias did." The Greeks only retain this clause, it is not in the Bibles of the church of Rome, and really these "Romano-barbari" could never pretend to any precedent for an act so barbarous as theirs. Adramelech, indeed, killed a king, but he spared the people; Haman would have killed the people, but spared the king; but that both king and people, princes and judges, branch, and rush, and root, should die at once, (as if Caligulas were actuated and all England upon one head,) was never known till now, that all the malice in the world met in this, as in a centre. The Sicilian even-song, the matins of St. Bartholomew, known for the pitiless and damned massacres, were but *κάπνου σκίας ὄναρ*, "the dream of the shadow of smoke," if compared with this great fire. "In tam occupato sæculo fabulas vulgaris nequitia non invenit." This was a busy age; Erostratus must have invented a more sublimed malice than the burning of one temple, or not have been so much as spoke of since the discovery of the powder-treason. But I must make more haste, I shall not else climb the sublimity of this impiety. Nero was sometimes the "populare odium," was "popularly hated;" and deserved it too; for he slew his master, and his wife, and all his family, once or twice over, opened his mother's womb, fired the city, laughed at it, slandered the christians for it, but yet all these were but "principia malorum," the very first "rudiments of evil." Add then to these, Herod's master-piece at Ramah, as it was deciphered by the tears and sad threnes of the matrons in a universal mourning for the loss of their pretty infants; yet this of Herod will prove but an infant wickedness, and that of Nero, the evil but of one city. I would willingly have found out an example, but I see I cannot, should I put into the scale the extract of all the old tyrants famous in antique stories,

> "Bistonii stabulum regis, Busiridis aras,
> Antiphatæ mensas, et Taurica regna Thoantis."

Should I take for true story the highest cruelty as it was fancied by the most hieroglyphical Egyptian, this alone would weigh them down, as if the Alps were put in scale against the dust of a balance. For had this accursed treason prospered, we should have had the whole kingdom mourn for the inestimable loss of its chiefest glory, its life, its present joy, and all its very hopes for the future. For such was their destined malice, that they would not only have inflicted so cruel a blow, but have made it incurable, by cutting off our supplies of joy, the whole succession of the line royal. Not only the vine itself, but all the "gemmulæ," and the tender olive-branches should either have been bent to their intentions, and made to grow crooked, or else been broken.

And now after such a sublimity of malice, I will not instance in the sacrilegious ruin of the neighbouring temples, which needs must have perished in the flame, nor in the disturbing the ashes of our entombed kings, devouring their dead ruins, like sepulchral dogs, these are but minutes, in respect of the ruin prepared for the living temples.

> Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus cadentum principum
> Impune, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica.
>
> Ergo quæ poterit lingua retexere
> Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui domitum struis
> Infidum populum cum duce perfido?
>
> Prudent. Hymn.

Let us then return to God the cup of thanksgiving, he having poured forth so largely to us of the cup of salvation. We cannot want wherewithal to fill it, here is matter enough for an eternal thankfulness, for the expression of which a short life is too little; but let us here begin our hallelujahs, hoping to finish them hereafter, where the many choirs of angels will fill the concert.

Praise the Lord, ye house of Levi; ye that fear the Lord, praise the Lord. Praise the Lord out of Sion, which dwelleth at Jerusalem.[1]

[1] Psal. cxxxv. 20, 21.

THE

WHOLE DUTY OF THE CLERGY

IN

LIFE, BELIEF, AND DOCTRINE,

DESCRIBED

AND PRESSED EFFECTUALLY UPON THEIR CONSCIENCES,

IN

TWO SERMONS ON TIT. II. 7, 8.

PREACHED IN SO MANY SEVERAL VISITATIONS.

SERMON X.

In all things showing thyself a pattern of good works: in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity,

Sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say to you.—Tit. ii. 7, 8.

As God, in the creation of the world, first produced a mass of matter, having nothing in it but an obediential capacity and passivity; which God separating into classes of division, gave to every part a congruity to their respective forms, which, in their distinct orbs and stations, they did receive in order, and then were made beauteous by separations and a new economy; and out of these he appointed some for servants, and some for government; and some to eat, and some to be eaten; some above, and some below; some to be useful to all the rest, and all to minister to the good of man, whom he made the prince of the creation, and a minister of the Divine glory.—So God hath also done in the new creation; all the world was concluded under sin; it was a corrupt mass; all mankind "had corrupted themselves;" but yet were capable of Divine influences, and of a nobler form, producible in the new birth: here then God's Spirit moves upon the waters of a Divine birth, and makes a separation of part from part, of corruption from corruption; and first chose some families to whom he communicated the Divine influences and the breath of a nobler life; Seth and Enoch, Noah and Abraham, Job and Bildad, and these were the special repositories of the Divine grace, and prophets of righteousness to glorify God in themselves, and in their sermons unto others. But this was like enclosing of the sun; he that shuts him in, shuts him out; and God, who was and is an infinite goodness, would not be circumscribed, and limited to a narrow circle; goodness is his nature, and infinite is his measure, and communication of that goodness is the motion of that eternal being: God, therefore, breaks forth as out of a cloud, and picks out a whole nation; the sons of Israel became his family, and that soon swelled into a nation, and that nation multiplied, till it became too big for their country, and by a necessary dispersion went, and did much good, and gained some servants to God out of other parts of mankind. But God was pleased to cast lots once more, and was like the sun already risen upon the earth, who spreads his rays to all the corners of the habitable world, that all that will open their eyes and draw their curtains, may see and rejoice in his light. Here God resolved to call all the world; he sent into the highways and hedges, to the corners of the gentiles, and the highways of the Jews, all might come that would; for "the sound of the gospel went out into all lands:" and God chose all that came, but all would not; and those that did, he gathered into a fold, marked them with his own mark, sent his Son to be "the great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls;" and they became "a peculiar people unto God," "a little flock," "a new election."

And here is the first separation and singularity of the gospel; all that hear the voice of Christ's first call, all that profess themselves his disciples, all that take his signature, they and their children are the church, an Ἐκκλησία, called out from the

rest of the world, the "elect" and the "chosen of God."

Now these being thus chosen out, culled and picked from the evil generations of the world, he separates them from others, to gather them to himself; he separates them and sanctifies them to become holy; to come out, not of the companies so much, as from the evil manners of the world; God chooses them unto holiness, they are τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, "put in the right order to eternal life."

All christians are holy unto the Lord, and therefore must not be unholy in their conversation; for nothing that is unholy shall come near to God; that is the first great line of our duty; but God intends it further; all christians must not be only holy, but *eminently* holy. For "John indeed baptized with water;" but that is but a dull and inactive element, and moves by no principle, but by being ponderous; Christ "baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire," and God hates lukewarmness; and when he chooses to him a peculiar people, he adds, they must be "zealous of good works."

But in this affair there are many steps and great degrees of progression. 1. All God's people must be delivered from all sin; for as Christ came wholly "to destroy the works of the devil," so he intends also "to present his church as a pure virgin unto Christ;" ἄσπιλον, ἀπρόσκοπον, εἰλικρινῆ, "without scandal, without hypocrisy," "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing:" for to be quit from sin, that is, from all affection to it, is supposed in the christian's life; "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts," and "being cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," and "having escaped from all corruption that is in the world through lust;" this is not so much commanded as supposed: without this, nothing can be done, nothing can be hoped: this is but the foundation of the christian, who is intended to be "a habitation of God," "a member of Christ," "a temple of the holy Spirit of God:" the building follows.

2. All christians must acquire all the graces of the Holy Spirit of God: St. Peter gives the catalogue; "faith, and virtue, and knowledge, and temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity:"[a] and that you may see what is the spirit of a christian, what an activity and brisk principle is required to the acquisition of these things; the apostle gives this precept, that for the acquiring these things, "we should give" πᾶσαν σπουδὴν, "all diligence;' no lazy worker is a good christian, he must be diligent; and not every diligence, nor every degree of good diligence; but it must be *all*, "omnem omnino diligentiam," "give all diligence."

3. There is yet another degree to be added hereto: it is not enough for a christian to be free from corruption, and to have these graces; and therefore to be diligent, very diligent to obtain them; but "they must be in us, and abound."[b] N. B. they must be *in us;* these graces and this righteousness must be inherent; it is not enough for us that Christ had them for us; for it is true, if he had not had them, we should never have received those, or any thing else that is good: but he had them, that we might have them, and follow his steps who knew no sin, and fulfilled all righteousness. They "must be in us," saith St. Peter; and not only so, they must also *abound in us;* that is the end of Christ's death; that is the fruit of his Spirit: they must be plentiful, like a full vintage, or like Euphrates in the time of ripe fruits; they must swell over the banks: for when they are but "in gradu virtutis," "in the lowest step of sincerity," they may fall from the tree like unripe fruit, and be fit for nothing but for prodigals and swine; they must be in their season and period, great, and excellent, and eminent; they must take up all our faculties, fill up all our time, spend all our powers, satisfy the will, and be adequate to all the powers of our choice; that is, as St. Peter adds, they must be so, that we "make our calling and election sure;" so as that we shall never any more depart from God: well, thus far, you see how severe and sacred a thing it is to be a christian.

4. But there are yet three steps more beyond this: God requires of us perseverance; a thrusting all this forward, even unto the end: "without peace and holiness no man shall see God,"[c] saith the author to the Hebrews; but that is not all; διώκετε εἰρήνην καὶ ἁγιασμὸν, "follow after peace and holiness with all men," ἄνευ οὗ, "without which;" it is not ἄνευ ἧς εἰρήνης, "without which *peace*," but ἄνευ οὗ διώκειν, "without which *following of peace* and holiness;" that is, unless we endure all contradiction of sinners and objections; without following it close and home to the utmost issue, to the end of all righteousness, tending even to comprehension, to consummation and perfection, no man shall see God; διοικεῖν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ, is good and great, "to dwell in holiness;" but that is not enough, it must be διώκειν too, we must still *pursue* it, and that *unto the end:* "for he that endureth unto the end shall be saved."

5. And what more? yes, there is something yet: for besides this extension of duration, there must be "intensio graduum:" for "nondum comprehendimus, nondum perfecti sumus;" "we have not yet comprehended, we are not yet made perfect;" but that must be aimed at: "Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect;"—be "ye meek as Christ is;"—"be ye holy as God is holy;—"pure as your Father in heaven is pure:"—and who can be so? no man can be so in degree, but so in kind; every man must desire, and every man must contend to be, and therefore it is possible, else it had never been required.

6. And now after all this, one thing more is to be done: you must be so for yourselves, and you must be so for others: you must be so as to please God, and you must be so to edify your brethren: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven:" let it be so eminent and conspicuous, that all that see your conversation, and all that come into your congregations, may be convinced, and "falling down

[a] 2 Pet. i. 5. [b] 2 Pet. i. 8. [c] Heb. xii. 14.

and worshipping, may say, of a truth, the Spirit of the Lord is in you." And therefore our blessed Saviour, in his sermon upon the mount, which is the summary of a christian's life,—at the end of the eight beatitudes, tells all his followers and disciples: "Ye are the salt of the world, ye are the light of the world;" and therefore "the kingdom of heaven," or the gospel, is compared "to a woman that hid, in three measures of meal,"—the Jews, the Turks, the heathen idolaters,—"her leaven, till all was leavened:" our light must be so shining, our conversation so exemplar, as to draw all the world after us; that they that will not, may be ashamed, and they that will, may be allured by the beauty of the flame. These are the proportions and measures of every christian; for "from the days of John the Baptist, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force;" that although "John the Baptist was the greatest that ever was born of woman," yet he that "is least in the kingdom of heaven," the meanest of the laity, may be "greater than he." This is a great height: and these things I have premised, not only to describe the duty of all that are here present, even of all christians whatsoever, that you may not depart without your portion of a blessing; but also as a foundation of the ensuing periods, which I shall address to you, my brethren of the clergy, the fathers of the people; for I speak in a school of the prophets, prophets and prophets' sons; to you who are, or intend to be so.

For God hath made a separation of you even beyond this separation: he hath separated you yet again; he hath put you anew into the crucible; he hath made you to pass through the fire seven times more. For it is true, that the whole community of the people is the church; "Ecclesia sancta est communio sanctorum," "the holy catholic church is the communion of saints;" but yet, by the voice and consent of all christendom, you are the church, by way of propriety, and eminency, and singularity; "churchmen,"—that is your appellative: all are ἀνδρὲς πνευματικοὶ, "spiritual men;" all have received the Spirit, and all walk in the Spirit, and ye are all "sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption;" and yet there is a spirituality peculiar to the clergy: "If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness:"[d] you who are spiritual by office and designation, of a spiritual calling, and spiritual employment; you who have the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and minister the Spirit of God, you are more eminently spiritual; you have the Spirit in graces and in powers, in sanctification and abilities, in office and in person; the unction from above hath descended upon your heads and upon your hearts: you are κατ' ἐξοχὴν "by way of eminency" and prelation, "spiritual men." All "the people of God were holy;" Korah and his company were in the right so far; but yet Moses and Aaron were more holy, and stood nearer to God. All the people are prophets: it is now more than Moses's wish, for the Spirit of Christ hath made them so: "If any man prayeth or prophesieth with his head covered;" or "if any woman prophesieth with her head uncovered," they are dishonoured: but either man or woman may do that work in time and place; for "in the latter days I will pour out of my Spirit, and your daughters shall prophesy;" and yet, God hath appointed in his church prophets above these, to whose Spirit all the other prophets are subject; and as God said to Aaron and Miriam concerning Moses, "to you I am known in a dream or a vision, but to Moses I speak face to face;" so it is in the church; God gives of his Spirit to all men, but you he hath made the ministers of his Spirit: nay, the people have their portion of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so said St. Paul; "To whom ye forgive any thing, to him I forgive also;" and to the whole church of Corinth he gave a commission, "in the name of Christ, and by his Spirit, to deliver the incestuous person unto Satan;" and when the primitive penitents stood in their penitential stations, they did "Charis Dei adgeniculari, et toti populo legationem orationis suæ commendare;" and yet the keys were not only promised, but given to the apostles, to be used then, and transmitted to all generations of the church; and we are "ministers of Christ, and stewards of the manifold myteries of God; and to us is committed the word of reconciliation." And thus, in the consecration of the mysterious sacrament, the people have their portion; for the bishop or the priest blesses, and the people, by saying "Amen" to the mystic prayer, is partaker of the power, and the whole church hath a share in the power of spiritual sacrifice; "Ye are a royal priesthood, kings and priests unto God;" that is, so ye are priests as ye are kings; but yet kings and priests have a glory conveyed to them, of which the people partake but in minority, and allegory, and improper communication: but you are, and are to be respectively, that considerable part of mankind, by whom God intends to plant holiness in the world; by you God means to reign in the hearts of men; and therefore you are to be the first in this kind, and consequently the measure of all the rest: to you, therefore, I intend this, and some following discourses, in order to this purpose: I shall but now lay the first stone, but it is the corner-stone in this foundation.

But to you, I say, of the clergy, these things are spoken properly; to you these powers are conveyed really; upon you God hath poured his Spirit plentifully; you are the choicest of his choice, the elect of his election, a church picked out of the church, vessels of honour for your Master's use, appointed to teach others, authorized to bless in his name; you are the ministers of Christ's priesthood, underlabourers in the great work of mediation and intercession, "Medii inter Deum et populum;" you are for the people towards God, and convey answers and messages from God to the people: these things I speak, not only to magnify your office, but to enforce and heighten your duty; you are holy by office and designation; for your very appointment is a sanctification and a consecration; and therefore whatever holiness God requires of the people who

[d] Gal. vi. 1.

have some little portions in the priesthood evangelical, he expects it of you, and much greater, to whom he hath conveyed so great honours, and admitted so near unto himself, and hath made to be the great ministers of his kingdom and his Spirit: and now, as Moses said to the Levitical schismatics, Korah and his company, so I may say to you; "Seemeth it but a small thing unto you, that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel to bring you to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister to them? And he hath brought thee near to him."[e] Certainly, if of every one of the christian congregation God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing; if God will not suffer of them a lukewarm and an indifferent service, but requires zeal of his glory, and that which St. Paul calls the πόνος τῆς ἀγάπης, "the labour of love;" if he will have them to be "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing;" if he will not endure any pollution in their flesh or spirit; if he requires that their bodies, and souls, and spirits be kept blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus; if he accepts of none of the people, unless they have within them the conjugation of all christian graces; if he calls on them to abound in every grace, and that in all the periods of their progression, unto the ends of their lives, and to the consummation and perfection of grace; if he hath made them lights in the world, and the salt of the earth, to enlighten others by their good example, and to teach them, and invite them by holy discourses, and wise counsels, and speech seasoned with salt; what is it, think ye, or with what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves; that is your duty, that is the purpose of God, and that is the design of my text, "That in all things ye show yourselves a pattern of good works; in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech, that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you."

Here then is, 1. Your duty. 2. The degrees and excellency of your duty.

The duty is double: 1. Holiness of life. 2. Integrity of doctrine. Both these have their heightenings, in several degrees.

1. For your life and conversation, it ought not only to be good, not only to be holy, but to be so up to the degrees of an excellent example; "Ye must be a pattern."

2. Ye must be patterns, not only of knowledge and wisdom, not of contemplation and skill in mysteries, not of unprofitable notions, and ineffective wit and eloquence; but of something that is more profitable, of something that may do good, something by which mankind shall be better; of something that shall contribute to the felicity and comfort of the world; "a pattern of good words."

3. It must not be a τύπος, "a type" or pattern to be hidden or laid in tabernacles, like those images of Moloch and Remphan, which the Spirit of God in the Old Testament calls סכות בנות "Succoth Benoth," little repositories or booths to hide their images and patterns of their gods; but παρεχόμενος τύπον, "you must be exhibited" and shown forth, brought forth into action and visibility, and notorious observation.

4. There is also another mystery and duty in this word; for Moloch and Remphan they were patterns and figures, but they were τύποι οὓς ἐποιήσαντο, "patterns which the people made;"—but to Titus St. Paul commanded that he himself should be παρεχόμενος τύπον, "he should give a pattern" to the people; that is, the ministers of Christ must not be framed according to the people's humour, they must not give him rules, nor describe his measures; but he should be a rule to them; he is neither to live with them, so as to please their humours, or to preach doctrines "populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas:"[f] but the people are to require the doctrine at his mouth, and he is to become exemplar to them, according to the pattern seen in the mount, according to the laws of the religion and the example of Christ.

5. It must be ἐν πᾶσιν; he must be a pattern "in all things:" it is not enough that the minister be a loving person, a good neighbourly man, that he be hospitable, that he be not litigious, that he be harmless, and that he be diligent; but in every grace he must "præferre facem," "hold a torch," and show himself a light in all the commands of God. These are the measures of his holiness, the pattern in his life and conversation.

Secondly; Integrity of doctrine. The matter of the doctrine you are to preach, hath in it four qualifications.

1. It must be ἀδιάφθορος, "incorrupt;" that is, it must be κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, it must be "according to the analogy of faith," no heretical mixtures, pure truths of God.

2. It must be σεμνὸς, "grave," and clean, and chaste; that is, ἄνευ φλυαρίας, no vain and empty notions, little contentions, and pitiful disputes; but becoming the wisdom of the guides of souls, and the ministers of Christ.

And 3. It must be ὑγιὴς, "*sound* speech," so we read it; the word properly signifies "salutary" and "wholesome;" that is, such as is apt for edification, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης; "for the building men up in a most holy faith, and a more excellent charity;" not feeding the people with husks and draff, with colocynths and gourds, with gay tulips and useless daffodils, but with the bread of life, and medicinal plants, springing from the margin of the fountains of salvation. This is the matter of their doctrine; and this also hath some heightenings, and excellencies, and extraordinaries: for,

4. It must be ἀκατάγνωστος, so evidently demonstrated, that "no man shall be able to reprove it;" so certainly holy, that no man shall be willing to condemn it.

And 5. It must be ἄφθαρτος, "sincere," not polluted with foul intentions and little devices of

[e] Numb. xvi. 9.

[f] Terent.

secular interests, complying with the lusts of the potent, or the humours of the time; not biassed by partiality, or bending in the flexures of human policy: it must be so conducted that your very enemies, schismatics and heretics, and all sorts of gainsayers, may see that you intend God's glory, and the good of souls; and, therefore, that as they can say nothing against the doctrine delivered, so neither shall they find fault with him that delivers it: and he that observes all this, will indeed be a pattern both of life and doctrine; both of good words and good works.

But I shall not be so minute in my discourse, as in the division; the duties, and the manner or degrees of the duties, I shall handle together, and give you the best measures I can, both for institution of life and excellency of doctrine:—it is required of every one of you, that in all things you show yourselves a pattern of good works.

That is the first thing required in a minister: and this is, upon infinite accounts, necessary: 1. In general. 2. In particular. 1. In general. The very first words of the whole psalter are an argument of this necessity: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the chair of the mockers," the seat of the scornful. The doctor's chair or pulpit must have nothing to do with the "irrisores," that mock God, and mock the people; he must neither walk with them, nor stand with them, nor sit with them; that is, he must "have no fellowship with the unfruitful workers of darkness, but rather reprove them;" for they that do preach one thing, and do another, are לצים, "mockers;" they destroy the benefit of the people, and diminish the blessings of God; and "binding burdens on the people's shoulders which they will not touch with the top of their finger," they secretly laugh and mock at the people, as at the asses of Issachar, fit to be cozened into unnecessary burdens. These words are greatly to be regarded: the primitive church would admit no man to the superior orders of the clergy, unless, among other prerequired dispositions, they could say all David's psalter by heart; and it was very well, besides many other reasons, that they might in the front read their own duty, so wisely and so mysteriously, by the Spirit of God, made preliminary to the whole office.

To the same purpose is that observation of St. Jerome made concerning the vesting of the priests in the Levitical ministrations; the priest put on the humeral, beset with precious stones, before he took the λόγιον, or the "rationale" upon his breast, to signify, that first the priest must be a shining light, resplendent with good works, before he fed them with the γάλα λογικὸν, "the rational milk," of the word: concerning which symbolical precept, you may please to read many excellent things to his purpose, in St. Jerome's epistle to Fabiola. It will be more useful for us to consider those severe words of David; "But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth; seeing thou hatest instruction and castest my words behind thee?"[g] The words are a sad upbraiding to all ungodly ministers, and they need no commentary; for whatever their office and employment be to teach God's people, yet, unless they regard the commandments of God in their heart and practice themselves, they having nothing to do with the word of God,—they sin in taking the covenant, a testament of God, into their mouth. God said to the sinner, רשע Raschaah, that is, "to him that had sinned and had not repented of his sins;" so the Chaldee paraphrase reads it; "Impio autem, qui non agit pœnitentiam et orat in prævaricatione, dixit Deus." Indeed, if none could be admitted to this ministry but those who had never sinned, the harvest might be very great, but the labourers would be extremely few, or rather none at all; but, after repentance, they must be admitted, and not before; "Iniquitas opilabit os eorum," "iniquity shall stop their mouths," saith David;[h] that ought to silence them indeed: and this was David's care, when he had fallen into the foul crimes of murder and adultery; he knew himself unfit and unable, though he were a prophet, to teach others the laws of God; but when he prayed to God to restore him to a free spirit, he adds; "Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee:"[i] till then it was to no purpose for him to preach. "But thou, when thou art converted," said Christ to Peter, "strengthen the brethren."—The primitive church had a degree of severity beyond this; for they would not admit any man, who had done public penance, to receive holy orders: to which purpose they were excellent words which P. Hormisda spake in his letters to the bishops of Spain, in which he exhorts them to the observation of the ancient canons of the church, telling them that "They who are promoted to the clergy, ought to be better than others;" "nam longâ debet vitam suam probatione monstrare, cui gubernacula committuntur ecclesiæ; non negamus," &c. we deny not but amongst the laity there are many whose manners are pleasing to God, but the faithful laws of God seek for him soldiers that are approved; and they ought rather to afford to others, by themselves, an example of a religious life, than require it from them; "ideoque nullus ex pœnitentibus debet ordinari; quis enim quem paulo ante jacentem viderat, veneretur antistitem?" "None of the public penitents must be ordained; for who will esteem that priest venerable, whom a little before he saw dishonoured by scandalous and public crimes?" But this is to be understood of them only, as the prophet Amos expresses it, "qui corripiuntur in portâ," "who are rebuked in the gate,"[k] condemned by public sentence, and are blotted with the reproaches of the law. But in all cases,

Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

The guilt of the sin which a man reproves, quite spoils his sermon: "ipsam obmutescere facundiam, si ægra sit conscientia," said St. Ambrose; "a sick conscience spoils the tongue of the eloquent, and

[g] Psal. l. 16, 17. [h] Psal. cvii. 42. [i] Psal. li. 13. [k] Amos v. 10.

makes it stammer." For how shall any man preach against sin, or affright his people from their dangers, if he denies God's justice? and if he thinks God is just, why is not he confounded, that, with his own mouth, pronounces damnation against himself? Nothing confounds a man so much, as to be judged out of his own mouth: "Esse munda studeat manus, quæ diluere sordes curat," said St. Gregory; "the hand that means to make another clean, should not itself be dirty. But all this is but in general; there are yet considerations more particular and material.

1. A minister of an evil life cannot do so much good to his charges; he cannot profit them, he is not useful εἰς οἰκοδομήν, he pulls down as fast, or faster than he builds up. "Talmud absque opere non est magnum Talmud," said the Jews' proverb: "a good sermon without a good example is no very good sermon." For, besides that such a man is contemptible to his people, contemptible, not only naturally, but by Divine judgment (according to that of the prophet, "Propter quod dedi vos contemptibiles omni populo," "for this very reason I have made you to be scorned in the eyes of all the people"[l]): but besides this, it is very considerable what St. Chrysostom says; "Si prædicas et non facis, opus proponis tanquam impossibile:" "he that preaches mortification and lives voluptuously, propounds the duty as if it were impossible:" for certainly if it be good, and if it be possible, a man will ask, why is it not done? It is easy for him that is well to give a sick man counsel: "Verùm tu si hic esses, certè aliter sentires;" when it comes to be his own case, when the sickness pinches, and when the belly calls for meat, where's the fine oration then? "Omnia quæ vindicâris in altero, tibi ipsi vehementer fugienda sunt: etenim non modo accusator, sed ne objurgator ferendus est, qui, quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipse deprehenditur:" "whatsoever you reprove in others, must be infinitely avoided by yourself: for no man will endure an accuser, no not so much as a man to chide, for that fault in which himself was taken."[m] But if your charges see you bear your sickness patiently, and your cross nobly, and despise money generously, and forgive your enemy bravely, and relieve the poor charitably, then he sees your doctrine is tangible and material; it is more than words, and he loves you, and considers what you say. In the East the shepherds used to go before their sheep, to which our blessed Saviour alludes, "My sheep hear my voice and follow me;" but our shepherds are forced to drive them, and affright them with dogs and noises: it were better if themselves did go before. 3. A minister of an evil life cannot preach with that fervour and efficacy, with that life and spirit, as a good man does; for besides that he does not himself understand the secrets of religion, and the private inducements of the Spirit, and the sweetness of internal joy, and the inexpressible advantages of a holy peace; besides this, he cannot heartily speak all that he knows; he hath a clog at his foot, and a gag in his teeth; there is a fear, and there is a shame, and there is a guilt, and a secret willingness that the thing were not true; and some little private arts to lessen his own consent, and to take off the asperities and consequent troubles of a clear conviction. To which if we add, that there is a secret envy in all wicked men against the prosperities of goodness; and if I should say no more, this alone were enough to silence a Boanerges, and to make his thunder still and easy as an oaten pipe: "Nonne id flagitium est, te aliis consilium dare, foris sapere, tibi non posse auxiliari?" "That is a burning shame and an intolerable wickedness, that a minister shall be like Marcotis, or the statue of Mercury, show the way to others, and himself stand still like a painted block; to be wise abroad, and a very fool in his own concerns, and unable to do himself good."—"Dicit Reslakis, 'orna teipsum, postea ornato alios:'" "first trim thyself, and then adorn thy brother," said the rabbins: but certain it is, he that cannot love to see others better than himself, it cannot be that he should heartily endeavour it.

> Scilicet exspectas, ut tradat mater honestos,
> Atque alios mores, quam quos habet? utile porro
> Filiolam turpi vetulæ producere turpem. JUVEN.

It is not to be expected that a diseased father should beget wholesome children: like will come from like, whether the principle be good or evil.

But, secondly; for this is but the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων; this is but the least evil; there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot with success and benefit pray for the people of his charges; and this is a great matter; for prayer is the key of David, and God values it at so high a rate, that Christ is made the prince of all intercession, and God hath appointed angels to convey to his throne of grace the prayers of the saints; and he hath made prophets and priests, even the whole clergy, the peculiar ministers of prayer: "Orabit pro eo sacerdos;" "the priest shall pray for him," the priest shall make an atonement for his sin, and it shall be forgiven him.[n] And God's anger is no where more fiercely described, than when things come to that pass that he will not hear the priest or prophet praying for the people: "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up prayer nor cry for them, neither make intercession to me; for behold mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place."[o] When the prayers of the gracious and acceptable persons, the presidents of prayer, are forbidden, then things are desperate; it is a greater excommunication; "the man sins a sin unto death; and I say not that thou pray for him that sins unto death." This, I say, is the priest's office, and if the people lose the benefit of this, they are undone. To bishop Timothy, St. Paul gave it in charge, "That supplications, and prayers, and intercessions, be made for all men." And St. James advised "the sick to send for the elders of the church," (the bishops and priests,) "and let them pray over them," and then "their sins shall be forgiven them." But how? that is supposed, the minister prays for

[l] Mal. ii.
[m] Cic. Act 5. in Verrem.
[n] Numb. xv. 5. Lev. iv. 35.
[o] Jer. vii. 16, 20.

vently, and be a righteous man; for "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much;" it is promised on no other terms. "Qualis vir, talis oratio," is an old rule: "as is the man, such is his prayer." "The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord," said Solomon; he cannot prevail for himself, much less for others. I remember that Bias being once in a storm, and a company of villains in the ship, being affrighted, called upon their gods for help: "Cavete," said he, "ne vos dii interesse sentiant:" "take heed lest the gods perceive you to be here," lest we all perish for your sakes. And upon surer grounds it was that David said, "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear my prayer." And what then do you think will be the event of those assemblies, where he that presents the prayers of all the people, is hateful to God? will God receive the oblation that is presented to him by an impure hand? The Levitical priests were commanded to wash before they sacrificed:[p] and every man is commanded to repent before he prays; "My son, hast thou sinned, do so no more;" and then, "ask pardon for thy former fault."[q] And can we hope that the minister, who, "with wrath and doubting," and covetousness, presents the people's prayers, that ever those intercessions shall pierce the clouds, and ascend to the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing? Believe it not: a man that is ungracious in his life, can never be gracious in his office, and acceptable to God. We are abundantly taught this, by those excellent words of God by the prophet Micah: "The heads of Sion judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us?"[r] As if God had said, nothing is so presumptuous and unreasonable as to lean upon God, and think he will be among us, when the priests and the prophets are covetous and wicked. No, he declares it expressly, (v. 7.) "Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded, yea, they shall all cover their lips; for there is no answer of God." God will not answer; for sometimes the case is so, that, "though Noah, Daniel, and Job were there," God would not hear; that is, when the people are incorrigibly wicked, and the decree is irrevocably gone out for judgment. But there are other times, in which the prayers of innocent people, being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, are very much hindered in prevailing. In such cases, God is put to extraordinaries; and Christ and Christ's angels are then the suppletories, and, at the best, the people's prayers go alone, they want the assistance of the "angel of the church," and they get no help or furtherance from him, and probably very much hinderance: according to that of St. Gregory: "Cum is qui displicet, ad intercedendum mittitur, irati animus ad deteriora provocatur." Alexander hated to see Zercon, and, therefore, if he had interceded for Clytus, it would but have hastened his death: a man's suit thrives the worse for having a hated intercessor. If, therefore, he that robs a church of a patin or a chalice, be a sacrilegious person, what is he that steals from the church of God (so far as lies in him) the fruit of all their holy prayers; that corrupts the sacrifice, and puts coloquintida into the cups of salvation, and mingles death in the pottage provided for the children and disciples of the prophets? I can say no more, but to expostulate with them in those upbraiding words of God, in the prophet: "Do they provoke me to anger, saith the Lord? do they not provoke themselves to the confusion of their own faces?"[s] "Confundentur divini, et operient vultus suos omnes:"[t] "all such divines shall be confounded, and shall cover their faces in the day of sad accounts." "Divini sunt, non theologi:" "they are diviners, and not divines," witches rather than prophets; they are the sons of Bosor, and have no portion in the economy of God. In short, if so much holiness as I formerly described, be required of him that is appointed to preach to others, to offer spiritual sacrifices for the people, to bless the people, to divert judgments from them, to deprecate the wrath of God, to make an atonement for them, and to reconcile them to the eternal mercy;—certain it is, that though the sermons of a wicked minister may do some good, not so much as they ought, but some they can; yet the prayer of a wicked minister does no good at all; it provokes God to anger, it is an abomination in his righteous eyes.

Thirdly: The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people; the priests, in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop, in all these, and in ordination besides, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing: now then consider what will be the event of this without effect: can he minister the Spirit, from whom the Spirit of God is departed? And, therefore, since all wickedness does "grieve the Spirit of God," and great wickedness defiles his temples, and destroys them unto the ground, and extinguishes the Spirit that drives iniquity away;—these persons are no longer spiritual men; "they are carnal, and sold under sin," and walk not in the Spirit; they are spiritual just as Simon Magus was a christian, or as Judas was an apostle; he had the name of it; but what says the Scripture? "He fell from it by transgression;" only this, as he that is baptized has for ever a title to the promises, and a possibility of repentance, and a right to restitution, until he renounces all, and never will or can repent; so there is in all our holy orders an indelible character, and they can, by a new life, be restored to all their powers; but in the mean time, while they abide in sin and carnality, the cloud is over the face of the sun, and the Spirit of God appears not in a fiery tongue, that is, not in material and active demonstrations; and how far he will be ministered by the offices of an unworthy man, we know not; only by all that is said in Scripture we are made to fear, that things will not be so well with the people, till the minister be better; only this we are sure of, that though one man may be much the worse for another man's sin, yet, without his own fault, no

[p] Exod. xxx. 40. [q] Ecclus. [r] Cap. iii. 11. [s] Jer. vii. 19. [t] Mic. iii. 7.

man shall perish; and God will do his work alone; and the Spirit of God, though he be ordinarily conveyed by ecclesiastical ministries, yet he also comes irregularly, and in ways of his own, and prevents the external rites, and prepossesses the hearts of his servants; and the people also have so much portion in the evangelical ministration, that if they be holy, they shall receive the Holy Ghost in their hearts, and will express him in their lives, and themselves also become kings and priests unto God, while they are zealous of good works. And to this purpose may the proverb of the Rabbins be rightly understood, "Major est qui respondit 'amen,' quam qui benedicit;" "He that says 'amen,' is greater than he that blesses or prays;" meaning, if he heartily desires what the other perfunctorily, and with his lips only, utters, not praying with his heart, and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the "amen" shall be more than all the "prayer," and the people shall prevail for themselves, when the priest could not; according to the saying of Midrasich Tehillim. "Quicunque dicit 'amen,' omnibus viribus suis, ei aperientur portæ paradisi, sicut dictum est, 'et ingredietur gens justa:'" "He that says 'amen,' with his whole power, to him the gates of Paradise shall be open, according to that which is said,—and the righteous nation shall enter in." And this is excellently discoursed of by St. Austin, "Sacramentum gratiæ dat etiam deus per malos; ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per seipsum, vel per sanctos suos;" and, therefore, he gives remission of sins by himself, or by the members of the Dove; so that good men shall be supplied by God. But as this is an infinite comfort to the people, so it is an intolerable shame to all wicked ministers; the benefit which God intended to minister by them, the people shall have without their help, and whether they will or no; but because the people get nothing by their ministration, or but very little, the ministers shall never have their portion, where the good people shall inhabit to eternal ages: and I beseech you to consider what an infinite confusion that will be at the day of judgment, when they, to whom you have preached righteousness, shall enter into everlasting glory, and you who have preached it shall have the curse of Hananeel, and the reward of Balaam, "The wages of unrighteousness." But thus it was, when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born, they told them right; but the wise men went to Christ, and found him, and the doctors sat still, and went not.

Fourthly; Consider, that every sin which is committed by a minister of religion, is more than one, and it is as soon espied too; for more men look upon the sun in an eclipse, than when he is in his beauty: but every spot, I say, is greater, every mote is a beam; it is not only made so, but it is so; it hath not the excuses of the people, is not pitiable by the measures of their infirmity: and, therefore, 1. It is reckoned in the accounts of malice, never of ignorance: for ignorance itself, in them, is always a double sin; and, therefore, it is very remarkable, that when God gave command to the Levitical priests to make atonement for the sins of ignorance in the people, there is no mention made of the priests' sin of ignorance; God supposed no such thing in them, and Moses did not mention it, and there was no provision made in that case, as you may see at large in Levit. iv. and Numb. xv.[x] But 2. Because every priest is a man also, observe how his sin is described, Levit. iv. 3. "If the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the people;" that is, if he be so degenerate, and descend from the glory where God hath placed him, and do sin after the manner of the people, then he is to proceed to remedy: intimating that it is infinitely besides expectation; it is a strange thing, it is like a monstrous production; it is unnatural that a priest should sin, according as the people do; however, if he does, it is not connived at with a sentence gentle, as that finds which is a sin of ignorance, or the sin of the people: no, it is not; for it is always malice, it is always uncharitableness; for it brings mischief to their congregations, and contracts their blessings into little circuits, and turns their bread into a stone, and their wine to vinegar: and then besides this, 3. It is also scandalous, and then it is infinitely against charity; such ministers make the people of God to sin, and that is against the nature of their office, and design of their persons: God sent them to bring the people from sin, and not to be like so many Jeroboams, the sons of Nebat, to set forward the devil's kingdom, to make the people to transgress the covenant of their God: for they who live more by example than by precept, will more easily follow the works of their minister than the words of God; and few men will aspire to be more righteous than their guide; they think it well if they be as he is: and hence it is no wonder that we see iniquity so popular. "Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam;"[y] every man runs after his lusts, and after his money, because they see too many of the clergy little looking after the ways of godliness. But then consider, let all such persons consider,

5. That the accounts, which an ungodly and an irreligious minister of religion shall make, must needs be intolerable; when, besides the damnation which shall certainly be inflicted upon them for the sins of their own lives, they shall also reckon for all the dishonours they do to God, and to religion, and for all the sins of the people, which they did not, in all just ways, endeavour to hinder, and all the sins which their flocks have committed by their evil example and undisciplined lives.

6. I have but two words more to say in this affair: 1. Every minister that lives an evil life, is that person whom our blessed Saviour means under the odious appellative of a "hireling:" for he is not the hireling that receives wages, or that lives of the altar; "sine farinâ non est lex," said the doctors of the Jews; "without bread-corn no man can preach the law:" and St. Paul, though he spared the Corinthians, yet he took wages of other churches, of all, but in the regions of Achaia; and the law of nature and the law of the gospel have taken care, that "he that serves at the altar should live of the

[x] Vide Origen. Homil. ii. in Levit.

[y] Juvenal.

altar;" and he is no hireling for all that; but he is a hireling, that does not do his duty; he that "flies when the wolf comes," says Christ, he that is not present with them in dangers, that helps them not to resist the devil, to master their temptations, to invite them on to piety, to gain souls to Christ; to him it may be said, as the apostle did of the Gnostics, εὐσέβειά ἐστι πορισμὸς, "Gain to them is godliness;" and theology is but "artificium venale," a trade of life, to fill the belly, and keep the body warm. "An cuiquam licere putas, quod cuivis non licet?" "Is any thing lawful for thee, that is not lawful for every man?" and if thou dost not mind, in thy own case, whether it be lawful or no, then thou dost but sell sermons, and give counsel at a price, and like a fly in the temple, taste of every sacrifice, but do nothing but trouble the religious rites: for certain it is, no man takes on him this office, but he "either seeks those things which are his own, or those things which are Jesus Christ's;" and if he does this, "he is a minister of Jesus Christ;" if he does the other, he is "the hireling," and intends nothing but his belly, and "God shall destroy both it and him."

7. Lastly; These things I have said unto you, that ye sin not; but this is not the great thing here intended; you may be innocent, and yet not "zealous of good works;" but if you be not this, you are not good ministers of Jesus Christ: but, that this is infinitely your duty, and indispensably incumbent on you all, besides the express words of my text, and all the precepts of Christ and his apostles, we have the concurrent sense of the whole church, the laws and expectations of all the world, requiring of the clergy a great and an exemplar sanctity: for, therefore it is, that, upon this necessity is founded the doctrine of all divines in their discourses of the states and orders of religion; of which you may largely inform yourselves in Gerson's Treatise "De perfectione Religionis," in Aquinas,[z] and in all his scholars upon that question; the sum of which is this, that all those institutions of religions, which St. Anselm calls "factitias religiones," that is, the schools of discipline in which men, forsaking the world, give themselves up wholly to a pious life, they are indeed very excellent if rightly performed; they are "status perfectionis acquirendæ," they are excellent institutions "for the acquiring perfection;" but the state of the superior clergy is "status perfectionis exercendæ," they are states which suppose perfection to be already in great measures acquired, and then to be exercised, not only in their own lives, but in the whole economy of their office: and, therefore, as none are to be chosen but those who have given themselves up to the strictness of a holy life,—so far as can be known; so none do their duty, so much as tolerably, but those who, by an exemplar sanctity, become patterns to their flocks of all good works. Herod's doves could never have invited so many strangers to their dovecotes, if they had not been besmeared with opobalsamum: but ἐὰν μύρῳ χρίσῃς τὰς περιστερὰς, καὶ ἔξωθεν ἄλλας ἄξουσιν, said Didymus;[a] "Make your pigeons smell sweet, and they will allure whole flocks;" and if your life be excellent, if your virtues be like a precious ointment, you will soon invite your charges to run "in odorem unguentorum," "after your precious odours:" but you must be excellent, not "tanquam unus de populo," "but tanquam homo Dei;" you must be a man of God, not after the common manner of men, but "after God's own heart;" and men will strive to be like you, if you be like to God: but when you only stand at the door of virtue, for nothing but to keep sin out, you will draw into the folds of Christ none but such as fear drives in. "Ad majorem Dei gloriam," "To do what will most glorify God," that is the line you must walk by: for to do no more than all men needs must, is servility, not so much as the affection of sons; much less can you be fathers to the people, when you go not so far as the sons of God: for a dark lantern, though there be a weak brightness on one side, will scarce enlighten one, much less will it conduct a multitude, or allure many followers, by the brightness of its flame. And indeed, the duty appears in this, that many things are lawful for the people, which are scandalous in the clergy; you are tied to more abstinences, to more severities, to more renunciations and self-denials, you may not with that freedom receive secular contentments that others may; you must spend more time in prayers, your alms must be more bountiful, your hands more open, your hearts enlarged; others must relieve the poor, you must take care of them; others must show themselves their brethren, but you must be their fathers; they must pray frequently and fervently, but you must give your "selves up wholly to the word of God and prayer;" they must "watch and pray, that they fall not into temptation," but you must watch for yourselves and others too; the people must mourn when they sin, but you must mourn for your own infirmities, and for the sins of others; and indeed, if the life of a clergyman does not exceed even the piety of the people, that life is, in some measure, scandalous: and what shame was ever greater than is described in the parable of the traveller going from Jerusalem to Jericho, when, to the eternal dishonour of the Levite and the priest, it is told that they went aside, and saw him with a wry neck and a bended head, but let him alone, and left him to be cured by the good Samaritan? The primitive church in her discipline used to thrust their delinquent clergy "in laicam communionem," even then when their faults were but small, and of less reproach than to deserve greater censures; yet they lessened them by thrusting them "into the lay communion," as most fit for such ministers, who refused to live at the height of sacerdotal piety. Remember your dignity, to which Christ hath called you: "Shall such a man as I flee," said the brave Eleazar? shall the stars be darkness, shall the ambassadors of Christ neglect to do their King honour, shall the glory of Christ do dishonourable and inglorious actions? "Ye are the glory of Christ," saith St. Paul; remember that. —I can say no greater thing; unless possibly this

[z] 2. 2. q. 184. [a] Geoponic. lib. 14.

may add some moments for your care and caution, that " potentes potenter cruciabuntur," " great men shall be greatly tormented," if they sin; and to fall from a great height is an intolerable ruin. Severe were the words of our blessed Saviour, " Ye are the salt of the earth; if the salt have lost his savour, it is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for land, nor yet for the dunghill:" a greater dishonour could not be expressed; he that takes such a one up, will shake his fingers. I end with the saying of St. Austin, " Let your religious prudence think, that, in the world, especially at this time, nothing is more laborious, more difficult, or more dangerous, than the office of a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon: 'Sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur quo noster imperator jubet;' 'but nothing is more blessed, if we do our duty, according to the commandment of our Lord.'" [z]

I have already discoursed of the integrity of life, and what great necessity there is, and how deep obligations lie upon you, not only to be innocent and void of offence, but also to be holy; not only pure, but shining; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives; that as, by your sermons, you preach in season, so, by your lives, you may preach out of season; that is, at all seasons, and to all men, that they, " seeing your good works, may glorify God" on your behalf, and on their own.

SERMON XI.

The second Sermon on Titus ii. 7.

Now by the order of the words, and my own undertaking, I am to tell you what are the rules and measures of your doctrine, which you are to teach the people.

1. Be sure that you teach nothing to the people but what is certainly to be found in Scripture: " Servemus eas mensuras, quas nobis per legislatorem lex spiritualis enunciat;" " The whole spiritual law given us by our law-giver, that must be our measures;" [a] for though, by persuasion and by faith, by mis-persuasion and by error, by false commentaries and mistaken glosses, every man may become a law unto himself, and unhappily bind upon his conscience burdens which Christ never imposed; yet you must bind nothing upon your charges, but what God hath bound upon you; you cannot become a law unto them; that is the only privilege of the lawgiver, who, because he was an interpreter of the Divine will, might become a law unto us; and because he was faithful in all the house, did tell us all his Father's will; and, therefore, nothing can be God's law to us, but what he hath taught us. But of this I shall need to say no more but the words of Tertullian; " Nobis nihil licet ex nostro arbitrio indulgere, sed nec eligere aliquid, quod de suo arbitrio aliquis induxerit: apostolos Domini habemus, autores, qui nec ipsi quicquam de suo arbitrio quod inducerent elegerunt, sed acceptam à Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignarunt." [b] Whatsoever is not in, and taken from, the Scriptures, is from a private spirit, and that is against Scripture certainly; " for no Scripture is," ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως, saith St. Peter; it is not, it cannot be " of private interpretation;" that is, unless it come from the Spirit of God, which is that Spirit that moved upon the waters of the new creation, as well as of the old, and was promised to all, " to you, and to your children, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call," and is bestowed on all, and is the earnest of all our inheritance, and is " given to every man to profit withal;" it cannot prove God to be the author, nor be a light to us to walk by, or to show others the way to heaven.

This rule were alone sufficient to guide us all in the whole economy of our calling, if we were not weak and wilful, ignorant and abused: but the Holy Scripture hath suffered so many interpretations, and various sounds and seemings, and we are so prepossessed and predetermined to misconstruction by false apostles without, and prevailing passions within, that though it be in itself sufficient, yet it is not so for us; and we may say with the eunuch, " How can I understand, unless some man should guide me?" And, indeed, in St. Paul's epistles, " there are many things hard to be understood;" and, in many other places, we find that the well is deep; and unless there be some to help us to draw out the latent senses of it, our souls will not be filled with the waters of salvation. Therefore, that I may do you what assistances I can, and, if I cannot in this small portion of time, instruct you, yet that I may counsel you, and remind you of the best assistances that are to be had; if I cannot give you rules sufficient to expound all hard places, yet that I may show how you shall sufficiently teach your people, by the rare rules and precepts, recorded in places that are, or may be made, easy, I shall first give you some advices in general, and then descend to more particular rules and measures.

1. Because it is not to be expected, that every minister of the word of God should have all the gifts of the Spirit, and every one to abound in tongues, and in doctrines, and in interpretations; you may, therefore, make great use of the labours of those worthy persons, whom God hath made to be lights in the several generations of the world, that a hand may help a hand, and a father may teach a brother, and we all be taught of God: for there are many who have, by great skill, and great experience, taught as many good rules for the interpretation of Scripture; amongst which those that I shall principally recommend to you, are the books of St. Austin, "De Utilitate Credendi" and his 3 lib. " De Doctrinâ Christianâ;" the " Synopsis" of Athanasius; the " Proems" of Isidore; the " Prologues" of St. Jerome. I might well add the " Scholia" of Œcumenius; the " Catenæ" of the Greek fathers, and of later times, the ordinary and interlineary glosses; the excellent book of Hugo de S. Victore, " de

[z] Epist. 148.

[a] Origen. [b] Contra hæres.

eruditione didascalicâ;" "Ars interpretandi Scripturas," by Sixtus Senensis; Serarius's "Prolegomena;" Tena's "Introduction to the Scriptures;" together with Laurentius è Villa-Vincentio, Andreas Hyperius "de Ratione studii Philosophici," and the "Hypotyposes" of Martinus Cantapratensis: Arias Montanus's "Joseph," or "de Arcano Sermone," is of another nature, and more fit for preachers; and so is Sanctes Paguine's "Isagoge;" but Ambrosius Catharinus's book "duarum clavium ad sacram scripturam," is useful to many good purposes: but more particularly, and I think more usefully, are those seven rules of interpreting Scriptures, written by Tichonius, and first made famous by St. Austin's commendation of them, and inserted in tom. v. of the Biblioth. SS. pp.—Sebastian Perez wrote thirty-five rules for the interpretation of Scripture: Franciscus Ruiz drew from the ancient fathers two hundred and thirty-four rules: besides those many learned persons who have written vocabularies, tropologies, and expositions of words and phrases; such as are Flacius Illyricus, Junius, Jerome Lauretus, and many others, not infrequent in all public libraries. But I remember, that he that gives advice to a sick man in Ireland to cure his sickness, must tell him of medicaments that are "facilè parabilia," "easy to be had," and cheap to be bought, or else his counsel will not profit him; and even of these God hath made good provision for us; for, although many precious things are reserved for them that dig deep, and search wisely, yet there are medicinal plants, and corn and grass, things fit for food and physic, to be had in every field.

And so it is in the interpretation of Scripture; there are ways of doing it well and wisely, without the too laborious methods of weary learning, that even the meanest labourers in God's vineyard may have that which is fit to minister to him that needs. Therefore,

2. In all the interpretations of Scripture, the literal sense is to be presumed and chosen, unless there be evident cause to the contrary. The reasons are plain; because the literal sense is natural, and it is first, and it is most agreeable to some things, in their whole kind; not indeed to prophecies, nor to the teachings of the learned, nor those cryptic ways of institution by which the ancients did hide a light, and keep it in a dark lantern from the temeration of ruder handlings and popular preachers: but the literal sense is agreeable to laws, to the publication of commands, to the revelation of the Divine will, to the concerns of the vulgar, to the foundations of faith, and to all the notice of things, in which the idiot is as much concerned as the greatest clerks. From which proposition these three corollaries will properly follow; 1. That God hath plainly and literally described all his will, both in belief and practice, in which our essential duty, the duty of all men, is concerned. 2. That, in plain expressions we are to look for our duty, and not in the more secret places and darker corners of the Scripture. 3. That you may regularly, certainly, and easily do your duty to the people, if you read and literally expound the plain sayings, and easily expressed commandments, and promises, and threatenings of the gospel, and the Psalms, and the prophets.

3. But then remember this also; that not only the grammatical or prime signification of the word is the literal sense; but whatsoever is the prime intention of the speaker, that is the literal sense; though the word be to be taken metaphorically, or by translation signify more things than one. "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous;" this is literally true; and yet it is as true, that God hath no eyes properly; but by "eyes" are meant, God's "providence;" and though this be not the first literal sense of the word "eyes," it is not that which was at first imposed and contingently; but it is that signification, which was secondarily imposed, and by reason and proportion. Thus, when we say, "God cares for the righteous," it will not suppose that God can have any anxiety or afflictive thoughts; but "he cares" does as truly and properly signify provision, as caution; beneficence, as fear; and therefore the literal sense of it is, that "God provides good things for the righteous." For in this case the rule of Abulensis is very true; "Sensus literalis semper est verus," "the literal sense is always true;" that is, all that is true, which the Spirit of God intended to signify by the words, whether he intended the first or second signification; whether that of voluntary and contingent, or that of analogical and rational institution. "Other sheep have I," said Christ, "which are not of this fold:" that he did not mean this of the "pecus lanigerum" is notorious; but of the gentiles to be gathered into the privileges and fold of Israel: for in many cases, the first literal sense is the hardest, and sometimes impossible, and sometimes inconvenient: and when it is any of these, although we are not to recede from the literal sense; yet we are to take the second signification, the tropological or figurative. "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out," said Christ: and yet no man digs his eyes out; because the very letter or intention of this command bids us only to throw away that, which if we keep, we cannot avoid sin: for sometimes the letter tells the intention, and sometimes the intention declares the letter; and that is properly the literal sense, which is the first meaning of the command in the whole complexion: and in this, common sense and a vulgar reason will be a sufficient guide, because there is always some other thing spoken by God, or some principle naturally implanted in us, by which we are secured in the understanding of the Divine command. "He that does not hate father and mother for my sake, is not worthy of me:" the literal sense of "hating" used in Scripture is not always "malice," but sometimes a "less loving;" and so Christ also hath expounded it: "He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me."—But I shall not insist longer on this; he that understands nothing but his grammar, and hath not conversed with men and books, and can see no farther than his fingers' ends, and makes no use of his reason, but for ever will be a child; he may be deceived

in the literal sense of Scripture; but then he is not fit to teach others: but he that knows words signify rhetorically, as well as grammatically, and have various proper significations,[c] and which of these is the first, is not always of itself easy to be told; and remembers also that God hath given him reason, and observation, and experience, and conversation with wise men, and the proportion of things, and the end of the command, and parallel places of Scripture, in other words to the same purpose;—will conclude, that, since in plain places, all the duty of man is contained, and that the literal sense is always true, and, unless men be wilful or unfortunate, they may, with a small proportion of learning, find out the literal sense of an easy moral proposition:—will, I say, conclude, that if we be deceived, the fault is our own; but the fault is so great, the man so supine, the negligence so inexcusable, that the very consideration of human infirmity is not sufficient to excuse such teachers of others, who hallucinate or prevaricate in this. The Anthropomorphites fell foully in this matter, and supposed God to have a face, and arms, and passions, as we have; but they prevailed not: and Origen was, in one instance, greatly mistaken, and thinking there was no literal meaning but the prime signification of the word, understood the word *εὐνουχίζειν*, "to make an eunuch," to his own prejudice; but that passed not into a doctrine: but the church of Rome hath erred greatly in pertinacious adhering, not to the letter, but to the grammar; nor to that, but in one line or signification of it: and "Hoc est corpus meum" must signify nothing but grammatically; and though it be not, by their own confessions, to be understood without divers figures, in the whole complexion, yet peevishly and perversely, they will take it by the wrong handle; and this they have passed into a doctrine, that is against sense, and reason, and experience, and Scripture, and tradition, and the common interpretation of things, and public peace and utility, and every thing by which mankind ought to be governed and determined.

4. I am to add this one thing more: that we admit in the interpretation of Scripture but one literal sense; I say, but one prime literal sense; for the simplicity and purity of the Spirit, and the philanthropy of God, will not admit that there should, in one single proposition, be many intricate meanings, or that his sense should not certainly be understood, or that the people be abused by equivocal and doubtful senses; this was the way of Jupiter in the sands, and Apollo Pythius, and the devil's oracles: but be it far from the wisdom of the Spirit of God.

5. But then take in this caution to it; that although there be but one principal literal sense; yet others that are subordinate may be intended subordinately; and others that are true by proportion, or that first intention, may be true for many reasons, and every reason applicable to a special instance; and all these may be intended as they signify, that is, one only by prime design, and the other by collateral consequence. Thus when it is said, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;" the Psalmist means it of the eternal generation of Christ: others seem to apply it to his birth of the blessed virgin Mary; and St. Paul expounds it of the resurrection of Christ:[d] This is all true: and yet but one literal sense primely meant; but by proportion to the first, the others have their place, and are meant by way of similitude. Thus we are the sons of God, by adoption, by creation, by favour, by participation of the Spirit, by the laver of regeneration; and every man, for one or other of these reasons, can say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" and these are all parts of the literal sense, not different, but subordinate and by participation: but more than one prime literal sense must not be admitted.

6. Lastly; Sometimes the literal sense is lost by a plain change of the words; which when it is discovered, it must be corrected by the fountain; and till it be, so long as it is pious, and commonly received, it may be used without scruple. In the 41st Psalm the Hebrews read, "My soul hath longed after 'the strong, the living God;' 'Deum fortem, vivum:'" in the vulgar Latin, it is "Deum fontem vivum," "the living fountain;" and it was very well, but not the literal sense of God's Spirit; but when they have been so often warned of it, that they were still in love with their own letter, and leave the words of the Spirit, I think was not justifiable at all: and this was observed at last by Sixtus and Clement, and corrected in their editions of the Bible, and then it came right again. The sum is this; he that with this moderation and these measures, construes the plain meaning of the Spirit of God, and expounds the articles of faith, and the precepts of life, according to the intention of God, signified by his own words, in their first or second signification, cannot easily be cozened into any heretical doctrine; but his doctrine will be *ἀδιάφθορος*, the pure word and mind of God.

2. There is another sense or interpretation of Scripture, and that is mystical or spiritual; which the Jews call מדרש "midrash;" which Elias the Levite calls "omne commentarium, quod non est juxta simplicem et literalem sensum;" "every gloss that is not according to their פשת 'peschat,' to the literal sense;" and this relates principally to the Old Testament: thus the waters of the deluge did signify the waters of baptism; Sarah and Agar, the law and the gospel; the brazen serpent, the passion of Christ; the conjunction of Adam and Eve, the communion of Christ and his church; and this is called the spiritual sense, St. Paul being our warrant; "Our fathers ate of the same spiritual meat, and drank of that same spiritual rock;" now that rock was not spiritual, but of solid stone; but it signified spiritually; for "that rock was Christ."

—This sense the doctors divide into tropological, allegorical, and anagogical,—for method's sake, and either to distinguish the things, or to amuse the persons; for these relate but to the several spi-

[c] Verba non sono sed sensu sapiunt.—HILAR.

[d] Heb. i.

ritual things signified by divers places; as matters of faith, precepts of manners, and celestial joys; you may make more if you please, and yet these are too many to trouble men's heads, and to make theology an art and craft, to no purpose. This spiritual sense is that which the Greeks call ὑπόνοιαν, or 'the sense that lies under the cover of words:" concerning this I shall give you these short rules, that your doctrine be ἀδιάφθορος, pure and without heretical mixtures, and the leaven of false doctrines; for, above all things, this is to be taken care of.

1. Although every place of Scripture hath a literal sense, either proper or figurative, yet every one hath not a spiritual and mystical interpretation; and, therefore, Origen was blamed by the ancients for forming all into spirit and mystery; one place was reserved to punish that folly. Thus the followers of the family of love, and the quakers, expound all the articles of our faith, all the hopes of a christian, all the stories of Christ, into such a clancular and retired sense, as if they had no meaning by the letter, but were only a hieroglyphic or a Pythagorean scheme, and not to be opened but by a private key, which every man pretends to be borrowed from the Spirit of God, though made in the forges here below; to which purposes the epistles of St. Jerome to Avitus, to Pammachius and Oceanus, are worth your reading. In this case men do as he said of Origen, "Ingenii sui acumina putant esse ecclesiæ sacramenta:" "every man believes God meant as he intended, and so he will obtrude his own dreams instead of sacraments." Therefore,

2. Whoever will draw spiritual senses from any history of the Old or New Testament, must first allow the literal sense, or else he will soon deny an article of necessary belief. A story is never the less true, because it is intended to profit as well as to please; and the narrative may well establish or insinuate a precept, and instruct with pleasure; but if, because there is a jewel in the golden cabinet, you will throw away the enclosure, and deny the story that you may look out a mystical sense, we shall leave it arbitrary for any man to believe or disbelieve what story he please; and Eve shall not be made of the rib of Adam, and the garden of Eden shall be no more than the Hesperides, and the story of Jonas a well-dressed fable; and I have seen all the Revelation of St. John turned into a moral commentary, in which every person can signify any proposition, or any virtue, according as his fancy chimes. This is too much, and, therefore, comes not from a good principle.

3. In moral precepts, in rules of polity and economy, there is no other sense to be inquired after but what they bear upon the face; for he that thinks it necessary to turn them into some further spiritual meaning, supposes that it is a disparagement to the Spirit of God to take care of governments, or that the duties of princes and masters are no great concerns, or not operative to eternal felicity, or that God does not provide for temporal advantages; for if these things be worthy concerns, and if God hath taken care of all our good, and if "godliness be profitable to all things, and hath the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come," there is no necessity to pass on to more abstruse senses, when the literal and proper hath also in it instrumentality enough towards very great spiritual purposes. "God takes care" for servants, yea "for oxen" and all the beasts of the field; and the letter of the command enjoining us to use them with mercy, hath in it an advantage even upon the spirit and whole frame of a man's soul; and therefore let no man tear those Scriptures to other meanings beyond their own intentions and provisions. In these cases a spiritual sense is not to be inquired after.

4. If the letter of the story infers any indecency or contradiction, then it is necessary that a spiritual or mystical sense be thought of; but never else is it necessary. It may in other cases be useful, when it does advantage to holiness; and may be safely used, if used modestly; but because this spiritual or mystical interpretation, when it is not necessary, cannot be certainly proved, but relies upon fancy, or at most some light inducement, no such interpretation can be used as an argument to prove an article of faith, nor relied upon in matters of necessary concern. The "three measures of meal," in the gospel, are but an ill argument to prove the blessed and eternal Trinity: and it may be, the three angels that came to Abraham, will signify no more than the two that came to Lot, or the single one to Manoah or St. John. This divine mystery relies upon a more sure foundation; and he makes it unsure, that causes it to lean upon an unexpounded vision, that was sent to other purposes. "Non esse contensiosis et infidelibus sensibus ingerendum," said St. Austin of the book of Genesis. Searching for articles of faith in the by-paths and corners of secret places, leads not to faith but to infidelity, and by making the foundations unsure, causes the articles to be questioned.

I remember that Agricola, in his book "De Animalibus Subterraneis," tells of a certain kind of spirits that use to converse in mines, and trouble the poor labourers: they dig metals, they cleanse, they cast, they melt, they separate, they join the ore; but when they are gone, the men find just nothing done, not one step of their work set forward. So it is in the books and expositions of many men: they study, they argue, they expound, they confute, they reprove, they open secrets, and make new discoveries; and when you turn the bottom upwards, up starts nothing; no man is the wiser, no man is instructed, no truth discovered, no proposition cleared, nothing is altered, but that much labour and much time is lost: and this is manifest in nothing more than in books of controversy, and in mystical expositions of Scripture: "Quærunt quod nusquam est, inveniunt tamen." Like Isidore, who, in contemplation of a pen, observed, that the nib of it was divided into two, but yet the whole body remained one: "Credo propter mysterium:"[e] he found a knack in it, and thought it was a mystery. Con-

[e] Isid. Orig. lib. vi. c. 11.

cerning which I shall need to say no more but that they are safe when they are necessary, and they are useful when they teach better, and they are good when they do good; but this is so seldom, and so by chance, that oftentimes if a man be taught truth, he is taught it by a lying master; it is like being cured by a good witch, an evil spirit hath a hand in it; and if there be not error and illusion in such interpretations, there is very seldom any certainty.

"What shall I do to my vineyard, said God?"[f] "Auferam sepem ejus:" "I will take away the hedge:" that is, "custodiam angelorum," saith the gloss, "the custody of their angel guardians." And God says, "Manasseh humeros suos comedit:"[g] "Manasseh hath devoured his own shoulders;" that is, "gubernatores dimovit," say the doctors, "hath removed his governors," his princes, and his priests. It is a sad complaint, 'tis true, but what it means is the question. But although these senses are pious, and may be used for illustration and the prettiness of discourse, yet there is no further certainty in them than what the one fancies and the other is pleased to allow. But if the spiritual sense be proved evident and certain, then it is of the same efficacy as the literal; for it is according to that letter by which God's Holy Spirit was pleased to signify his meaning, and it matters not how he is pleased to speak, so we understand his meaning. And in this sense, that is true which is affirmed by St. Gregory: "Allegoriam interdum ædificare fidem:" "sometimes our faith is built up by the mystical words of the Spirit of God." But because it seldom happens that they can be proved, therefore you are not to feed your flocks with such herbs whose virtue you know not, of whose wholesomeness or powers of nourishing you are wholly, or for the most part, ignorant. We have seen and felt the mischief, and sometimes derided the absurdity. "God created the sun and the moon," said Moses; that is, said the extravagants of Pope Boniface VIII., "the pope and the emperor." And "Behold here are two swords," said St. Peter: "It is enough," said Christ; enough for St. Peter; and so he got the *two* swords, the *temporal* and *spiritual*, said the gloss upon that text. Of these things there is no beginning and no end, no certain principles and no good conclusions.

These are the two ways of expounding all Scriptures; these are as "the two witnesses of God;" by the first of which he does most commonly, and by the latter of which he does sometimes, declare his meaning; and in the discovery of these meanings, the measures which I have now given you are the general land-marks, and are sufficient to guide us from destructive errors. It follows in the next place, that I give you some rules that are more particular, according to my undertaking, that you in your duty, and your charges in the provisions to be made for them, may be more secure.

1. Although you are to teach your people nothing but what is the word of God, yet by this word I understand all that God spake expressly, and all that by certain consequence can be deduced from it. Thus Dionysius Alexandrinus argues, ἔγνων ὅτι υἱὸν καὶ λόγος οὐ ξένος ἂν εἴη τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός "He that in Scripture is called the Son and the Word of the Father, I conclude he is no stranger to the essence of the Father." And St. Ambrose derided them that called for express Scripture for ὁμοούσιος, since the prophets and the gospels acknowledge the unity of substance in the Father and the Son; and we easily conclude the Holy Ghost to be God, because we call upon him; and we call upon him because we believe in him; and we believe in him because we are baptized into the faith and profession of the Holy Ghost. This way of teaching our blessed Saviour used, when he confuted the Sadducees, in the question of the resurrection, and thus he confuted the Pharisees, in the question of his being the Son of God.[h] The use I make of it is this, that right reason is so far from being an exile from the inquiries of religion, that it is the great insurance of many propositions of faith; and we have seen the faith of men strangely alter, but the reason of man can never alter, every rational truth supposing its principles being eternal and unchangeable. All that is to be done here is to see that you argue well, that your deduction be evident, that your reason be right: for Scripture is to our understandings, as the grace of God to our wills; that instructs our reason, and this helps our wills; and we may as well choose the things of God without our wills, and delight in them without love, as understand the Scriptures or make use of them without reason.

Quest. But how shall our reason be guided that it may be right, that it be not a blind guide, but direct us to the place where the star appears, and point us to the very house where the babe lieth, that we may indeed do as the wise men did? To this I answer:

2. In the making deductions, the first great measure to direct our reason and our inquiries is the analogy of faith; that is, let the fundamentals of faith be your cynosura, your great light to walk by, and whatever you derive from thence, let it be agreeable to the principles from whence they come. It is the rule of St. Paul, Προφητεύων κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, "Let him that prophesies, do it according to the proportion of faith;"[i] that is, let him teach nothing but what is revealed, or agreeable to the αὐτόπιστα, "the prime credibilities" of christianity; that is, by the plain words of Scripture let him expound the less plain, and the superstructure by the measures of the foundation, and doctrines be answerable to faith, and speculations relating to practice, and nothing taught, as simply necessary to be believed, but what is evidently and plainly set down in the Holy Scriptures; for he that calls a proposition necessary, which the apostles did not declare to be so, or which they did not teach to all christians, learned and unlearned, he is gone beyond his proportions; for every thing is to be kept in that order where God hath placed it. There is a "classis" of necessary articles, and that is the

[f] Isaiah v. [g] Isaiah ix. [h] John x. 37. [i] Rom. xii. 7.

apostles' creed, which Tertullian calls "regulam fidei," "the rule of faith;" and according to this we must teach necessities: but what comes after this is not so necessary; and he that puts upon his own doctrines a weight equal to this of the apostles' declaration, either must have an apostolical authority, and an apostolical infallibility, or else he transgresses the proportion of faith, and becomes a false apostle.

3. To this purpose it is necessary that you be very diligent in reading, laborious and assiduous in the studies of Scripture; not only lest ye be blind seers and blind guides, but because, without great skill and learning, ye cannot do your duty. A minister may as well sin by his ignorance as by his negligence; because when light springs from so many angles that may enlighten us, unless we look round about us and be skilled in all the angles of reflexion, we shall but turn our backs upon the sun, and see nothing but our own shadows. "Search the Scriptures," said Christ. "Non dixit *legite*, sed *scrutamini*," said St. Chrysostom; "quia oportet profundius effodere, ut quæ altè delitescunt, invenire possimus." "Christ did not say *read*, but *search* the Scriptures;" turn over every page, inquire narrowly, look diligently, converse with them perpetually, be mighty in the Scriptures; for that which is plain there, is the best measure of our faith and of our doctrines. The Jews have a saying, "Qui non advertit, quod supra et infra in Scriptoribus legitur, is pervertit verba Dei viventis." He that will understand God's meaning, must look above and below, and round about; for the meaning of the Spirit of God is not like the wind blowing from one point, but like light issuing from the body of the sun, it is light round about; and in every word of God there is a treasure, and something will be found somewhere, to answer every doubt, and to clear every obscurity, and to teach every truth by which God intends to perfect our understandings. But then take this rule with you: do not pass from plainness to obscurity, nor from simple principles draw crafty conclusions, nor from easiness pass into difficulty, nor from wise notices draw intricate nothings, nor from the wisdom of God lead your hearers into the follies of men. Your principles are easy, and your way plain, and the words of faith are open, and what naturally flows from thence will be as open; but if, without violence and distortion, it cannot be drawn forth, the proposition is not of the family of faith. "Qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem:" "he that wrings too hard, draws blood:" and nothing is fit to be offered to your charges and your flocks but what flows naturally, and comes easily, and descends readily and willingly, from the fountains of salvation.

4. Next to this analogy or proportion of faith, let the consent of the catholic church be your measure, so as by no means to prevaricate in any doctrine, in which all christians always have consented. This will appear to be a necessary rule by and by; but in the mean time, I shall observe to you, that it will be the safer, because it cannot go far: it can be instanced but in three things, in the creed, in ecclesiastical government, and in external forms of worship and liturgy. The catholic church hath been too much and too soon divided: it hath been used as the man upon a hill used his heap of heads in a basket; when he threw them down the hill, every head run his own way, "quot capita, tot sententiæ;" and as soon as the spirit of truth was opposed by the spirit of error, the spirit of peace was disordered by the spirit of division; and the Spirit of God hath overpowered us so far, that we are only fallen out about that, of which if we had been ignorant, we had not been much the worse; but in things simply necessary, God hath preserved us still unbroken: all nations and all ages recite the creed, and all pray the Lord's prayer, and all pretend to walk by the rule of the commandments; and all churches have ever kept the day of Christ's resurrection, or the Lord's day, holy; and all churches have been governed by bishops, and the rites of christianity have been for ever administered by separate orders of men, and those men have been always set apart by prayer and the imposition of the bishop's hands; and all christians have been baptized, and all baptized persons were, or ought to be, and were taught that they should be, confirmed by the bishop, and presidents of religion; and for ever there were public forms of prayer, more or less in all churches; and all christians that were to enter into holy wedlock, were ever joined or blessed by the bishop or the priest: in these things all christians ever have consented, and he that shall prophesy or expound Scripture to the prejudice of any of these things, hath no part in that article of his creed; he does not believe the holy catholic church, he hath no fellowship, no communion with the saints and servants of God.

It is not here intended, that the doctrine of the church should be the rule of faith distinctly from, much less against, the Scripture; for that were a contradiction to suppose the church of God, and yet speaking and acting against the will of God; but it means, that where the question is concerning an obscure place of Scripture, the practice of the catholic church is the best commentary. "Intellectus, qui cum praxi concurrit, est spiritus vivificans," said Cusanus. Then we speak according to the Spirit of God, when we understand Scripture in that sense in which the church of God hath always practised it. "Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur," that is Aristotle's rule; and it is a rule of nature; every thing puts on a degree of probability as it is witnessed "by wise men, by many wise men, by all wise men:" and it is Vincentius Lirinensis' great rule of truth; "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus:" and he that goes against "what is said always, and every where, and by all" christians, had need have a new revelation, or an infallible spirit; or he hath an intolerable pride and foolishness of presumption. Out of the communion of the universal church no man can be saved; they are the body of Christ; and the whole church cannot perish, and Christ cannot be a head without a body, and he will for ever be our Redeemer, and for ever intercede for his church, and be glorious in his

saints; and, therefore, he that does not sow in these furrows, but leaves the way of the whole church, hath no pretence for his error, no excuse for his pride, and will find no alleviation of his punishment. These are the best measures which God hath given us to lead us in the way of truth, and to preserve us from false doctrines; and whatsoever cannot be proved by these measures, cannot be necessary. There are many truths besides these; but if your people may be safely ignorant of them, you may quietly let them alone, and not trouble their heads with what they have so little to do; things that need not to be known at all, need not to be taught: for if they be taught, they are not certain, or are not very useful; and, therefore, there may be danger in them besides the trouble; and since God hath not made them necessary, they may be let alone without danger; and it will be madness to tell stories to your flocks of things which may hinder salvation, but cannot do them profit. And now it is time that I have done with the first great remark of doctrine noted by the apostle in my text; all the guides of souls must take care that the doctrine they teach be ἀδιάφθορος, "pure and incorrupt," the word of God, the truth of the Spirit. That which remains is easier.

2. In the next place, it must be σεμνὸς, "grave," and reverend, no vain notions, no pitiful contentions, and disputes about little things, but becoming your great employment in the ministry of souls: and in this the rules are easy and ready.

1. Do not trouble your people with controversies: whatsoever does gender strife, the apostle commands us to avoid; and, therefore, much more the strife itself: a controversy is a stone in the mouth of the hearer, who should be fed with bread, and it is a temptation to the preacher, it is a state of temptation; it engages one side in lying, and both in uncertainty and uncharitableness; and after all, it is not food for souls; it is the food of contention, it is a spiritual lawsuit, and it can never be ended; every man is right and every man is wrong in these things, and no man can tell who is right, or who is wrong. For as long as a word can be spoken against a word, and a thing be opposite to a thing; as long as places are hard, and men are ignorant, or "knowing but in part;" as long as there is money and pride in the world, and for ever till men willingly confess themselves to be fools and deceived, so long will the saw of contention be drawn from side to side. "That which is not, cannot be numbered," saith the wise man: no man can reckon upon any truth that is got by contentious learning; and whoever troubles his people with questions, and teaches them to be troublesome, note that man, he loves not peace, or he would fain be called "Rabbi, Rabbi." Christian religion loves not tricks nor artifices of wonder; but like the natural and amiable simplicity of Jesus, by plain and easy propositions, leads us in wise paths to a place, where sin and strife shall never enter. What good can come from that which fools begin, and wise men can never end but by silence? and that had been the best way at first, and would have stifled them in the cradle. What have your people to do whether Christ's body be in the sacrament by consubstantiation or transubstantiation; whether purgatory be in the centre of the earth, or in the air, or any where, or no where; and who but a madman would trouble their heads with the entangled links of the fanatic chain of predestination? Teach them to fear God and honour the king, to keep the commandments of God, and the king's commands, because of the oath of God; learn them to be sober and temperate, to be just and to pay their debts, to speak well of their neighbours and to think meanly of themselves; teach them charity, and learn them to be zealous of good works. Is it not a shame, that the people should be filled with sermons against ceremonies, and declamations against a surplice, and tedious harangues against the poor airy sign of the cross in baptism? These things teach them to be ignorant; it fills them with wind, and they suck dry nurses; it makes them lazy and useless, troublesome and good for nothing. Can the definition of a christian be, that a christian is a man that rails against bishops and the common prayer-book? and yet this is the great labour of our neighbours that are crept in among us; this they call the work of the Lord, and this is the great matter of the desired reformation; in these things they spend their long breath, and about these things they spend earnest prayers, and by these they judge their brother, and for these they revile their superior, and in this doughty cause they think it fit to fight and die. If St. Paul or St. Anthony, St. Basil or St. Ambrose, if any of the primitive confessors, or glorious martyrs, should awake from within their curtains of darkness, and find men thus striving against government, for the interest of disobedience, and labouring for nothings, and preaching all day for shadows and moonshine; and that not a word shall come from them, to teach the people humility, not a word of obedience or self-denial; they are never taught to suspect their own judgment, but always to prefer the private minister before the public, the presbyter before a bishop, fancy before law, the subject before his prince, a prayer in which men consider not at all, before that which is weighed wisely and considered; and, in short, a private spirit before the public, and Mass John before the patriarch of Jerusalem: if, I say, St. Paul or St. Anthony should see such a light, they would not know the meaning of it, nor of what religion the country were, nor from whence they had derived their new nothing of an institution. "The kingdom of God consists in wisdom and righteousness, in peace and holiness, in meekness and gentleness, in chastity and purity, in abstinence from evil and doing good to others;" in these things place your labours, preach these things, and nothing else but such as these; things which promote the public peace and public good; things that can give no offence to the wise and to the virtuous: for these things are profitable to men and pleasing to God.

2. Let not your sermons and discourses to your people be busy arguings about hard places of Scripture; if you strike a hard against a hard, you may chance to strike fire, or break a man's head; but it

never makes a good building: "Philosophiam ad syllabas vocare," that is to no purpose; your sermons must be for edification, something to make the people better and wiser, "wiser unto salvation," not wiser to discourse; for, if a hard thing get into their heads, I know not what work you will make of it, but they will make nothing of it, or something that is very strange: dress your people unto the imagery of Christ, dress them for their funerals, help them to make their accounts up against the day of judgment. I have known some persons and some families that would religiously educate their children, and bring them up in the Scriptures from their cradle; and they would teach them to tell who was the first man, and who was the oldest, and who was the wisest, and who was the strongest; but I never observed them to ask who was the best, and what things were required to make a man good:[k] the apostles' creed was not the entertainment of their pretty talkings, nor the life of Christ; the story of his bitter passion, and his incomparable sermon on the mount, went not into their catechisms. What good can your flocks receive, if you discourse well and wisely, whether Jephthah sacrificed his daughter, or put her into the retirements of a solitary life; nor how David's numbering the people did differ from Joshua's; or whether God took away the life of Moses by an apoplexy, or by the kisses of his mouth? If scholars be idly busy in these things in the schools, custom, and some other little accidents may help to excuse them; but the time that is spent in your churches, and conversation with your people, must not be so thrown away: λόγος ἔστω σεμνὸς, that is your rule; "let your speech be grave" and wise, and useful, and holy, and intelligible; something to reform their manners, to correct their evil natures, to amend their foolish customs; "to build them up in a most holy faith." That is the second rule and measure of your preachings that the apostle gives you in my text.

3. Your speech must be ὑγιὴς, "salutary" and wholesome: and, indeed, this is of greatest concern, next to the first, next to the truth and purity of that doctrine; for unless the doctrine be made fit for the necessities of your people, and not only be good in itself but good for them, you lose the end of your labours, and they the end of your preachings: "Your preaching is vain, and their faith is also vain." The particulars of this are not many, but very useful.

1. It is never out of season to preach good works; but when you do, be careful that you never indirectly disgrace them by telling how your adversaries spoil them. I do not speak this in vain; for too many of us account good works to be popery, and so not only dishonour our religion, and open wide the mouths of adversaries, but disparage christianity itself, while we hear it preached in every pulpit, that they who preach good works think they merit heaven by it; and so for fear of merit, men let the work alone; to secure a true opinion they neglect a good practice, and out of hatred of popery we lay aside christianity itself. Teach them how to do good works, and yet to walk humbly with God; for better it is to dwell even upon a weak account, than to do nothing upon the stock of a better proposition: and let it never be used any more as a word of reproach unto us all, that the faith of a protestant, and the works of a papist, and the words of a fanatic, make up a good christian. Believe well, and speak well, and do well; but in doing good works a man cannot deceive any one but himself, by the appendage of a foolish opinion; but in our believing only, and in talking, a man may deceive himself, and all the world; and God only can be safe from the cozenage. Like to this is the case of external forms of worship, which too many refuse, because they pretend that many who use them, rest in them, and pass no further: for besides that no sect of men teaches their people so to do, you cannot without uncharitableness suppose it true of very many. But if others do ill, do not you do so too; and leave not out the external forms of fear of formality, but join the inward power of godliness; and then they are reproved best, and instructed wisely, and you are secured. But remember, that profaneness is commonly something that is external; and he is a profane person who neglects the exterior part of religion: and this is so vile a crime, that hypocrisy, while it is undiscovered, is not so much mischievous as open profaneness, or a neglect and contempt of external religion. Do not despise external religion, because it may be sincere, and do not rely upon it wholly, because it may be counterfeit; but do you preach both, and practise both; both what may glorify God in public, and what may please him in private.

2. In deciding the questions and cases of conscience of your flocks, never strive to speak what is pleasing, but what is profitable, οὐ λόγους, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων φθέγγεσθαι οὐσίας, as was said of Isidore, the philosopher; "You must not give your people words, but things and substantial food." Let not the people be prejudiced in the matter of their souls, upon any terms whatsoever, and be not ashamed to speak boldly in the cause of God; for he that is angry when he is reproved, is not to be considered, excepting only to be reproved again; if he will never mend, not you but he will have the worst of it; but if he ever mends, he will thank you for your love, and for your wisdom, and for your care: and no man is finally disgraced for speaking of a truth; only here, pray for the grace of prudence, that you may speak opportunely and wisely, lest you profit not, but destroy an incapable subject.

Lastly: The apostle requires of every minister of the gospel that his speech and doctrine should be ἀκατάγνωστος, "unreprovable:" not such against which no man can cavil; for the Pharisees found fault with the wise discourses of the eternal Son of God; and heretics and schismatics prated against the holy apostles and their excellent sermons; but ἀκατάγνωστος is "such as deserves no blame," and needs no pardon, and flatters not for praise, and begs no excuses, and makes no apologies; a discourse that will be justified by all the sons of wisdom: now that yours may be so, the preceding rules are the best means that are imaginable. For, so long as

[k] Σχημάτων ἀτέχνων ποταμός.

you speak the pure truths of God, the plain meaning of the Spirit, the necessary things of faith, the useful things of charity, and the excellencies of holiness, who can reprove your doctrine? But there is something more in this word which the apostle means, else it had been a useless repetition: and a man may speak the truths of God, and yet may be blame-worthy by an importune, unseasonable, and imprudent way of delivering them, or for want of such conduct, which will place him and his doctrine in reputation and advantages. To this purpose these advices may be useful.

1. Be more careful to establish a truth than to reprove an error. For besides that a truth will, when it is established, of itself reprove the error sufficiently; men will be less apt to reprove your truth, when they are not engaged to defend their own propositions against you. Men stand upon their guard when you proclaim war against their doctrine. Teach your doctrine purely and wisely, and without any angry reflections; for you shall very hardly persuade him whom you go about publicly to confute.

2. If any man have a revelation or a discovery, of which thou knowest nothing but by his preaching, be not too quick to condemn it; not only lest thou discourage his labour and stricter inquiries in the search of truth, but lest thou also be a fool upon record; for so is every man that hastily judges what he slowly understands. Is it not a monument of a lasting reproach, that one of the popes of Rome condemned the bishop of Sulzbach, for saying that there were antipodes? And is not Pope Nicholas deserted by his own party, for correcting the sermons of Berengarius, and making him recant into a worse error? and posterity will certainly make themselves very merry with the wise sentences made lately at Rome, against Galileo and the Jansenists. To condemn one truth is more shameful than to broach two errors: for he that, in an honest and diligent inquiry, misses something of the mark, will have the apologies of human infirmity, and the praise of doing his best; but he that condemns a truth, when it is told him, is an envious fool, and is a murderer of his brother's fame and his brother's reason.

3. Let no man, upon his own head, reprove the religion that is established by law, and a just supreme authority; for no reproofs are so severe as the reproofs of law; and a man will very hardly defend his opinion, that is already condemned by the wisdom of all his judges. A man's doctrine possibly may be true though against law; but it cannot be *ἀκατάγνωστος*, "unreprovable;" and a schismatic can, in no case, observe this rule of the apostle. If something may be amiss when it is declared by laws, much easier may he be in an error, who goes upon his own account, and declares alone: and, therefore, it is better to let things alone, than to be troublesome to our superiors by an impertinent wrangling for reformation. We find that some kings of Judah were greatly praised, and yet they did not destroy all the temples of the false gods which Solomon had built: and if such public persons might let some things alone that were amiss, and yet be innocent, trouble not yourself that all the world is not amended according to your pattern; see that you be perfect at home, that all be rightly reformed there; as for reformation of the church, God will never call you to an account. Some things cannot be reformed, and very many need not, for all thy peevish dreams; and after all, it is twenty to one but thou art mistaken, and thy superior is in the right; and if thou wert not proud thou wouldst think so too. Certain it is, he that sows in the furrows of authority, his doctrine cannot so easily be reproved as he that ploughs and sows alone. When Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, fell into the hands of the Egyptian monks, who were ignorant and confident, they handled him with great rudeness, because he had spoken of the immateriality of the Divine nature; the good man, to escape their fury, was forced to give them crafty and soft words, saying, "Vidi faciem vestram ut faciem Dei:" which because they understood in the sense of the anthropomorphites, and thought he did so too, they let him depart in peace. When private persons are rude against the doctrines of authority, they are seldom in the right; but, therefore, are the more fierce, as wanting the natural supports of truth, which are reason and authority, gentleness and plain conviction; and, therefore, they fall to declamation and railing, zeal and cruelty, trifling and arrogant confidences. They seldom go asunder: it is the same word in Greek that signifies, "disobedience," and "cruelty:" *ἀπηνὴς* is both; "He that will endure no bridle," "that man hath no mercy." *Αὐθάδεια, ἀπήνεια ὁμιλίας ἐν λόγοις.* Confidence is that which will endure no bridle, no curb, no superior. It is worse in the Hebrew; "The sons of Belial," signify "people that will endure no yoke, no government, no imposition;" and we have found them so, they are sons of Belial indeed. This is that *αὐθάδεια*, that kind of boldness and refractory confidence, that St. Paul forbids to be in a minister of religion;[1] *μὴ αὐθάδη*, "not confident;" that is, let him be humble and modest, distrusting his own judgment, believing wiser men than himself; never bold against authority, never relying on his own wit. *Αὐθάδης ἐστὶν αὐτοάδης*, said Aristotle; "that man is bold and presumptuous, who pleases himself," and sings his own songs, all voluntary, nothing by his book.

> *Οὐδ' ἀστὸν ἥνες', ὅστις αὐθάδης γεγὼς,*
> *Πικρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὕπο,* said the tragedy.
> EURIP.

Every confident man is ignorant, and by his ignorance, troublesome to his country, but will never do it honour.

4. Whatever scriptures you pretend for your doctrine, take heed that it be not chargeable with foul consequences; that it lay no burden upon God, that it do not tempt to vanity, that it be not manifestly serving a temporal end, and nothing else; that it be not vehemently to be suspected to be a design of state, like the sermon at Paul's Cross, by Dr. Shaw, in Richard the Third's time; that it do

[1] Tit. i. 7.

not give countenance and confidence to a wicked life; for then your doctrine is reprovable for the appendage, and the intrinsic truth or falsehood will not so much be inquired after, as the visible and external objection: if men can reprove it in the outside, they will inquire no further. But, above all things, nothing so much will reproach your doctrine, as if you preach it in a railing dialect; we have had too much of that within these last thirty years. Optatus observes it was the trick of the Donatists, "Nullus vestrûm est, qui non convitia nostra suis tractatibus misceat:" "There is none of you but with his own writings mingles our reproaches;"[m] you begin to read chapters, and you expound them to our injuries; you comment upon the gospel, and revile your brethren that are absent; you imprint hatred and enmity in your people's hearts, and you teach them war when you pretend to make them saints. They that do so, their doctrine is not *ἀκατάγνωστος*; that is the least which can be said. If you will not have your doctrine reprehensible, *do nothing with offence;* and above all offences avoid the doing or saying those things, that give offence to the king and to the laws, to the voice of christendom and the public customs of the church of God. Frame your life and preachings to the canons of the church, to the doctrines of antiquity, to the sense of the ancient and holy fathers. For it is otherwise in theology than it is in other learnings. The experiments of philosophy are rude at first, and the observations weak, and the principles unproved; and he that made the first lock, was not so good a workman as we have now-a-days: but in christian religion, they that were first were best, because God, and not man, was the teacher; and ever since that, we have been unlearning the wise notices of pure religion, and mingling them with human notices and human interest. "Quod primum, hoc verum:" and although concerning antiquity, I may say as he in the tragedy;[n]

Συσσωφρονεῖν σοι βούλομ', ἀλλ' οὐ συννοσεῖν,

I would have you be wise with them, and under them, and follow their faith, but not their errors; yet this can never be of use to us, till antiquity be convicted of an error, by an authority great as her own, or a reason greater, and declared by an authorized master of sentences. But, however, be very tender in reproving a doctrine for which good men and holy have suffered martyrdom, and of which they have made public confession; for nothing reproves a doctrine so much as to venture it abroad with so much scandal and objection: and what reason can any schismatic have against the common prayer-book, able to weigh against that argument of blood, which for the testimony of it was shed by the Queen Mary martyrs? I instance the advice in this particular, but it is true in all things else of the like nature. It was no ill advice, whoever gave it, to the favourite of a prince; "Never make yourself a professed enemy to the church; for their interest is so complicated with the public, and their calling is so dear to God, that one way or other, one time or other, God and man will be their defender."—The same I say concerning authority and antiquity; never do any thing, never say or profess any thing against it: for besides that if you follow their measures, you will be secured in your faith, and in your main duty; even in smaller things they will be sure to carry the cause against you, and no man is able to bear the reproach of singularity. It was in honour spoken of St. Malachias, my predecessor in the see of Down, in his life written by St. Bernard; "Apostolicas sanctiones et decreta Ss. pp. in cunctis ecclesiis statuebat." I hope to do something of this for your help and service, if God gives me life, and health, and opportunity: but for the present, I have done. These rules if you observe, your doctrine will be *ἀκατάγνωστος*, "it will need no pardon;" and *ἀνέγκλητος*, "never to be reproved in judgment." I conclude all with the wise saying of Bensirach: "Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart, that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull straying alone."[o]

[m] Lib. iv. adv. Parmen. [n] Euripides. [o] Ecclus. vi. 2.

A SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE FUNERAL OF THAT WORTHY KNIGHT

SIR GEORGE DALSTON, OF DALSTON IN CUMBERLAND.

Sept. 28, 1657.

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.—1 Cor. xv. 19.

When God, in his infinite and eternal wisdom, had decreed to give to man a life of labour, and a body of mortality; a state of contingency, and a composition of fighting elements; and having designed to be glorified by a free obedience, would also permit sin in the world, and suffer evil men to go on in their wickedness, to prevail in their impious machinations, to vex the souls and grieve the bodies of the righteous, he knew that this would not only be very hard to be suffered by his servants, but also be very difficult to be understood by them who know God to be a "Lawgiver" as well as a "Lord;" a "Judge" as well as a "King;" a "Father" as well as a "Ruler;" and that, in order to his own glory, and for the manifestation of his goodness, he had promised to reward his servants, to give good to them that did good: therefore, to take off all prejudices, and evil resentments, and temptations, which might trouble those good men who suffered evil things,—he was pleased to do two great things which might confirm the faith, and endear the services, and entertain the hopes of them who are indeed his servants, but yet were very ill used in the accidents of this world.

1. The one was, that he sent his Son into the world to take upon him our nature; and him, being the "Captain of our salvation, he would perfect through sufferings;" that no man might think it much to suffer, when God spared not his own Son; and every man might submit to the necessity, when the Christ of God was not exempt; and yet that no man should fear the event which was to follow such sad beginnings, when "it behoved even Christ to suffer, and so to enter into glory."

2. The other great thing was, that God did not only by revelation, and the sermons of the prophets to his church, but even to all mankind competently teach, and effectively persuade, that the soul of man does not die; but that although things were ill here, yet they should be well hereafter; that the evils of this life were short and tolerable, and that to the good, who usually feel most of them, they should end in honour and advantages. And, therefore, Cicero had reason on his side to conclude, that there is to be a time and place after this life, wherein the wicked shall be punished, and the virtuous well rewarded, when he considered that Orpheus and Socrates, Palamedes and Thraseas, Lucretia and Papinian, were either slain or oppressed to death by evil men. But to us christians, εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθές ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, πάνυ ἱκανῶς, ἀποδέδεῖχθαι, as Plato's[a] expression is; we have a necessity to declare, and a demonstration to prove it, when we read that Abel died by the hands of Cain, who was so ignorant, that though he had malice and strength, yet he had scarce art enough to kill him; when we read that John the Baptist, Christ himself, and his apostles, and his whole army of martyrs, died under the violence of evil men; when virtue made good men poor, and free speaking of brave truths made the wise to lose their liberty; when an excellent life hastened an opprobrious death, and the obeying God destroyed ourselves; it was but time to look about for another state of things, where justice should rule, and virtue find her own portion: where the men that were like to God in mercy and justice, should also partake of his felicity; and, therefore, men cast out every line, and turned every stone, and tried every argument, and sometimes proved it well; and when they did not, yet they believed strongly; and they were sure of the thing, even when they were not sure of the argument.

Thus, therefore, would the old priests of the capitol, and the ministers of Apollo, and the mystic persons at their oracles believe, when they made apotheoses of virtuous and braver persons, ascribing every braver man into the number of their gods;

[a] Phæd. c. 37.

Hercules and Romulus, Castor and Pollux, Liber Pater,[b] him that taught the use of vines, and her that taught them the use of corn. For they knew that it must needs be, that they who like to God do excellent things, must like to God have an excellent portion.

This learning they also had from Pherecydes the Syrian, from Pythagoras of Samos, and from Zamolxis the Gete, from the neighbours of Euphrates, and the inhabitants by Ister, who were called ἀθανατίζοντες, "Immortalists;" because, in the midst of all their dark notices of things, they saw this clearly, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἀποθανοῦνται, ἀλλὰ ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον, ἵνα ἔχωσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά; "that virtuous and good men do not die, but their souls do go into blessed regions, where they shall enjoy all good things;" and it was never known that ever any good man was of another opinion. Hercules and Themistocles, Epaminondas and Cicero, Socrates and Cimon, Ennius and Phidias, all the flower of mankind have preached this truth. Κυρίοτερα τὰ τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν μαντεύματα, ἢ τὰ τῶν μὴ· οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστατοι πάντα ποιοῦσιν, ὁπῶς ἂν ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὖ ἀκούωσιν. "The discoursings and prophesyings of divine men are much more proper and excellent than of others, because they do equal and good things, until the time comes that they shall hear well for them:" τεκμήριον δὲ ποιοῦμαι, ὅτι ἐστί τις αἴσθησις τεθνεῶσ τῶν ἐνθάδε· αἱ δὲ βέλτισται ψυχαὶ μαντεύονται ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· αἱ δὲ μοχθηρόταται οὐ φασίν. "And this is the sign, that when we die we have life and discerning; because though the wicked care not for believing it, yet all the prophets and the poets, the wise and the brave heroes say so;" they are the words of Plato. For though that which is compounded of elements, returns to its material and corruptible principles, yet the soul, which is a particle of the Divine breath, returns to its own Divine original, where there is no death or dissolution; and because the understanding is neither hot nor cold, it hath no moisture in it, and no dryness, it follows that it hath nothing of those substances, concerning which alone we know that they are corruptible. There is nothing corruptible that we know of, but the four elements, and their sons and daughters; nothing dies that can discourse, that can reflect in perfect circles upon their own imperfect actions; nothing can die that can see God, and converse with spirits, that can govern by laws and wise propositions. For fire and water can be tyrannical, but not govern; they can bear every thing down that stands before them, and rush like the people; but not rule like judges, and therefore they perish as tumults are dissolved. Λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινωνεῖ σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια· says Aristotle:[c] "But the soul only comes from abroad, from a Divine principle; (for so saith the scripture, —'God breathed into Adam the spirit of life;') and that which in operation does not communicate with the body," shall have no part in its corruption.

Thus far they were right; but when they descended to particulars, they fell into error. That the rewards of virtue were to be hereafter, that they were sure of; that the soul was to survive the calamities of this world, and the death of the body, that they were sure of; and upon this account they did bravely and virtuously: and yet they that thought best amongst them, believed that the souls departed should be reinvested with other bodies, according to the dispositions and capacities of this life.

Thus Orpheus, who sang well, should transmigrate into a swan; and the soul of Thamyris, who had as good a voice as he, should wander till it were confined to the body of a nightingale; Ajax to a lion, Agamemnon to an eagle, tyrant princes into wolves and hawks, the lascivious into asses and goats, the drunkards into swine, the crafty statesmen into bees and pismires, and Thersites to an ape. This fancy of theirs prevailed much amongst the common people, and the uninstructed amongst the Jews: for when Christ appeared so glorious in miracle, Herod presently fancied him to be the soul of John the Baptist in another body; and the common people said he was Elias, or Jeremias, or one of the old prophets. And true it is, that although God was pleased, in all times, to communicate to mankind notices of the other world, sufficient to encourage virtues, and to contest against the rencounters of the world,—yet he was ever sparing in telling the secrets of it; and when St. Paul had his rapture into heaven, he saw fine things, and heard strange words, but they were ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα, "words that he could not speak," and secrets that he could not understand, and secrets that he could not communicate. For as a man staring upon the broad eye of the sun at his noon of solstice, feels his heat, and dwells in light, and loses the sight of his eyes, and perceives nothing distinctly; but the organ is confounded, and the faculty amazed with too big a beauty: so was St. Paul in his ecstasy; he saw that he could see nothing to be told below, and he perceived the glories were too big for flesh and blood, and that the beauties of separate souls were not to be understood by the soul in conjunction; and, therefore, after all the fine things that he saw, we only know what we knew before, viz. that the soul can live when the body is dead; that it can subsist without the body; that there are very great glories reserved for them that serve God; that they who die in Christ, shall live with him; that the body is a prison, and the soul is in fetters, while we are alive; and that when the body dies, the soul springs and leaps from her prison, and enters into the first liberty of the sons of God. Now much of this did rely upon the same argument, upon which the wise gentiles of old concluded the immortality of the soul; even because we are here very miserable and very poor: we are sick, and we are afflicted; we do well, and we are disgraced; we speak well, and we are derided; we tell truths, and few believe us; but the proud are exalted, and the wicked are delivered, and evil men reign over us, and the covetous snatch our little bundles of money from us, and the "fiscus" gathers our rents; and every where the wisest and the best men are op-

[b] Horace.

[c] De. gen. an. lib.

pressed; but, therefore, because it is thus, and thus it is not well, we hope for some great good thing hereafter. "For if, in this life only, we had hope," —then we christians, all we to whom persecution is allotted for our portion, we who must be patient under the cross, and receive injuries, and say nothing but prayers,—"we certainly were of all men the most miserable."

Well then: in this life we see plainly that our portion is not; here we have hopes; but not here only, we shall go into another place, where we shall have more hopes: our faith shall have more evidence, it shall be of things seen afar off; and our hopes shall be of more certainty and perspicuity, and next to possession; we shall have very much good, and be very sure of much more. Here then are three propositions to be considered.

1. The servants of God in this world are very miserable, were it not for their hopes of what is to come hereafter.

2. Though this be a place of hopes, yet we have not our hopes only here. "If in this life only we had hopes," saith the apostle; meaning, that in another life also we have hopes; not only *metonymically*, taking hopes for the thing we hope for; but *properly*, and for the acts, objects, and causes of hope. In this state of separation the godly shall have the vast joys of a certain intuitive hope, according to their several proportions and capacities.

3. The consummation and perfection of their felicity, when all their miseries shall be changed into glories, is in the world to come, after the resurrection of the dead; which is the main thing which St. Paul here intends.

1. The servants of God in this life are calamitous and afflicted; they must live under the cross. "He that will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me," said our glorious Lord and Master. And we see this prophetic precept, (for it is both a prophecy and a commandment, and, therefore, shall be obeyed whether we will or no,) but I say, we see it verified by the experience of every day. For here the violent oppress the meek; and they that are charitable, shall receive injuries. The apostles who preached Christ crucified, were themselves persecuted, and put to violent deaths; and christianity itself, for three hundred years, was the public hatred; and yet then it was that men loved God best, and suffered more for him; then they did most good, and least of evil. In this world, men thrive by villany; and lying and deceiving is accounted just; and to be rich is to be wise; and tyranny is honourable; and though little thefts, and petty mischiefs, are interrupted by the laws; yet if a mischief become public and great, acted by princes, and effected by armies, and robberies be done by whole fleets, it is virtue, and it is glory: it fills the mouths of fools that wonder, and employs the pens of witty men that eat the bread of flattery. How many thousand bottles of tears, and how many millions of sighs does God every day record, while the oppressed and the poor pray unto him, worship him, speak great things of his holy name, study to please him, beg for helps that they may become gracious in his eyes, and are so, and yet never sing in all their life, but when they sing God's praises out of duty, with a sad heart and a hopeful spirit, living only upon the future, weary of to-day, and sustained only by the hope of to-morrow's event! and after all, their eyes are dim with weeping and looking upon distances, as knowing they shall never be happy till the "new heavens and the new earth" appear.

But I need not instance in the "miserabili," in them that dwell in dungeons, and lay their head in places of trouble and disease: take those servants of God who have greatest plenty, who are encircled with blessings, whom this world calls prosperous, and see if they have not fightings within, and crosses without, contradiction of accidents, and perpetuity of temptations, the devil assaulting them, and their own weakness betraying them; fears encompassing them round about, lest they lose the favour of God, and shame sitting heavily upon them, when they remember how often they talk foolishly, and lose their duty, and dishonour their greatest relations, and walk unworthy of those glories which they would fain obtain; and all this is besides the unavoidable accidents of mortality, sickly bodies, troublesome times, changes of government, loss of interests, unquiet and peevish accidents round about them: so that when they consider to what they are primarily obliged; that they must in some instances deny their appetite, in others they must quit their relations, in all they must deny themselves, when their natural or secular danger tempts to sin and danger; and that for the support of their wills, and the strengthening their resolutions, against the arguments and solicitation of passions, they have nothing but the promises of another world; they will easily see that all the splendour of their condition, which fools admire, and wise men use temperately, and handle with caution, as they try the edge of a razor, is so far from making them recompence for the sufferings of this world, that the reserves and expectations of the next is, that conjugation of aids, by which only they can well and wisely bear the calamities of their present plenty.

But if we look round about us, and see how many righteous causes are oppressed, how many good men are reproached, how religion is persecuted, upon what strange principles the greatest princes of the world transact their greatest affairs, how easily they make wars, and how suddenly they break leagues; and at what expense, and vast pensions, they corrupt each other's officers; and how the greatest part of mankind watches to devour one another: and they that are devoured are commonly the best, the poor and the harmless, the gentle and uncrafty, the simple and religious; and then how many ways all good men are exposed to danger; and that our scene of duty lies as much in passive graces as in active; it must be confessed that this is a place of wasps and insects, of vipers and dragons, of tigers and bears; but the sheep are eaten by men, or devoured by wolves and foxes, or die of the rot; and when they do not, yet every year they redeem their lives by giving their fleece and their

milk, and must die, when their death will pay the charges of the knife.

Now, from this, I say, it was that the very heathen, Plutarch and Cicero, Pythagoras and Hierocles, Plato, and many others, did argue and conclude, that there must be a day of recompences to come hereafter, which would set all right again: and from hence also our blessed Saviour himself did convince the Sadducees in their fond and pertinacious denying of the resurrection: for that is the meaning of that argument, which our blessed Lord did choose as being clearly and infallibly the aptest of any in the Old Testament, to prove the resurrection; and though the deduction is not at first so plain and evident, yet upon nearer intuition, the interpretation is easy, and the argument excellent and proper.

For it is observed by the learned among the Jews, that when God is by way of particular relation, and especial benediction, appropriated to any one, it is intended that God is to him "a rewarder and benefactor," Θεὸς εὐεργέτης, Θεὸς μισθαποδότης; for that is the first thing and the last, that every man believes and feels of God; and, therefore, St. Paul sums up the gentiles' creed in this compendium: "He that cometh to God, must believe that God is; and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."[c] And as it is in the indefinite expression, so it is in the limited; as it is in the absolute, so also in the relative. God is the rewarder; and to be their God, is to be their rewarder, to be their benefactor, and their gracious Lord. "Ego ero Deus vester,"—"I will be your God;" that is, "I will do good," says Aben Esra: and Philo; τὸ δὲ Θεὸς αἰώνιος ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ, ὁ χαριζόμενος, οὐ τότε μὲν, πότε δὲ οὐ, ἀεὶ δὲ, καὶ συνεχῶς. "The everlasting God, that is, as if he had said, one that will do you good; not sometimes some, and sometimes none at all, but frequently, and for ever:" and this we find also observed by St. Paul: "Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God;"[d] and that by which the relative appellative is verified, is the consequent benefit; He is "called their God; for he hath provided for them a city."

Upon this account, the argument of our blessed Saviour is this: "God is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;" that is, the gracious God, the benefactor, the rewarder; and, therefore, Abraham is not dead, but is fallen asleep, and he shall be restored in the resurrection to receive those blessings and rewards, by the title of which, God was called the "God of Abraham." For in this world Abraham had not that harvest of blessings, which is consigned by that glorious appellative; he was an exile from his country; he stood far off from the possession of his hopes; he lived in ambulatory life; he spent most of his days without an heir; he had a constant piety; and at the latter end of his life, one great blessing was given him; and because that was allayed by the anger of his wife, and the expulsion of his handmaid, and the ejection of Ishmael, and the danger of the lad; and his great calamity about the matter of Isaac's sacrifice; and all his faith, and patience, and piety, was rewarded with nothing but promises of things a great way off; and before the possession of them, he went out of this world: it is undeniably certain that God, who, after the departure of the patriarchs, did still love to be called "their God," did intend to signify that they should be restored to a state of life, and a capacity of those greatest blessings, which were the foundation of that title and that relation. "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;" but God is the God of Abraham, and the other patriarchs; therefore they are not dead; dead to this world, but alive to God; that is, though this life be lost, yet they shall have another and a better; a life in which God shall manifest himself to be their God, to all the purposes of benefit and eternal blessings.

This argument was summed up by St. Peter, and the sense of it is thus rendered by St. Clement, the bishop of Rome, as himself testifies: "Si Deus est justus, animus est immortalis;" which is perfectly rendered by the words of my text, "If in this life only we have hope, then are we of all men the most miserable;" because this cannot be, that God who is just and good, should suffer them that heartily serve him, to be really and finally miserable; and yet in this world they are so, very frequently; therefore, in another world, they shall live to receive a full recompence of reward.

Neither is this so to be understood, as if the servants of God were so wholly forsaken of him in this world, and so permitted to the malice of evil men, or the asperities of fortune, that they have not many refreshments, and great comforts, and the perpetual festivities of a holy conscience; for "God my maker is he that giveth songs in the night," said Elihu;[e] that is, God, as a reward, giveth a cheerful spirit, and makes a man to sing with joy, when other men are sad with the solemn darkness, and with the affrights of conscience, and with the illusions of the night. But God, who intends vast portions of felicity to his children, does not reckon these little joys into the account of the portion of his elect. The good things which they have in this world, are not little, if we account the joys of religion, and the peace of conscience, amongst things valuable; yet whatsoever it is, all of it, all the blessings of themselves, and of their posterity, and of their relatives, for their sakes, are cast in for intermedial entertainments; but "their good" and their prepared portion shall be hereafter. But for the evil itself, which they must suffer and overcome, it is such a portion of this life, as our blessed Saviour had; injuries and temptations, care and persecutions, poverty and labour, humility and patience: it is well; it is very well; and who can long for or expect better here, when his Lord and Saviour had a state of things, so very much worse than the worst of our calamities? but bad as it is, it is to be chosen rather than a better; because it is the high way of the cross; it is Jacob's ladder, upon which the saints and the King of saints did descend, and at last ascend to heaven itself; and bad as it is, it is the method and inlet to the best; it is a sharp,

[c] Heb. xi. 6. [d] Heb. xi. 16. [e] Job xxxv. 10.

but it is a short step to bliss: for it is remarkable, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, that the poor man, the afflicted saint, died first, Dives being permitted to his purple and fine linen, to his delicious fare, and (which he most of all needed) to a space of repentance: but, in the mean time, the poor man was rescued from his sad portion of this life, and carried into Abraham's bosom; where he who was denied in this world to be feasted even with the portion of dogs, was placed in the bosom of the patriarch, that is, in the highest room; for so it was in their "discubitus," or lying down to meat, the chief guest, the most beloved person, did lean upon the bosom of the master of the feast; so St. John did lean upon the breast of Jesus, and so did Lazarus upon the breast of Abraham; or else κόλπος Ἀβραὰμ, "sinus Abrahami," may be rendered "the bay of Abraham," alluding to the place of rest, where ships put in after a tempestuous and dangerous navigation; the storm was quickly over with the poor man, and the angel of God brought the good man's soul to a safe port, where he should be disturbed no more: and so saith the Spirit; "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours."

But this brings me to the second great inquiry; if here we live upon hopes, and that this is a place of hopes, but not this only; what other place is there, where we shall be blessed in our hope, where we shall rest from our labour and our fear, and have our hopes in perfection; that is all the pleasures which can come from the greatest and the most excellent hope?

"Not in this life only:"—So my text. Therefore hereafter; as soon as we die; as soon as ever the soul goes from the body it is blessed. *Blessed*, I say, but not *perfect*: it rejoices in peace and a holy hope: here we have hopes mingled with fear, there our hope is heightened with joy and confidence; it is all the comfort that can be, in the expectation of unmeasurable joys: it is only, not fruition, not the joys of a perfect possession; but less than that, it is, every good thing else.

But that I may make my way plain: I must first remove an objection, which seems to overthrow this whole affair. St Paul intends these words of my text, as an argument to prove the resurrection; we shall rise again with our bodies; for "if in this life only we had hope, then we were of all men most miserable;" meaning, that unless there be a resurrection, there is no good for us any where else; but if "they who die in the Lord," were happy before the resurrection, then we were not of all men most miserable, though there were to be no resurrection; for the godly are presently happy. So that one must fail; either the resurrection, or the intermedial happiness; the proof of one relies upon the destruction of the other; and because we can no other ways be happy, therefore there shall be a resurrection.

To this I answer, that if the godly, instantly upon their dissolution, had the vision beatifical, it is very true, that they were not most miserable, though there be no resurrection of the dead, though the body were turned into its original nothing: for the joys of the sight of God would, in the soul alone, make them infinite recompence for all the sufferings of this world. But that which the saints have after their dissolution, being only the comforts of a holy hope, the argument remains good: for these intermedial hopes being nothing at all, but in relation to the resurrection, these hopes do not destroy, but confirm it rather; and if the resurrection were not to be, we should neither have any hopes here, nor hopes hereafter, and therefore the apostle's word is, "If here only we had hopes;" that is, if our hopes only related to this life; but because our hopes only relate to the life to come, and even after this life we are still but in the regions of an enlarged hope, this life and that interval are both but the same argument to infer a resurrection: for they are the hopes of that state, and the joys of those hopes, and it is the comfort of that joy, which makes them blessed who die in the love of God, and the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus.

And now to the proposition itself.

In the state of separation, the souls departed perceive the blessing and comfort of their labours; they are alive after death; and after death, immediately they find great refreshments. "Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum mortis:" "The torments of death shall not touch the souls of the righteous, because they are in the hands of God."[f] And fifteen hundred years after the death of Moses, we find him talking with our blessed Saviour in his transfiguration upon mount Tabor: and as Moses was then, so are all the saints immediately after death, "præsentes apud Dominum," "they are present with the Lord;" and to be so, is not a state of death; and yet of this it is, that St. Paul affirms it to be much better than to be alive.

And this was the undoubted sentence of the Jews before Christ, and since; and therefore our blessed Saviour told the converted thief, that he should "that day be with him in paradise." Now without peradventure, he spake so as he was to be understood: meaning by "paradise," that which the schools and pulpits of the Rabbins did usually speak of it. By paradise, till the time of Esdras, it is certain, the Jews only meant the blessed garden, in which God only placed Adam and Eve: but in the time of Esdras, and so downword, when they spake distinctly of things to happen after this life, and began to signify their new discoveries, and modern philosophy by names, they called the state of souls, expecting the resurrection of their bodies, by the name of גן ערן, "the garden of Eden." Hence came that form of comprecation and blessing to the soul of an Israelite, "Sit anima ejus in horto Eden," "Let his soul be in the garden of Eden;" and in their solemn prayers at the time of their death, they were wont to say, "Let his soul rest; and let his sleep be in peace, until the Comforter shall come, and open the gates of paradise unto him:" expressly distinguishing paradise from the state of the resurrection: and so it is evident, in the intercourse on the cross, between Christ and the converted thief. "That day both were to be in paradise;" but Christ himself was not then ascended into heaven, and there-

[f] Wisd. iii. 1.

fore paradise was no part of that region, where Christ now, and hereafter the saints, shall reign in glory. For παράδεισος did, by use and custom, signify "any place of beauty and pleasure." So the LXX read Eccles. ii. 5. "I made me gardens and orchards," "I made me a paradise," so it is in the Greek; and Cicero[g] having found this strange word in Xenophon, renders it by "conseptum agrum ac diligenter consitum:" "a field well hedged and set with flowers and fruit."—"Vivarium," Gellius renders it, "a place to keep birds and beasts alive for pleasure." Pollux says this word was Persian by its original; yet because by traduction it became a Hebrew, we may best learn the meaning of it from the Jews, who used it most often, and whose sense we better understand. Their meaning, therefore, was this; that as paradise, or the garden of Eden, was a place of great beauty, pleasure, and tranquillity; so the state of separate souls was a state of peace and excellent delights. So Philo allegorically does expound paradise. Λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ φύτα εἶναι μηδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως. "For the trees that grow in paradise are not like ours, but they bring forth knowledge, and life, and immortality."—It is, therefore, more than probable, that when the converted thief heard our blessed Saviour speak of "paradise," or "Gan Eden," he who was a Jew, and heard that on that day he should be there, understood the meaning to be, that he should be there where all the good Jews did believe the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to be placed. As if Christ had said; Though you only ask to be remembered when I come into my kingdom, not only that shall be performed in time, but even to-day thou shalt have great refreshment; and this the Hellenish Jews called ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παραδείσου, "the rest of paradise:" and παράκλησιν, "the comfort" of paradise; the word being also warranted from that concerning Lazarus; παρακαλεῖται, "he is comforted."

But this we learn more perfectly from the raptures of St. Paul: "He knew a man" (meaning himself) "rapt up into the third heaven: and I knew such a man how that he was caught up into paradise."[h] The raptures and visions were distinct; for St. Paul being a Jew, and speaking after the manner of his nation, makes "paradise" a distinct thing from "the third heaven." For the Jews deny any "orbes" to be in heaven; but they make three regions only, the one of clouds, the second of stars, and the third of angels. To this third or supreme heaven was St. Paul rapt; but he was also borne to paradise, to another place distinct and separate by time and station; for by paradise his countrymen never understood the third heaven. But there also it was that he heard τὰ ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα, "unspeakable words, great glorifications of God, huge excellencies, such which he might not or could not utter below. The effect of these considerations is this; that although the saints are not yet admitted to the blessings consequent to a happy resurrection, yet they have the intermedial entertainments of a present and a great joy.

To this purpose are those words to be understood: "To him that overcomes, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."[i] That is, if I may have leave to expound these words, to mean what the Jews did about that time understand by such words: δένδρον τῆς ζωῆς, "the tree of life," does signify the principle of peace and holiness, of wisdom and comforts for ever. Philo, expounding it, calls it τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν θεοσεβείαν, δι' ἧς ἀθανατίζεται ἡ ψυχή: "The worship of God, the greatest of all virtues, by which the soul is made to live for ever:" as if by eating of this tree of life in the paradise of God, they did mean, that they who die well, shall immediately be feasted with the deliciousness of a holy conscience, which the Spirit of God expresses by saying, "They shall walk up and down in white garments, and their works shall follow them;" their tree of life shall germinate; they shall then feel the comforts of having done good works; a sweet remembrance and a holy peace shall caress and feast them, and there they shall "walk up and down in white;"[k] that is, as candidates of the resurrection to immortality.

And this allegory of the garden of Eden and paradise was so heartily pursued by the Jews, to represent the state of separation, that the Essenes describe that state by the circumstances and ornaments of a blessed garden: Χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις, οὔτε νιφετοῖς, οὔτε κύμασι βαρυνόμενον: "a region that is not troubled with clouds or showers, or storms or blasts:" ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ πρανὴς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων ἀναψυχει; "but a place which is perpetually refreshed with delicious breaths." This was it which the heathens did dream concerning the Elysian fields; for all the notices περι ᾅδου, concerning the regions of separate souls, came into Greece from the barbarians, says Diodorus Siculus; and Tertullian observes, although we call that paradise, which is a place appointed to receive the souls of the saints, and that this is separated from the notices of the world by a wall of fire, a portion of the torrid zone (which he supposes to be meant by the flaming sword of the angel placed at the gates of paradise); yet, says he, the Elysian fields have already possessed the faith and opinions of men. All comes from the same fountain, the doctrine of the old synagogue, confirmed by the words of Christ and the commentaries of the apostles; viz. that after death, before the day of judgment, there is a paradise for God's servants, a region of rest, of comfort, and holy expectations. And, therefore, it is remarkable that these words of the psalmist, "Ne rapias me in medio dierum meorum;"[l] "snatch me not away in the midst of my days:" in the Hebrew it is, "Ne facias me ascendere;" "make me not to ascend," or to go upwards; meaning, to the supernatural regions of separate souls, who, after death, are in their beginnings of exultation. For to them that die in the Lord, death is a preferment, it is a part of their great good fortune; for death hath not only lost the sting, but it brings a coronet in his hand, which will invest and adorn the heads of

[g] De Sen. xvii. [h] 2 Cor. ii. 3. [i] Rev. ii. 7. [k] Rev. iii. 4, 5. and xiv. 13. [l] Psal. cii. 25.

saints, till that day come in which the crown of righteousness shall be brought forth, to give them the investiture of an everlasting kingdom.

But that I may take up this proposition useful and clear, I am to add some things by way of supplement.

1. This place of separation was called "paradise" by the Jews, and by Christ, and after Christ's ascension, by St. John, because it signifies a place of pleasure and rest; and, therefore, by the same analogy, the word may be still used in all the periods of the world, though the circumstances, or though the state of things, be changed. It is generally supposed that this had a proper name, and in the Old Testament was called "Abraham's bosom;" that is, the region where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob did dwell, till the coming of Christ. But I suppose myself to have great reason to dissent from this common opinion; for this word of "Abraham's bosom," being but once used in both the Testaments, and then particularly applied to the person of Lazarus, must needs signify the eminence and privilege of joy that Lazarus had; for all that were in the blessed state of separation, were not in "Abraham's bosom," but only the best and most excellent persons; but they were *μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ*, "with Abraham;" and the analogy of the phrase to the manner of the Jewish feasting, where the best guest did lie in the bosom of the master, that is, had the best place, makes it most reasonable to believe that "Abraham's bosom" does not signify the general state of separation, even of the blessed, but the choicest place in that state, a greater degree of blessedness. But because he is the father of the faithful, therefore, to be with Abraham, or to sit down with Abraham, in the time of the Old Testament, did signify the same thing as to be in paradise; but to be in "Abraham's bosom" signifies a great eminence of place and comfort, which is indulged to the most excellent and the most afflicted.

2. Although the state of separation may now also, and is by St. John called paradise, because the allegory still holds perfectly, as signifying comfort and holy pleasures; yet the spirits of good men are not to be said "to be with Abraham," but "to be with Christ;" and as being with Abraham was the specification of the more general word of paradise in the Old Testament, so "being with Christ" is the specification of it in the New. So St. Stephen prayed, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and St. Paul said, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ;" which expression St. Polycarp also used in his epistle to the Philippians, *ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον, εἰσὶ παρὰ Κυρίῳ*; "they are in the place that is due to them, they are with the Lord;" that is, in the hands, in the custody of the Lord Jesus; as appears in the words of St. Stephen and St. Paul. So St. Jerome; "Scimus Nepotianum nostrum esse cum Christo, et sanctorum mixtum choris:" "We know that our Nepotian is with Christ, mingled in the choirs of saints." Upon this account (and it is not at all unreasonable) the church hath conjectured, that the state of separate souls, since the glorification of our Lord, is much bettered and advanced, and their comforts greater; because, as before Christ's coming, the expectation of the saints that slept, was fixed upon the revelation of the Messias in his first coming, so now it is upon the second coming unto judgment, and in his glory. This improvement of their condition is well intimated by their being said to be under the altar; that is, under the protection of Christ, under the powers and benefits of his priesthood, by which he makes continual intercession both for them and us. This place some of the old doctors understood too literally, and from hence they believed that the souls of departed saints were under their material altars; which fancy produced that fond decree of the council of Eliberis,[m] that wax lights should not by day be burnt in cemeteries, "inquietandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt:" "lest the spirits of saints should, by the light of the diurnal tapers, be disquieted." This reason, though it be trifling and impertinent, yet it declares their opinion, that they supposed their souls to be near their relics, which were placed under the altars. But better than this their state is described by St. John, in these words: "Therefore they are before the throne of God, and serve him night and day in his temple, and he that sits upon the throne shall dwell among them." With which general words, as being modest bounds to our inquiries, enough to tell us it is rarely well, but enough also to chastise all curious questions, let us remain content; and labour with faith and patience, with hope and charity, to be made worthy to partake of those comforts, after which when we have long inquired, when at last we come to try what they are, we shall find them much better, and much otherwise than we imagine.

3. I am to admonish this also, that although our blessed Saviour is, in the creed, said to descend *εἰς ᾅδου*, "into hell" (so we render it); yet this does not at all prejudice his other words, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise:" for the word *εἰς ᾅδου* signifies indefinitely the state of separation, whether blessed or accursed; it means only "the invisible place," or the region of darkness, whither whoso descends shall be no more seen. For as among the heathens the "Elysian fields," and "Tartara," are both *ἐν ᾅδου*; so amongst the Jews and christians, "paradisus" and "gehenna" are the distinct states of hades. Of the first we have a plain testimony in Diphilus:

> *Καὶ γὰρ καθ' ᾅδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν,*
> *Μίαν δικαίων, κἀτέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδόν.*

"In hades there are two ways, one for just men, and another for the impious." Of the second we have the testimony of Josephus, who speaking of the Sadducees, says, *τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσι*, "they take away or deny the rewards and punishments respectively which are in hades," or in the state of separation; so that if Christ's soul was in paradise, he was in hades. In vain, therefore, does St. Austin torment himself to tell how Christ could be in both places at once, when it is no harder than to tell how a man

[m] Can. iii. 4.

may be in England and London at the same time.

4. It is observable, that in the mentions of paradise by St. John, he twice speaks of "the tree of life," but never of "the tree of knowledge of good and evil;" because this was the symbol of secular knowledge, of prudence and skill of doing things of this world, which we can naturally use; we may smell and taste them, but not feed upon them; that is, these are no part of our enjoyment; and if we be given up to the study of such notices, and be immerged in the things of this world, we cannot attend to the studies of religion and of the Divine service. But these cares and secular divertisements shall cease, when our souls are placed in paradise; there shall be no care taken for raising portions for our children, nor to provide bread for our tables; no cunning contrivances to be safe from the crafty snare of an enemy; no amazement at losses, no fear of slanderings or of the gripes of publicans; but we shall feed on the tree of life, love of God, and longings for the coming of Christ: we are then all spirit, and our employment shall be symbolical, that is, spiritual, holy, and pleasant.

I have now made it as evident as questions of this nature will bear, that in the state of separation, the spirits of good men shall be blessed and happy souls,—they have an antepast or taste of their reward; but their great reward itself, their crown of righteousness, shall not be yet; that shall not be until the day of judgment; and this was the third proposition I undertook to prove; the consummation and perfection of the saints' felicity shall be at the resurrection of the dead.

Ἐν παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, "at his coming;" so St. John expresses the time, "that we may not then be ashamed: for now we are the sons of God, but it does not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, and see him as he is."[n] At his glorious appearing, we shall also appear glorious; we shall see him as he is; but till then, this beatific vision shall not be at all; but for the interval, the case is otherwise. Tertullian affirms, "Puniri et foveri animam interim in inferis, sub exspectatione utriusque judicii, in quâdam usurpatione et candidâ ejus:" "the souls are punished or refreshed in their regions, expecting the day of their judgment and several sentences."[o] "Habitacula illa, animarum promptuaria, nominavit Scriptura," saith St. Ambrose: "the Scripture calls these habitations, the promptuaries or repositories of souls."[p] There is comfort, but not the full reward; a certain expectation, supported with excellent intervals of joy: "refrigerium," so the Latins call it, "a refreshment." "Donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat, tunc apparituræ cœlesti promissione," saith Tertullian: "until the consummation of all things points out the resurrection, by the fulness of reward, and the appearing of the heavenly promise." So the author of the questions "ad orthodoxos:"[q] "Immediately after death, presently there is a separation of the just from the unjust; for they are borne by angels εἰς ἀξίους αὐτῶν τόπους, "into the places they have deserved;" and they are in those places φυλαττόμεναι ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας της ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως, "kept unto the day of resurrection and retribution." But what do they in the mean time? how is it with them? Θαυμασίαν τίνα ἡδονὴν ἥδεται, καὶ ἀγάλλεται, says Nazianzen:[r] "they rejoice and are delighted in a wonderful joy." "They see angels and archangels, they converse with them, and see our blessed Saviour Jesus in his glorified humanity:" so Justin Martyr.[s] But in these great joys they look for greater. They are now "in paradiso," but they long that the body and soul may be in heaven together; but this is the glory of the day of judgment, the fruit of the resurrection. And this whole affair is agreeable to reason and the analogy of the whole dispensation, as it is generally and particularly described in Scripture.

For when the greatest effect of the Divine power, the mightiest promise, that hardest thing to christian faith, that impossible thing to gentile philosophy, the expectation of the whole world, the new creation, when that shall come to pass, viz. that the souls shall be reinvested with their bodies, when the ashes of dissolved bones shall stand up a new and living frame, to suppose that then there shall be nothing done in order to eternity, but to publish the salvation of saints, of which they were possessed before, is to make a great solemnity for nothing, to do great things for no great end, and therefore, it is not reasonable to suppose it.

For if it were a good argument of the apostle, that the patriarchs and saints of the Old Testament received not the promises signified by Canaan and the land of promise, because "God hath provided some better thing for us, that without us they should not be made perfect," it must also conclude of all alike; that they who died since Christ, must stay till the last day, that they and we and all may be made perfect together. And this very thing was told to the spirits of the martyrs, who under the altar cried, "How long, O Lord,"[t] &c. that they should "rest yet for a little season," until their fellow-servants also shall be fulfilled.

Upon this account it is, that the day of judgment is a day of recompence. So said our blessed Lord himself: "Thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."[u] And this is the day in which all things shall be restored; for "the heavens must receive Jesus till the time of restitution of all things:"[x] and till then, the reward "is said to be laid up." So St. Paul: "Henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the righteous Judge shall give me in that day." And that you may know he means the resurrection and the day of judgment, he adds; "and not to me only, but to all them that love his coming;"[y] of whom it is certain many shall be alive at that day, and therefore cannot, before that

[n] 1 John ii. 28. iii. 4.
[o] Lib. de Anima. et lib. adv. Marcion.
[p] De Bono Mortis, cap. 10.
[q] Quæst. 75.
[r] Orat. Funebr. Cæsar. Fratris.
[s] Ubi suprà.
[t] Rev. vi. 10.
[u] Luke xiv. 14.
[x] Acts iii. 7.
[y] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

day, receive the crown of righteousness: and then also, and not till then, shall be his appearing; but till then, it is a "depositum." The sum is this: in the world, we walk and live by faith; in the state of separation, we live by hope; and in the resurrection, we shall live by an eternal charity. Here we see God as "in a glass, darkly:" in the separation we shall behold him, but it is afar off; and after the resurrection we shall see him "face to face," in the everlasting comprehensions of an intuitive beatitude. In this life we are warriors; in the separation we are conquerors; but we shall not triumph till after the resurrection.

And in proportion to this is also the state of devils and damned spirits. "Art thou come to torment us before the time," said the devils to our blessed Saviour. There is for them also an appointed time, and when that is we learn from St. Jude:[z] "They are reserved in chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." Well, therefore, did St. James affirm, "that the devils believe and tremble;" and so do the damned souls, with an insupportable amazement, fearing the revelation of that day. They know that day will come, and they know they shall find an intolerable sentence on that day; and they fear infinitely, and are in amazement and confusion, feeling the worm of conscience, and are in the state of devils, who fear God and hate him; they tremble, but they love him not; and yet they die because they would not love him, because they would not with their powers and strengths keep his commandments.

This doctrine, though of late it hath been laid aside, upon the interest of the church of Rome, and for compliance with some other schools, yet was it universally the doctrine of the primitive church; as appears out of Justin Martyr, who, in his dialogues with Tryphon, reckons this amongst the ἑτεροδοξίαι, "errors" of some men, who say there shall be no resurrection of the dead; but that, as soon as good men are dead, τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, "their souls are taken up immediately into heaven." And the writer of the questions "ad orthodoxos," asks,[a] whether, before the resurrection, there shall be a reward of works? because to the thief paradise was promised *that day*. He answers: "It was fit the thief should go to paradise, and there perceive what things should be given to the works of faith; but there he is kept, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως, "until the day of resurrection and reward." But in paradise the soul hath an intellectual perception, both of herself, and of those things which are under her.

Concerning which I shall not need to heap up testimonies. This only: it is the doctrine of the Greek church unto this day; and was the opinion of the greatest part of the ancient church, both Latin and Greek; and by degrees was, in the west, eaten out by the doctrine of purgatory and invocation of saints; and rejected a little above two hundred years ago, in the council of Florence; and since that time it hath been more generally taught, that the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision before the resurrection, even presently upon the dissolution. According to which new opinion, it will be impossible to understand the meaning of my text, and of divers other places of Scripture, which I have now alleged and explicated; or at all to perceive the economy and dispensation of the day of judgment; or how it can be a day of discerning; or how the reapers (the angels) shall bind up the wicked into bundles, and throw them into the unquenchable fire; or yet how it can be useful, or necessary, or prudent for Christ to give a solemn sentence upon all the world; and how it can be, that that day should be so formidable and full of terrors, when nothing can affright those that have long enjoyed the beatific presence of God; and no thunders or earthquakes can affright them, who have upon them the biggest evil in the world, I mean the damned, who, according to this opinion, have been in hell for many ages: and it can mean nothing but to them that are alive; and then it is but a particular, not a universal judgment; and after all it can pretend to no piety, to no Scripture, to no reason, and only can serve the ends of the church of Rome, who can no way better be confuted in their invocations of saints than by this truth, that the saints do not yet enjoy the beatific vision; and though they are in a state of ease and comfort, yet are not in a state of power and glory and kingdom, till the day of judgment.

This also perfectly does overthrow the doctrine of purgatory. For as the saints departed are not perfect, and therefore certainly not to be invocated, not to be made our patrons and advocates; so neither are they in such a condition as to be in torment; and it is impossible that any wise man should believe, that the souls of good men after death should endure the sharp pains of hell, and yet at the same time believe those words of Scripture, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."[b] If they can rest in beds of fire, and sing hymns of glory in the torments of the damned, if their labours are done when their pains are almost infinite, then these words of the Spirit of God, and that doctrine of purgatory, can be reconciled; else never to eternal ages. But it is certain they are words that cannot deceive us: "Non tanget eos tormentum mortis:" "torment in death shall never touch them."

But having established the proposition, and the intended sense of the text, let us awhile consider,

1. That God is our God when we die, if we be his servants while we live: and to be our God signifies very much good to us. He will rescue us from the powers of hell; the devil shall have no part or portion in us; we shall be kept in safe custody, we shall be in the hands of Christ, out of which all the powers of hell shall never snatch us; and therefore we may die with confidence, if we die with a good conscience; we have no cause of fear, if we have just grounds to hope for pardon. The Turks have a saying, that the christians do not believe themselves, when they talk such glorious

[z] Cap. vi. [a] Qu. 76. Q. 60. Q. 75. [b] Rev. xx. 6.

things of heaven and the state of separation; for if they did, they would not be so afraid to die: but they do not so well consider that christians believe all this well enough, but they believe better than they live; and therefore they believe and tremble, because they do not live after the rate of going to heaven; they know that for good men glorious things are prepared; but "Tophet is prepared for evil kings" and unjust rulers, for vicious men and degenerate christians; there is a hell for accursed souls, and men live without fear of it so long, till their fear as soon as it begins in an instant passes into despair, and the fearful groans of the damned. It is no wonder to see men so unwilling to die, to be impatient of the thought of death, to be afraid to make their will, to converse with the solemn scarecrow. He that is fit to die, must have long dwelt with it, must handle it on all sides, must feel whether the sting be taken out: he must examine "whether he be in Christ;" that is, whether "he be a new creature." And indeed I do not so much wonder that any man fears to die, as when I see a careless and a wicked person descend to his grave with as much indifference as he goes to sleep; that is, with no other trouble than that he leaves the world, but he does not fear to die; and yet, upon the instant of his dissolution, he goes into the common receptacle of souls, where nothing can be addressed to him but the consequence of what he brings along with him, and he shall presently know whether he shall be saved or damned.

We have read of some men, who by reading or hearing strange opinions have entered into desperate melancholy, and divers who have perfectly despaired of the Divine mercy; who feeling such horrid convulsions in their souls, such fearful expectations of an eternal curse, that not finding themselves able to bear so intolerable a fear, have hanged or drowned themselves; and yet they only thought so, or feared it; and might have altered it if they would have hoped and prayed: but then let it be considered, when the soul is stripped of the cloud, her body,—when she is entered into strange regions, and converses only with spirits, and sees plainly all that is within her,—when all her sins appear in their own natural ugliness, and set out by their aggravating circumstances; then she remembers her filthy pleasures, and hates them infinitely, as being such things to which she then can have no appetite: then she perceives she shall perish for that which is not, for that whose remembrance is intolerable; when she sees many new secrets which she understood not before, and hath stranger apprehensions of the wrath of God, than ever could be represented in this life: when she hath the notices of a spirit, and an understanding pure enough to see essences, and rightly to weigh all the degrees of things; when, possibly, she is often affrighted with the alarms and conjectures of the day of judgment; or if she be not, yet certainly knows not only by faith and fear, but by a clear light and proper knowledge, that it shall certainly come, and its effects shall remain for ever, then she hath time enough to bewail her own folly and remediless infelicity; if we could not think seriously that things must come to that pass, and place ourselves, by holy meditation, in the circumstances of that condition, and consider what we should then think,—how miserably deplore our folly, how comfortless remember our ill-gotten wealth; with how much asperity and deep sighing we should call to mind our foolish pride, our trifling swearing, our beastly drinkings, our unreasonable and brutish lusts; it could not be but we must grow wiser on a sudden, despise the world, betake ourselves to a strict religion, reject all vanities of spirit, and be sober and watch unto prayer. If any of us had but a strange dream, and should, in the fears of the night, but suppose ourselves in hell, and be affrighted with those circumstances of damnation which we can tell of, and use in our imperfect notices of things, it would effect strange changes upon a ductile and malleable spirit. A frequent, severe meditation can do more than a seldom and a fantastic dream; but an active faith can do more than all the arts and contingencies of fancy or discourse.

Now it is well with us, and we may yet secure it shall be well with us for ever; but within an hour it may be otherwise with any of us all, who do not instantly take courses of security. But he that does not, would, in such a change, soon come to wish, that he might exchange his state with the meanest, with the miserablest of all mankind; with galley-slaves and miners, with men condemned to tortures for a good conscience.

Sed cum pulcra minax succidet membra securis,
Quàm velles spinas tunc habuisse meas. AVIEN.

In the day of felling timber, the shrub and the bramble are better than the tallest fir, or the goodliest cedar; and a poor saint, whose soul is in the hand of Jesus, placed under the altar, over which our High Priest, like the cherubim over the propitiatory, intercedes perpetually for the hastening of his glory, is better than the greatest tyrant, who if he dies, is undone for ever. For, in the interval, there shall be rest and comfort to the one; and torment, and amazement, and hellish confusion to the other; and the day of judgment will come, and it shall appear to all the world, that they whose joys were not in this world, were not, "of all men, most miserable," because their joys and their life were hid with Christ in God, and at the resurrection of the just, shall be brought forth, and be illustrious, beyond all the beauties of the world.

I have now done with my text, and been the expounder of this part of the divine oracle; but here is another text, and another sermon yet. Ye have heard Moses and the prophets; now hear one from the dead, whose life and death would each of them make an excellent sermon, if this dead man had a good interpreter: for he being dead, yet speaketh, and calleth upon us to live well, and to live quickly, to watch perpetually, and to work assiduously; for we shall descend into the same shadows of death.

Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor; neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur. HOR.

"Thou must leave thy rich land, and thy well-built house, and thy pleasing wife; and of all the trees of thy orchard or thy wood, nothing shall attend thee to the grave, but oak for thy coffin, and cypress for thy funeral." It shall not then be inquired how long thou hast lived, but how well. None below will be concerned, whether thou wert rich or poor, but all the spirits of light and darkness shall be busy in the scrutiny of thy life; for the good angels would fain carry thy soul to Christ; and if they do, the devils will follow, and accuse thee there; and when thou appearest before the righteous Judge, what will become of thee, unless Christ be thy advocate, and God be merciful and appeased, and the angels be thy guards, and a holy conscience be thy comfort. There will to every one of us come a time, when we shall with great passion, and great interest, inquire, how have I spent my days, how have I laid out my money, how have I employed my time, how have I served God, and how repented me of my sins? and upon our answer to these questions depends a happy or an unhappy eternity: and blessed is he, who concerning these things, takes care in time; and of this care I may with much confidence and comfort propound to you the example of this good man, whose relics lay before you: Sir George Dalston, of Dalston in Cumberland, a worthy man, beloved of his country, useful to his friends, friendly to all men, careful of his religion, and a true servant of God.

He was descended of an ancient and worthy house in Cumberland; and he adorned his family and extraction with a more worthy comportment; for to be of a worthy family, and to bring to it no stock of our proper virtue, is to be upbraided by our family; and a worthy father can be no honour to his son, when it shall be said, "behold the difference, this crab descended from a goodly apple-tree;" but he who beautifies the escutcheon of his ancestors by worthy achievements, by learning, or by wisdom, by valour and by great employments, by a holy life and a useful conversation, that man is the parent of his own fame, and a new beginner of an ancient family; for as conversion is a perpetual creation, so is the progression of a family in a line of worthy descendants, a daily beginning of its honour, and a new stabiliment.

He was bred in learning, in which Cambridge was his tiring room, and the court of Queen Elizabeth was his stage, in which he first represented the part of a hopeful young man; but there he stayed not; his friends not being desirous, that the levities of youth should be fermented by the liberties of a rich and splendid court, caused him to lie in the restraints and to grow ripe in the sobrieties of a country life and a married state; in which, as I am informed, he behaved himself with so great worthiness, and gave such probation of his love of justice, popular regards of his country's good, and abilities to serve them, that, for almost forty years together, his country chose him for their knight, to serve in all the intervening parliaments. "Magistratus, indicatorium;" "employment shows the man;" he was a leading man in parliaments, prevailing there by the great reputation of his justice and integrity; and yet he was not unpleasant and hated at court: for he had well understood, that the true interests of courts and parliaments were one, and that they are like the humours of the body, if you increase one beyond its limit, that destroys all the rest, and itself at last; and when they look upon themselves as enemies, and that hot and cold must fight, the prevailing part is abated in the conflict, and the vanquished part is destroyed: but when they look upon themselves as varieties serving the differing aspects and necessities of the same body, they are for the allay of each other's exorbitances and excesses, and, by keeping their own measures, they preserve the man: this the good man well understood; for so he comported himself, that he was loud in parliaments and valued at court; he was respected in very many parliaments, and was worthily regarded by the worthy kings; which, without an orator, commends a man: "Gravissimi principis judicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulcrum est," said Pliny; "To be approved, though but in lesser terms, by the judgment of a wise prince, is a great ornament to a man."—For as King Theodoric, in Cassiodore, said, "Neque dignus est à quopiam redargui, qui nostro judicio meretur absolvi:" "No man to reprove him, whom the king aught commends."

But I need no artifices to represent him worthy, his arguments of probation were within, in the magazines of a good heart, and represented themselves by worthy actions. For God was pleased to invest him with a marvellous sweet nature, which is certainly to be reckoned as one half of the grace of God: because a good nature, being the relics and remains of that shipwreck which Adam made, is the proper and immediate disposition to holiness, as the corruption of Adam was to disobedience and peevish counsels. A good nature will not upbraid the more imperfect persons, will not deride the ignorant, will not reproach the erring man, will not smite sinners on the face, will not despise the penitent. A good nature is apt to forgive injuries, to pity the miserable, to rescue the oppressed, to make every one's condition as tolerable as he can; and so would he. For, as when good nature is heightened by the grace of God, that which was natural becomes now spiritual; so these actions which proceeded from an excellent nature, and were pleasing and useful to men,—when they derive from a new principle of grace, they become pleasant in the eyes of God: then obedience to laws is duty to God; justice is righteousness, bounty becomes graciousness, and alms is charity.

And, indeed, this is a grace in which this good man was very remarkable, being very frequent and much in alms, tender-hearted to the poor, open-handed to relieve their needs; the bellies of the poor did bless him, he filled them with food and gladness; and I have heard that he was so regular, so constant, so free in this duty, that in these late unhappy wars, being in a garrison, and near the suffering some rude accidents, the beggars made themselves guard, and rescued him from that trouble, who had so often rescued them from hunger.

He was of a meek and gentle spirit, but not too soft; he knew how to do good, and how to put by an injury; but I have heard it told by them that knew his life, that being, by the unavoidable trouble of a great estate, engaged in great suits at law, he was never plaintiff, but always upon the defensive part; and that he had reason on his side, and justice for him, I need allege no other testimony, but that the sentence of his judges so declared it.

But that in which I propound this good man most imitable, was in his religion; for he was a great lover of the church, a constant attender to the sermons of the church; a diligent hearer of the prayers of the church, and an obedient son to perform the commands of the church. He was diligent in his times and circumstances of devotion; he would often be at church so early, that he was seen to walk long in the churchyard before prayers, being as ready to confess his sins at the beginning, as to receive the blessing at the end of prayers. Indeed he was so great a lover of sermons, that though he knew how to value that which was the best, yet he was patient of that which was not so; and if he could not learn any thing to improve his faith, yet he would find something to exercise his patience, and something for charity; yet this his great love of sermons could not tempt him to a willingness of neglecting the prayers of the church, of which he was a great lover to his dying day. "Oves meæ exaudiunt vocem meam," says Christ; "my sheep hear my voice;" and so the church says, "my sheep hear my voice, they love my words, they pray in my forms, they observe my orders, they delight in my offices, they revere my ministers, and obey my constitutions:" and so did he; loving to have his soul recommended to God, and his needs represented, and his sins confessed, and his pardon implored, in the words of his mother, in the voice and accent of her that nursed him up to a spiritual life, to be a man in Christ Jesus.

He was indeed a great lover, and had a great regard for God's ministers, ever remembering the words of God, "keep my rest, and reverence my priests;" he honoured the calling in all, but he loved and revered the persons of such who were conscientious keepers of their "depositum," "that trust," which was committed to them: such which did not for interest quit their conscience, and did not, to preserve some parts of their revenue, quit some portions of their religion. He knew that what was true in 1639, was also true in 1644, and so to 57, and shall continue true to eternal ages; and they that change their persuasions by force or interest, did neither believe well nor ill, upon competent and just grounds; they are not just, though they happen on the right side. Hope of gain did by chance teach them well, and fear of loss abuses them directly. He pitied the persecuted, and never would take part with persecutors: he prayed for his prince, and served him in what he could: he loved God, and loved the church; he was a lover of his country's liberties, and yet an observer of the laws of his king.

Thus he behaved himself to all his superior relatives; to his equals and dependants he was also just, and kind, and loving. He was an excellent friend, laying out his own interests to serve theirs; sparing not himself, that he might serve them: as knowing society to be the advantage of man's nature; and friendship the ornament of society, and usefulness the ornament of friendship, and in this he was well known to be very worthy. He was tender and careful of his children, and so provident and so wise, so loving and obliging to his whole family, that he justly had that love and regard, that duty and observance from them, which his kindness and his care had merited. He was a provident and careful conductor of his estate; but far from covetousness, as appeared toward the evening of his life, in which that vice does usually prevail amongst old men, who are more greedy, when they have least need, and load their sumpters so much the more, by how much nearer they are to their journey's end; but he made a demonstration of the contrary; for he washed his hands and heart of the world, gave up his estate long before his death or sickness, to be managed by his only son, whom he left since, but then first made and saw him his heir; he emptied his hands of secular employment; meddled not with money, but for the uses of the poor, for piety, justice, and religion.

And now having divested himself of all objections and his conversation with the world, quitting his affections to it, he wholly gave himself to religion and devotion: he awakened early, and would presently be entertained with reading; when he rose, still he would be read to, and hear some of the Psalms of David: and excepting only what time he took for the necessities of his life and health, all the rest he gave to prayer, reading, and meditation, save only that he did not neglect, nor rudely entertain the visits and kind offices of his neighbours.

But in this great vacation from the world he espied his advantage, he knew well, according to that saying of the emperor Charles V., "Oportet inter vitæ negotia et diem mortis spatium aliquod intercedere;" there ought to be a valley between two such mountains, the business of our life, and the troubles of our death; and he stayed not till the noise of the Bridegroom's coming did awaken and affright him; but by daily prayers twice a day, constantly with his family, besides the piety and devotion of his own retirements, by a monthly communion, by weekly sermons, and by the religion of every day, he stood in procincts, ready with oil in his lamp, watching till his Lord should call.

And, indeed, when he was hearing what God did speak to him of duty, he also received his summons to give his account. For he was so pertinacious and attendant to God's holy word, and the services of the church, that though he found himself sick, he would not off, but stay till the solemnity was done; but it pleased God at church to give him his first arrest; and since that time I have often visited him, and found him always doing his work, with the greatest evenness and indifferency of spirit, as to the event of life and death, that I have observed in any. He was not unwilling to live; but if he should, he

resolved to spend his life wholly in the service of God: but yet neither was he unwilling to die, because he then knew he should weep no more, and he should sin no more. He was very confident, but yet with great humility and great modesty, of the pardon of his sins; he had indeed lived without scandal, but he knew he had not lived without error; but as God had assisted him to avoid the reproach of great crimes, so he doubted not but he should find pardon for the less; and, indeed, I could not but observe, that he had, in all the time of his sickness, a very quiet conscience; which is to me an excellent demonstration of the state of his life, and the state of his grace and pardon. For though he seemed to have a conscience tender and nice, if any evil thing had touched it; yet I could not but apprehend that his peace was a just peace, the mercy of God, and the price and effect of the blood of Jesus.

He was so joyful, so thankful, so pleased in the ministries of the church, that it gave in evidence where his soul was most delighted, what it did apprehend the quickest, where it did use to dwell, and what it did most passionately love. He discoursed much of the mercies of God to him, repeated the blessings of his life, the accidents and instruments of his trouble; he loved the cause of his trouble, and pardoned them that neither loved it nor him.

When he had spent great portions of his time of sickness in the service of God, and in expectation of the sentence of his life or death, at last he understood the still voice of God, and that he was to go where his soul loved to be; he still increased his devotion, and being admonished, as his strength failed him, to supply his usual forms, and his want of strength and words, by short exercise of virtues, of faith and patience, and the love of God; he did it so willingly, so well, so readily, making his eyes, his hands, and his tongue, as long as he could, the interpreters of his mind, that as long as he was alive, he would see what his soul was doing. He doubted not of the truth of the promises, nor of the goodness of God, nor the satisfaction of Christ, and the merits of his death, nor the fruit of his resurrection, nor the prevalency of his intercession, nor yet doubted of his own part in them; but expected his portions in the regions of blessedness, with those who loved God, and served him heartily and faithfully in their generations.

He had so great a patience in his sickness, and was so afraid lest he should sin at last; that his piety outdid his nature, and though the body cannot feel but by the soul, yet his soul seemed so little concerned in the passions of the body, that I neither observed, nor heard of him, that he in all his sickness so much as complained with any semblance of impatience.

He so continued to pray, so delighted in hearing psalms sung, which I wish were made as fit to sing by their numbers as they are by their weight, that so very much of his time was spent in them, that it was very likely when his Lord came he would find him so doing; and he did so: for in the midst of prayers he went away, and got to heaven as soon as they; and saw them (as we hope) presented to the throne of grace; he went along with them himself, and was his own messenger to heaven; where although he possibly might prevent his last prayers, yet he would not prevent God's early mercy, which, as we humbly hope, gave him pardon for his sins, ease of his pain, joy after his sorrow, certainty for his fears, heaven for earth, innocence and impeccability instead of his infirmity.

> Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
> Urguet! cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror
> Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
> Quando ullum inveniet parem?

Faith and justice, modesty and pure righteousness, made him equal to the worthiest examples; he was χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ, "a good man," loving and humble, meek and patient, he would be sure to be the last in contention, and the first at a peace; he would injure no man, but yet if any man was displeased with him, he would speak first, and offer words of kindness; if any did dispute concerning priority, he knew how to get it, even by yielding and compliance; walking profitably with his neighbours, and humbly with his God; and having lived a life of piety, he died in a full age, an honourable old age, in the midst of his friends, and in the midst of prayer: and although the events of the other world are hidden to us below, that we might live in faith, and walk in hope, and die in charity, yet we have great reason to bless God for his mercies to this our brother, and endeavour to comport ourselves with a strict religion, and a severe repentance; with an exemplar patience, and an exemplar piety; with the structures of a holy life, and the solemnities of a religious death, that we also may, as our confident and humble hope is, this our brother doth, by the conduct of angels, pass into the hands and bosom of Jesus, there to expect the most merciful sentence of the right hand, "Come, ye blessed children of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen.

Grant this, eternal God, for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom with thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all glory and honour, service and dominion, love and obedience be confessed due, and ever paid by all angels, and all men, and all the creatures, this day, henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

GENERAL DEDICATION

TO

THE POLEMICAL DISCOURSES.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND TRULY NOBLE

CHRISTOPHER LORD HATTON,

BARON HATTON OF KIRBY,

PRIVY COUNCILLOR AND COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD TO HIS LATE MAJESTY, AND KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

My Lord,

When we make books and publish them, and by dedications implore the patronage of some worthy person, I find by experience that we cannot acquire that end, which is pretended to by such addresses; for neither friendship nor power, interest or favour, can give those defences to a book, which it needs: because the evil fortune of books comes from causes discernible indeed, but irremediable; and the breath of the people is like the voice of an exterminating angel, not so killing but so secret. But that is not all; it is also as contingent as the smiles of an infant, or the fall of a die, which is determined by every part of motion which can be in any part of the hand or arm. For when I consider that the infinite variety of understandings is greater than that of faces, not only because the lines that make our faces are finite, but the things that integrate and actuate the understanding are not; but also because every man hath a face, but every man hath not understanding; and men with their understandings, or with their no understandings, give their sentence upon books, not only before they understand all, not only before they read all, but before they read three pages, receiving their information from humour or interest, from chance or mistake, from him that reads in malice, or from him that reads after dinner; I find it necessary that he that writes, should secure himself, and his own reputation, by all the ways of prudence and religion; that God, who takes care of fame as certainly as of lives, may do that which is best in this instance; for no other patron can defend him that writes from him that reads, and understands either too much or too little. And therefore, my Lord, I could not choose you to be the patron of my book, upon hopes you can, by greatness or interest, secure it against the stings of insects and imperfect creatures; nothing but Domitian's style can make them harmless; but I can, from your wisdom and your learning, the great reputation you have abroad, and the honour you have at home, hope that, for the relation sake, some will be civil to it, at least until they read it, and then I give them leave to do what they please, for I am secure enough in all this; because my writings are not intended as a stratagem for noises; I intend to do not only what is good, but what is best; and therefore I am not troubled at any event, so I may but justly hope that God is glorified in the ministration: but he that seeks any thing but God's service, shall have such a reward as will do him no good.

But finding nothing reasonable in the expectation that the dedication should defend the book, and that the gate should be a fortification to the house, I have sometimes believed that most men intend it to other purposes than this, and that, because they design or hope to themselves (at least at second hand) an artificial immortality, they would also adopt their patron or their friend into a participation of it: doing as the Cæsars did, who, taking a partner to the empire, did not divide the honour or the power, but the ministration. But in this also I find, that this address to your Lordship must be destitute of any material event, not only because you have secured to yourself a great name in all the registers of honour, by your skill and love to all things that are excellent, but because, of all men in the world, I am the unfittest to speak those great things of your Lordship, which your worthiness must challenge of all that know you. For, though I was wooed to love and honour you by the beauties of

your virtue, and the sweetness of your disposition, by your worthy employments at court, and your being so beloved in your country, by the value your friends put upon you, and the regard that strangers paid to you, by your zeal for the church, and your busy care in the promoting all worthy learnings, by your religion and your nobleness; yet when I once came into a conversation with these excellencies, I found from your Lordship not only the example of so many virtues, but the expressions of so many favours and kindnesses to my person, that I became too much interested to look upon you with indifferency, and too much convinced of your worthiness to speak of it temperately; and therefore I resolve to keep where I am, and to love and enjoy what I am so unfit to publish and express.

But, my Lord, give me leave to account to you concerning the present collection; and I shall no otherwise trouble your Lordship than I do almost every day, when my good fortune allows me the comfort and advantages of your conversation. The former impressions of these books being spent, and the world being willing enough to receive more of them, it was thought fit to draw into one volume* all these lesser books, which at several times were made public, and which, by some collateral improvements they were to receive now from me, might do some more advantages to one another, and better struggle with such prejudices, with which any of them hath been at any time troubled. For, though I have great reason to adore the goodness of God, in giving that success to my labours, that I am also obliged to the kindness of men for their friendly acceptance of them; yet when a persecution did arise against the church of England, and that I intended to make a defensative for my brethren and myself, by pleading for a liberty to our consciences to persevere in that profession, which was warranted by all the laws of God and our superiors, some men were angry and would not be safe that way, because I had made the roof of the sanctuary so wide that more might be sheltered under it than they had a mind should be saved harmless: men would be safe alone, or not at all, supposing that their truth and good cause was warranty enough to preserve itself; and they thought true; it was indeed warranty enough against persecution, if men had believed it to be truth; but because we were fallen under the power of our worst enemies, (for brethren turned enemies are ever the most implacable,) they looked upon us as men in mispersuasion and error; and therefore I was to defend our persons, that whether our cause were right or wrong, (for it would be supposed wrong,) yet we might be permitted in liberty and impunity. But then the consequent would be this: that if we, when we were supposed to be in error, were yet to be indemnified, then others also, whom we thought as ill of, were to rejoice in the same freedom, because this equality is the great instrument of justice; and if we would not do to others as we desired should be done to us, we were no more to pretend religion, because we destroy the law and the prophets. Of this some men were impatient; and they would have all the world spare them, and yet they would spare nobody. But because this is too unreasonable, I need no excuse for my speaking to other purposes. Others complained that it would have evil effects, and all heresies would enter at the gate of toleration; and because I knew that they would crowd and throng in as far as they could, I placed such guards and restraints there as might keep out all unreasonable pretenders; allowing none to enter here that speak against the apostles' creed, or weakened the hands of government, or were enemies to good life.

But the most complained, that in my ways to persuade a toleration, I helped some men too far, and that I armed the anabaptists with swords instead of shields, with a power to offend us, besides the proper defensatives of their own. To this I shall need no reply but this; I was to say what I could to make their persons safe, by showing how probably they were deceived; and they who thought it too much, had either too little confidence, or too little knowledge of the goodness of their own cause; and yet if any one made ill use of it, it was more than I allowed or intended to him, but so all kindness may be abused: but if a criminal be allowed counsel, he would be scorned if he should avow his advocate as a real patron of his crime, when he only says what he can to alleviate the sentence. But wise men understand the thing and are satisfied; but because all men are not of equal strength; I did not only in a discourse on purpose demonstrate the true doctrine in that question, but I have now in this edition of that book answered all their pretensions, not only fearing lest some be hurt with their offensive arms, but lest others, like Tarpeia the Roman lady, be oppressed with shields, and be brought to think well of their cause by my pleading for their persons.

And now (my Lord) I have done all that I can do, or can be desired, only I cannot repent me of speaking truth, or doing charity; but when the loins of the presbytery did lie heavy upon us, and were like to crush us into flatness and death, I ought not to have been reproached for standing under the ruin, and endeavouring to defend my brethren; and if I had strained his arm whom I was lifting up from drowning, he should have deplored his own necessity and not have reproved my charity, if I say I had been too zealous to preserve them whom I ought to love so zealously.

But I have been told, that my Discourse of Episcopacy, relying so much upon the authority of fathers and councils, whose authority I so much diminish in my Liberty of Prophesying, I seem to pull down with one hand what I build with the other: to these men I am used to answer, that they ought not to wonder to see a man pull down his out-houses, to save his father and his children from the flames; and, therefore, if I had wholly destroyed the topic of ecclesiastical antiquity, which is but an outward guard to episcopacy to preserve the whole ecclesiastical order; I might have been too zealous, but in no other account culpable: but, my Lord, I have done nothing of this as they mistake

* This and similar expressions refer to the original folio edition.

For episcopacy relies, not upon the authority of fathers and councils, but upon Scripture, upon the institution of Christ, or the institution of the apostles, upon a universal tradition, and a universal practice, not upon the words and opinions of the doctors: it hath as great a testimony as Scripture itself hath; and it is such a government, as although every thing in antiquity does minister to it, and illustrate or confirm it; yet, since it was before the fathers and councils, and was in full power before they had a being, and they were made up of bishops for the most part, they can give no authority to themselves, as a body does not beget itself, or give strength to that from whence themselves had warranty, integrity, and constitution. We bring the sayings of the fathers in behalf of episcopacy, because the reputation they have justly purchased from posterity, prevails with some, and their reason with others, and their practice with very many; and the pretensions of the adversaries are too weak to withstand that strength; but that episcopacy derives from a higher fountain, appears by the justification of it against them who value not what the fathers say. But now, he that says that episcopacy, besides all its own proper grounds, hath also the witness of antiquity, to have descended from Christ and his apostles; and he that says, that, in questions of religion, the sayings of the fathers alone is no demonstration of faith, does not speak things contradictory. He that says that we may dissent from the fathers, when we have a reason greater than that authority, does no way oppose him that says, you ought not to dissent from what they say, when you have no reason great enough to outweigh it. He that says the words of the fathers are not sufficient to determine a nice question, stands not against him, who says they are excellent corroboratives in a question already determined and practised accordingly. He that says, the sayings of fathers are no demonstration in a question, may say true; and yet he that says, it is a degree of probability, may say true too. He that says they are not our masters, speaks consonantly to the words of Christ; but he that denies them to be good instructors, does not speak agreeably to reason or to the sense of the church. Sometimes they are excellent arbitrators, but not always good judges: in matters of fact they are excellent witnesses; in matters of right or question they are rare doctors, and because they bring good arguments, are to be valued accordingly; and he that considers these things, will find that ecclesiastical antiquity can give very great assistances to episcopal government, and yet be no warranty for tyrannical: and although even the sayings of the fathers is greater warranty for episcopacy, and weighs more than all that can be said against it; yet, from thence nothing can be drawn to warrant to any man an empire over consciences; and, therefore, as the probability of it can be used to one effect, so the fallibility of it is also of use to another; but yet even of this no man is to make any use in general, but when he hath a necessity and a greater reason in the particular; and I, therefore, have joined these two books in one volume, because they differ not at all in the design, nor in the real purposes, to which, by their variety, they minister.

I will not pretend to any special reason of the inserting any of the other books into this volume; it is the design of my bookseller to bring all that he can into a like volume; excepting only some books of devotion, which, in a lesser volume, are more fit for use. As for the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance, which, because I suppose it may so much contribute to the interest of a good life, and is of so great and so necessary consideration to every person that desires to be instructed in the way of godliness, and would assure his salvation by all means; I was willing to publish it first in the lesser volume, that men might not, by the increasing price of a larger, be hindered from doing themselves the greatest good to which I can minister; which I humbly suppose to be done, I am sure I intended to have done, in that book.

And now, my Lord, I humbly desire, that although the presenting this volume to your Lordship can neither promote that honour, which is and ought to be the greatest, and is, by the advantages of your worthiness, already made public, nor obtain to itself any security or defence from any injury, to which, without remedy, it must be exposed: yet if you please to expound it as a testimony of that great value I have for you, though this signification is too little for it, yet I shall be at ease awhile, till I can converse with your Lordship, by something more proportionable to those greatest regards which you have merited of mankind; but more especially of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

OF THE

SACRED ORDER AND OFFICES

OF

EPISCOPACY,

BY

DIVINE INSTITUTION, APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, AND CATHOLIC PRACTICE.

TOGETHER WITH

THEIR TITLES OF HONOUR, SECULAR EMPLOYMENT, MANNER OF ELECTION, DELEGATION OF THEIR POWER, AND OTHER APPENDANT QUESTIONS, ASSERTED AGAINST THE AËRIANS AND ACEPHALI, NEW AND OLD.

There is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God.—Rom. xiii. 1.

Δικαία ἡ κρίσις των Πατέρων. Πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν.—Concil. Chalced.

TO THE

TRULY WORTHY AND MOST ACCOMPLISHED

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON,

KNIGHT OF THE HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

Sir,

I am engaged in the defence of a great truth, and I would willingly find a shroud to cover myself from danger and calumny; and although the cause both is, and ought to be, defended by kings, yet my person must not go thither to sanctuary, unless it be to pay my devotion, and I have now no other left for my defence; I am robbed of that which once did bless me, and indeed still does, (but in another manner,) and I hope will do more; but those distillations of celestial dews are conveyed in channels not pervious to an eye of sense, and now-a-days we seldom look with other, be the object never so beauteous or alluring. You may then think, Sir, I am forced upon you; may that beg my pardon and excuse; but I should do an injury to your nobleness, if I should only make you a refuge for my need (pardon this truth); you are also of the fairest choice, not only for your love of learning, (for although that be eminent in you, yet it is not your eminence,) but for your duty to holy church, for your loyalty to his sacred majesty. These did prompt me, with the greatest confidence, to hope for your fair encouragement and assistance, in my pleadings for episcopacy, in which cause religion and majesty, the king and the church, are interested, as parties of mutual concernment.

There was an odd observation made long ago, and registered in the law, to make it authentic: "Laici sunt infensi clericis." Now the clergy pray, but fight not; and, therefore, if not specially protected by the king, "contra ecclesiam malignantium," they are made obnoxious to all the contumelies and injuries, which an envious multitude will inflict upon them. It was observed enough in King Edgar's time, "Quamvis decreta pontificum, et verba sacerdotum inconvulsis ligaminibus velut fundamenta montium fixa sunt, tamen plerumque tempestatibus, et turbinibus sæcularium rerum religio S. Matris Ecclesiæ maculis reproborum dissipatur ac rumpitur. Ideirco decrevimus nos," &c.[a] There was a sad example of it in King John's time. For when he threw the clergy from his protection, it is incredible what injuries,

[a] In Charta Edgar. Regis A. D. 485. apud Hen. Spelman.

what affronts, what robberies, yea, what murders, were committed upon the bishops and priests of holy church; whom neither the sacredness of their persons, nor the laws of God, nor the terrors of conscience, nor fears of hell, nor church censures, nor the laws of hospitality, could protect from scorn, from blows, from slaughter. Now there being so near a tie as the necessity of their own preservation, in the midst of so apparent danger, it will tie the bishops' hearts and hands to the king, faster than all the ties of law-allegiance, (all the political ties, I mean,) all that are not precisely religious, and obligations in the court of conscience.

2. But the interest of the bishops is conjunct with the prosperity of the king, besides the interest of their own security; by the obligation of secular advantages. For they who have their livelihood from the king, and are in expectance of their fortune from him, are more likely to pay a tribute of exacter duty, than others whose fortunes are not in such immediate dependence on his majesty. Æneas Sylvius once gave a merry reason, why clerks advanced the pope above a council; *viz.* because the pope gave spiritual promotions, but the councils gave none. It is but the common expectation of gratitude, that a patron paramount shall be more assisted by his beneficiaries in cases of necessity, than by those who receive nothing from him but the common influences of government.

3. But the bishops' duty to the king derives itself from a higher fountain. For it is one of the main excellencies in christianity, that it advances the state, and well-being of monarchies and bodies politic. Now, then, the fathers of religion, the reverend bishops, whose peculiar office it is to promote the interests of christianity, are, by the nature and essential requisites of their office, bound to promote the honour and dignity of kings, whom christianity would have so much honoured, as to establish the just subordination of people to their prince, upon better principles than ever; no less than their precise duty to God, and the hopes of a blissful immortality. Here, then, is "utile, honestum," and "necessarium," to tie bishops in duty to kings; and a threefold cord is not easily broken.

In pursuance of these obligations, episcopacy pays three returns of tribute to monarchy.

1. The first is the duty of their people. For they being, by God himself, set over souls, judges of the most secret recesses of our consciences, and the venerable priests under them, have more power to keep men in their duteous subordination to the prince, than there is in any secular power; by how much more forcible the impressions of the conscience are, than all the external violence in the world. And this power they have fairly put into act: for there was never any protestant bishop yet in rebellion, unless he turned recreant to his order: and it is the honour of the church of England, that all her children and obedient people are full of indignation against rebels, be they of any interest or party whatsoever. For here (and for it we thank God and good princes) episcopacy hath been preserved in fair privileges and honour; and God hath blessed and honoured episcopacy with the conjunction of a loyal people. As if because, in the law of nature, the kingdom and priesthood were joined in one person, it were natural and consonant to the first justice, that kings should defend the rights of the church, and the church advance the honour of kings. And when I consider that the first bishop that was exauctorated, was a prince too, prince and bishop of Geneva: methinks it was an ill omen, that the cause of the prince and the bishop should be in conjunction ever after.

2. A second return that episcopacy makes to royalty, is that which is the duty of all christians, the paying tributes and impositions. And though all the king's liege people do it, yet the issues of their duty and liberality are mightily disproportionate, if we consider their unequal number and revenues. And if clergy-subsidies be estimated according to the smallness of their revenue, and paucity of persons, it will not be half so short of the number and weight of crowns from lay-dispensation, as it does far exceed in the proportion of the donative.

3. But the assistance that the kings of England had in their councils and affairs of greatest difficulty, from the great ability of bishops, and other the ministers of the church, I desire to represent, in the words of King Alfred to Walfsigeus, the bishop, in an epistle, where he deplores the misery of his own age, by comparing it with the former times, when the bishops were learned, and exercised in public councils: "Felicia tum tempora fuerunt inter omnes Angliæ populos; reges Deo, et scriptæ ejus voluntati obsecundârunt in suâ pace, et bellicis expeditionibus, atque regimine domestico domi se semper tutati fuerint, atque etiam foris nobilitatem suam dilataverint." The reason was, as he insinuates before, "Sapientes exstiterunt in Anglicâ gente de spirituali gradu," &c. The bishops were able, by their great learning and wisdom, to give assistance to the king's affairs. And they have prospered in it: for the most glorious issues of Divine benison upon this kingdom were conveyed to us by bishops' hands: I mean the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, by the counsels of Bishop Morton,[b] and of England and Scotland, by the treaty of Bishop Fox;[c] to which if we add two other, "in materiâ religionis." I mean the conversion of the kingdom from paganism, by St. Augustin, archbishop of Canterbury: and the reformation, begun and promoted by bishops: I think we cannot call to mind four blessings equal to these in any age or kingdom, in all which God was pleased by the mediation of bishops, as he used to do, to bless the people. And this may not only be expected in reason, but in good divinity: for amongst the gifts of the Spirit, which God hath given to his church, are reckoned doctors, teachers, and helps in government.[d] To which

[b] John Speed's Hist. lib. ix. c. 19. n. 23. p. 716.
[c] Ib. c. 20. n. 61. p. 717.
[d] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

may be added this advantage, that the services of churchmen are rewardable upon the church's stock: no need to disimprove the royal banks to pay thanks to the bishops.

But, Sir, I grow troublesome. Let this discourse have what ends it can; the use I make of it, is but to pretend reason for my boldness, and to entitle you to my book: for I am confident you will own any thing that is but a friend's friend to a cause of loyalty. I have nothing else to plead for your acceptance, but the confidence of your goodness, and that I am a person capable of your pardon, and of a fair interpretation of my address to you, by being,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

OF THE

SACRED ORDER AND OFFICES OF EPISCOPACY.

IN all those accursed machinations, which the device and artifice of hell hath invented for the supplanting of the church, "inimicus homo," that old superseminator of heresies and crude mischiefs, hath endeavoured to be curiously compendious, and, with Tarquin's device, "putare summa papaverum." And, therefore, in the three ages of martyrs, it was a ruled case in that Burgundian forge, "Qui prior erat dignitate, prior trahebatur ad martyrium." The priests, but, to be sure the bishops, must pay for all, "Tolle impios, Polycarpus requiratur." Away with these peddling persecutions; ἀξίνην πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν· "lay the axe at the root of the tree." Insomuch that in Rome, from St. Peter and St. Paul to St. Sylvester, thirty-three bishops of Rome, in immediate succession, suffered an honourable and glorious martyrdom, unless Meltiades[a] be perhaps excepted, whom Eusebius and Optatus report to have lived all the time of the third consulship of Constantine and Lucinius. "Conteret caput ejus," was the glorious promise, Christ should "break the devil's head;" and though the devil's active part in the duel was far less, yet he would venture at that too, even to strike at the heads of the church, "capita vicaria," for "the head of all" was past his striking now; and this I say he offered to do by martyrdom, but that, instead of breaking, crowned them.

His next onset was by Julian, and "occidere presbyterium," that was his province. To shut up public schools, to force christians to ignorance, to impoverish and disgrace the clergy, to make them vile and dishonourable, these are his arts; and he did the devil more service in this fineness of undermining, than all the open battery of the ten great rams of persecution. But this would not take. For, "that which is without, cannot defile a man." So it is in the church too. "Cedunt in bonum" all violences "ab extra."

But, therefore, besides these, he attempted by heresies to rend the church's bowels all in pieces; but the good bishops gathered up the scattered pieces, and re-united them at Nice, at Constantinople, at Ephesus, at Chalcedon, at Carthage, at Rome, and in every famous place of christendom; and by God's goodness, and the bishops' industry, catholic religion was conserved in unity and integrity. Well; however it is, antichrist must come at last, and the great apostasy foretold must be, and this not without means proportionable to the production of so great declensions of christianity. "When ye hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be not afraid," said our blessed Saviour, "the end is not yet." It is not war that will do "this great work of destruction," for then it might have been done long ere now. What then will do? We shall know when we see it. In the mean time, when we shall find a new device, of which indeed the platform was laid, in Aerius and the Acephali, brought to a good possibility of completing a thing, that whosoever shall hear, his ears shall tingle, "an abomination of desolation standing where it ought not," "in sacris," in holy persons, and places, and offices,—it is too probable that this is the preparatory for the antichrist and grand apostasy.

For if antichrist shall exalt himself above all that is called God, and in Scripture none but kings and priests are such, "dii vocati, dii facti," I think we have great reason to be suspicious, that he that divests both of their power, (and they are, if the king be christian, in very near conjunction,) does the work of antichrist for him; especially if the men, whom it most concerns, will but call to mind, that the discipline or government which Christ hath instituted, is that kingdom by which he governs all christendom (so themselves have taught us); so that, in case it be proved that episcopacy is that government, then they (to use their own expressions) throw Christ out of his kingdom; and then either they leave the church without a head, or else put antichrist in substitution.

[a] "Maximini jussu martyrio coronatur," saith Platina; but that is wholly uncertain.

We all wish, that our fears in this and all things else may be vain, that what we fear may not come upon us; but yet that the abolition of episcopacy is the forerunner, and preparatory to the great apostasy, I have these reasons to show at least the probability. First, because here is a concourse of times; for now, after that these times have been called the last times for 1600 years together, our expectation of the great revelation is very near accomplishing; and what a grand innovation of ecclesiastical government contrary to the faith and practice of christendom, may portend now in these times, when we all expect antichrist to be revealed, is worthy of a jealous man's inquiry. Secondly: episcopacy, if we consider the final cause, was instituted as an obstructive to the diffusion of schism and heresy. So St. Jerome,[b] "In toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur." And therefore if unity and division be destructive of each other, then episcopacy is the best deletery in the world for schism: and so much the rather because they are "in eâdem materiâ:" for schism is a division for things either personal or accidental, which are matters most properly the subject of government, and there to be tried, there to receive their first and last breath, except where they are starved to death by a desuetude; and episcopacy is a unity of person-governing, and ordering persons and things, accidental and substantial: and therefore a direct confronting of schism, not only in the intention of the author of it, but in the nature of the institution. Now then, although schisms always will be, and this by Divine prediction; (which clearly shows the necessity of perpetual episcopacy, and the intention of its perpetuity, either by Christ himself ordaining it, who made the prophecy, or by the apostles and apostolic men at least, who knew the prophecy;) yet, to be sure, these divisions and dangers shall be greater about and at the time of the great apostasy; for then, were not the hours turned into minutes, a universal ruin should seize all christendom: "No flesh should be saved, if those days were not shortened." Is it not next to an evidence of fact, that this multiplication of schisms must be "removendo prohibens?" and therefore that must be by invalidating episcopacy, ordained as the remedy and obex of schism, either tying their hands behind them, by taking away their coercion, or by putting out their eyes, by denying them cognizance of causes spiritual, or by cutting off their heads, and so destroying their order. How far these will lead us, I leave to be considered. This only: "Percute pastores, atque oves dispergentur;" and I believe it will be verified at the coming of that wicked one; "I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep having no shepherd."

I am not new in this conception, I learned it of St. Cyprian: "Christi adversarius, et ecclesiæ ejus inimicus ad hoc, ecclesiæ præpositum suâ infestatione persequitur, ut gubernatore sublato, atrocius, atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur:"[c] "The adversary of Christ, and enemy of his spouse, therefore perscecutes the bishop, that having taken him away, he may, without check, pride himself in the ruins of the church." And a little after, speaking of them that are enemies to bishops, he says, that "Antichristi jam propinquantis adventum imitantur:" "Their deportment is just after the guise of antichrist, who is shortly to be revealed."

But be this conjecture vain or not, the thing of itself is of deep consideration; and the catholic practice of christendom for 1500 years is so insupportable a prejudice against the enemies of episcopacy, that they must bring admirable evidence of Scripture, or a clear revelation proved by miracles, or a contrary undoubted tradition apostolical for themselves, or else hope for no belief against the prescribed possession of so many ages.

But before I begin, methinks in this contestation, "ubi potior est conditio possidentis," it is a considerable question; what will the adversaries stake against? For if episcopacy cannot make its title good, they lose the benefit of their prescribed possession. If it can; I fear they will scarce gain so much as the obedience of the adverse party by it, which yet already is their due. It is very unequal; but so it is ever, when authority is the matter of the question. Authority never gains by it; for although the cause go on its side, yet it loses costs and damages: for it must either by fair condescension to gain the adversaries, lose something of itself, or, if it asserts itself to the utmost, it is but that seldom or never happens; for the very questioning of any authority, *hoc ipso*, makes a great intrenchment even to the very skirts of its clothing.

But "huc deventum est." Now we are in, we must go over.

SECTION I.

Christ did institute a Government in his Church.

First, then, that we may build upon a rock. Christ did institute a government to order and rule his church by his authority, according to his laws, and by the assistance of the blessed Spirit.

1. If this were not true, how shall the church be governed? For I hope the adversaries of episcopacy, that are so punctual to pitch all upon Scripture ground, will be sure to produce clear Scripture for so main a part of christianity, as is the form of the government of Christ's church. And if for our private actions, and duties economical, they will pretend a text, I suppose it will not be thought possible Scripture should make default in assignation of the public government, insomuch as all laws intend the public, and the general directly; the private, and the particular, by consequence only and comprehension within the general.

2. If Christ himself did not take order for a government, then we must derive it from human prudence and emergency of conveniences, and concourse of new circumstances, and then the govern-

[b] In l. ad Titum.

[c] Epist. 55.

ment must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents are extremely full of inconvenience. For if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls, or if it be, that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat, that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical, (which was the other consequent,) in the public frame I mean, and constitution of it; either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistency and innovation, which in matters of religion is good for nothing, but to make men distrust all; and come the best that can come, there will be so many church-governments as there are human prudences. For so (if I be not misinformed[a]) it is abroad in some towns that have discharged episcopacy. As St. Galles, in Switzerland; there the ministers and laymen rule in common, but a layman is president. But the consistories of Zurick and Bazil are wholly consistent of laymen, and ministers are joined as assistants only, and counsellors; but at Schaffhausen the ministers are not admitted to so much, but in the Huguenot churches of France the ministers do all.

3. In such cases, where there is no power of the sword for a compulsory, (and confessedly of all sides there can be none in causes and courts ecclesiastical,) if there be no opinion of religion, no derivation from a Divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and indeed nothing but a certain public, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from Divine authority; not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword.

4. If there be such a thing as the power of the keys, by Christ concredited to his church, for the binding and loosing delinquents and penitents respectively on earth, then there is clearly a court erected by Christ in his church; for here is the delegation of judges, "Tu Petrus, vos apostoli:" whatsoever ye shall bind; here is a compulsory, "ligaveritis:" here are the causes of which they take cognizance, "quodcunque;" viz. "in materiâ scandali." For so it is limited Matt. xviii., but it is indefinite Matt. xvi., and universal John xx., which yet is to be understood, "secundum materiam subjectam," in causes which are emergent from christianity, "ut sic," that secular jurisdictions may not be intrenched upon. But of this hereafter. That Christ did in this place erect a jurisdiction, and establish a government, (besides the evidence of fact,) is generally asserted by primitive exposition of the fathers, affirming, that to St. Peter the keys were given, that to the church of all ages a power of binding and loosing might be communicated. "Has igitur claves dedit ecclesiæ, ut quæ solveret in terrâ, soluta essent in cœlo; scil. ut quisquis in ecclesiâ ejus dimitti sibi peccata crederet, seque ab iis correctus averteret, in ejusdem ecclesiæ gremio constitutus eâdem fide atque correctione sanaretur." So St. Austin.[b] And again, "Omnibus igitur sanctis ad Christi corpus inseparabiliter pertinentibus, propter hujus vitæ procellosissimæ gubernaculum, ad liganda et solvenda peccata claves regni cœlorum primus apostolorum Petrus accepit; quoniam nec ille solus, sed universa ecclesia ligat, solvitque peccata:" "St. Peter first received the government in the power of binding and loosing: but not he alone, but all the church," to wit, all succession and ages of the church. "Universa ecclesia," viz. "in pastoribus solis," as St. Chrysostom;[c] "In episcopis et presbyteris," as St. Jerome;[d] the whole church, as it is represented "in the bishops and presbyters." The same is affirmed by Tertullian,[e] St. Cyprian,[f] St. Chrysostom,[g] St. Hilary,[h] Primasius,[i] and generally by the fathers of the elder, and divines of the middle ages.

5. When our blessed Saviour had spoken a parable of the sudden coming of the Son of man, and commanded them therefore with diligence to stand upon their watch, the disciples asked him, "Speakest thou this parable to us, or even to all? And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household to give them their portion of meat in due season?"[k] As if he had said, "I speak to you; for to whom else should I speak, and give caution for the looking to the house in the master's absence? You are by office and designation my stewards, to feed my servants, to govern my house."

6. In Scripture, and other writers, "to feed," and "to govern," is all one, when the office is either political, or economical, or ecclesiastical. "So he fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power."[l] And St. Peter joins ἐπισκοποῦντες and ποιμαίνοντες together, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες.[m] So does St. Paul, προσέχετε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πάντι τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο Ἐπισκόπους."[n]—Ἐπισκόπους ἐν ποιμνίῳ, Rulers or "Overseers in a flock;" Pastors. It is ordinary. Ποιμένα λαῶν, Homer; *i. e.* βασιλέα ὄχλων. Euripides calls the governors and guides of chariots, ποιμένας ὄχων. And our blessed Saviour himself is called the "great Shepherd of our souls;" and that we may know the intentum of that compellation, it is in conjunction also with Ἐπίσκοπος. He is, therefore, our Shepherd, for he is our Bishop, our Ruler, and Overseer. Since, then, Christ hath left pastors or feeders in his church, it is also as certain he hath left rulers, they being both one in name, in person, in office. But this is of a known truth to all that understand either

[a] Simler. de Rep. Helvet. 148 et 172.
[b] De Doctr. Christ. lib. 1. c. 18. tract. 118. In Johan. vide etiam tract. 124. et tract. 50. In Joh. de Agon. Christ. cap. 30. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. lib. iii. c. 17.
[c] De Sacerd. lib. iii.
[d] In Matt. xvi.
[e] Lib. de Pudicit.
[f] Epist. 27.
[g] Lib. quod Christus est Deus.
[h] De Trinit. lib. vi.
[i] In Apocal. lib. iii.
[k] Luke xii. 42.
[l] Psal. lxxviii.
[m] 1 Pet. v. 2.
[n] Acts xx.

law or languages: *οἱ δὲ ποιμαίνοντες ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔχοντες δύναμιν*, saith Philo;[o] "They that feed have the power of princes and rulers:" the thing is an undoubted truth to most men; but because all are not of a mind, something was necessary for confirmation of it.

SECTION II.

This Government was first committed to the Apostles by Christ.

This government was, by immediate substitution, delegated to the apostles by Christ himself, "in traditione clavium, in spiratione Spiritûs, in missione in Pentecoste." When Christ promised them the "keys," he promised them "power to bind and loose;" when he breathed on them the Holy Ghost, he gave them that actually, to which, by the former promise, they were entitled; and in the octaves of the passion, he gave them the same authority which he had received from his Father, and they were the "faithful and wise stewards, whom the Lord made rulers over his household." But I shall not labour much upon this.[a] Their founding all the churches from east to west, and so, by being fathers, derived their authority from the nature of the thing; their appointing rulers in every church; their synodal decrees "de suffocato et sanguine," and letters missive to the churches of Syria and Cilicia; their excommunications of Hymeneus and Alexander, and the incestuous Corinthian; their commanding and requiring obedience of their people in all things, as St. Paul did of his subjects of Corinth, and the Hebrews, by precept apostolical; their threatening the pastoral rod; their calling synods and public assemblies; their ordering rites and ceremonies; composing a symbol as the tessera of christianity; their public reprehension of delinquents, and, indeed, the whole execution of their apostolate, is one continued argument of their superintendency, and superiority of jurisdiction.

SECTION III.

With a Power of joining others, and appointing Successors in the Apostolate.

This power, so delegated, was not to expire with their persons; for when the great Shepherd had reduced his wandering sheep into a fold, he would not leave them without "guides to govern" them, so long as the wolf might possibly prey upon them, and that is, till the last separation of the sheep from the goats. And this Christ intimates in that promise, "Ero vobiscum (apostolis) usque ad consummationem seculi." "Vobiscum;" not with your persons, for they died long ago; but "vobiscum et vestri similibus," with apostles to the end of the world. And, therefore, that the apostolate might be successive and perpetual, Christ gave them a power of ordination, that, by imposing hands on others, they might impart that power which they received from Christ. For in the apostles there was something extraordinary, something ordinary. Whatsoever was extraordinary, as "immediate mission, unlimited jurisdiction, and miraculous operations," that was not necessary to the perpetual regiment of the church, for then the church should fail, when these privileges extraordinary did cease. It was not, therefore, in extraordinary powers and privileges that Christ promised his perpetual assistance; not in speaking of tongues, not in doing miracles, whether "in materiâ censuræ," as delivering to Satan; or "in materiâ misericordiæ," as healing sick people; or "in re naturali," as in resisting the venom of vipers, and quenching the violence of flames; in these Christ did not promise perpetual assistance, for then it had been done, and still these signs should have followed them that believe. But we see they do not. It follows, then, that in all the ordinary parts of power and office, Christ did promise to be with them to the end of the world, and, therefore, there must remain a power of giving faculty and capacity to persons successively, for the execution of that, in which Christ promised perpetual assistance. For since this perpetual assistance could not be meant of abiding with their persons, who, in few years, were to forsake the world, it must needs be understood of their function, which either it must be succeeded to, or else it was as temporary as their persons. But, in the extraordinary privileges of the apostles, they had no successors; therefore, of necessity, must be constituted in the ordinary office of apostolate. Now what is this ordinary office? Most certainly since the extraordinary, as is evident, was only a help for the founding and beginning, the other are such as are necessary for the perpetuating of a church. Now, in clear evidence of sense, these offices and powers are "preaching, baptizing, consecrating, ordaining, and governing." For these were necessary for the perpetuating of a church, unless men could be christians that were never christened, nourished up to life without the eucharist, become priests without calling of God and ordination, have their sins pardoned without absolution, be members, and parts, and sons of a church, whereof there is no coadunation, no authority, no governor. These the apostles had without all question; and whatsoever they had they had from Christ, and these were eternally necessary; these, then, were the offices of the apostolate, which Christ promised to assist for ever, and this is that which we now call the order and office of episcopacy.

[o] In lib. de eo quod deterior potiori insidiatur.

[a] Vide Hilarium in hunc locum et pp. communiter.

SECTION IV.

The Succession into the ordinary Office of Apostolate is made by Bishops.

FOR although deacons and priests have part of these offices, and therefore, though in a very limited sense, they may be called "successores apostolorum," to wit, in the power of baptizing, consecrating the eucharist, and preaching; (an excellent example whereof, though we have none in Scripture, yet, if I mistake him not, we have in Ignatius, calling the college of presbyters σύνδεσμον Ἀποστόλων, "a combination of apostles;") yet the apostolate and episcopacy, which did communicate in all the power and offices which are ordinary and perpetual, are, in Scripture, clearly all one in ordinary ministration, and their names are often used in common, to signify exactly the same ordinary function.

1. The name was borrowed from the prophet David, in the prediction of the apostasy of Judas, and surrogation of St. Matthias; Καὶ τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος· "His bishopric," that is, his apostolate,[a] "let another take." The same word, according to the translation of the Seventy, is used by the prophet Isaiah, in an evangelical prediction, Καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους σοῦ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· "I will give thy princes in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness."— "Principes ecclesiæ vocat futuros episcopos," saith St. Jerome,[b] herein admiring God's majesty in the destination of such ministers, whom himself calls princes. And to this issue it is cited by St. Clement, in his famous epistle to the Corinthians. But this is no way unusual in Scripture: for,

2. St. James, the brother of our Lord, is called "an apostle," and yet he was not in the number of the twelve, but he was bishop of Jerusalem. First: That St. James was called "an apostle" appears by the testimony of St. Paul: "But other apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother."[c] Secondly: That he was none of the twelve appears also, because among the twelve apostles there were but two Jameses, the son of Alpheus, and James, the son of Zebedee, the brother of John. But neither of these was the James whom St. Paul calls "the Lord's brother." And this St. Paul intimates, in making a distinct enumeration of all the appearances which Christ made after the resurrection:[d] "First to Cephas, then to the twelve, then to the five hundred brethren, then to James, then to all the apostles." So that here St. James is reckoned distinctly from the twelve, and they from the whole college of the apostles; for there were, it seems, more of that dignity than the twelve. But this will also safely rely upon the concurrent testimony of Hegesippus, Clement, Eusebius, Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome.[e] Thirdly: That St. James was bishop of Jerusalem, and therefore called "an apostle," appears by the often commemoration of his presidency, and singular eminency in Holy Scripture. Priority of order is mentioned, Gal. ii. even before St. Peter, who yet was "primus apostolorum, naturâ unus homo, gratiâ unus Christianus, abundantiore gratiâ unus idemque primus apostolus," as St. Augustin; yet in his own diocess, St. James had priority of order before him, verse 9. And then, 1. James, 2. Cephas, and, 3. John, &c. First, James before Cephas and St. Peter. St. James, also, was president of that synod, which the apostles convocated at Jerusalem about the question of circumcision; as is to be seen, Acts xv.;[f] to him St. Paul made his address, Acts xxi.; to him the brethren carried him, where he was found sitting in his college of presbyters, there he was always resident, and his seat fixed; and that he lived bishop of Jerusalem for many years together, is clearly testified by all the faith of the primitive fathers and historians. But of this hereafter.

3. Epaphroditus is called "the apostle of the Philippians."[g] "I have sent unto you Epaphroditus," σύνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον, "my compeer and your apostle." "Gradum apostolatus recepit Epaphroditus," saith Primasius; and what that is, we are told by Theodoret; "dictus Philippensium apostolus à S. Paulo, quid hoc aliud nisi episcopus?" "Because he also had received the office of being an apostle among them," saith St. Jerome upon the same place; and it is very observable, that those apostles to whom our blessed Saviour gave immediate substitution, are called ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "apostles of Jesus Christ;" but those other men, which were bishops of churches, and called apostles by Scripture, are called ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν, "apostles of churches," or sometimes "apostles" alone, but never are entitled "of Jesus Christ." "Other of the apostles saw I none, but James, the Lord's brother," Gal. i. There St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem, is called an "apostle" indefinitely. But St. Paul calls himself often "the apostle of Jesus Christ, not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ." So Peter, an "apostle of Jesus Christ;" but St. James, in his epistle to the Jews of the dispersion, writes not himself "the apostle of Jesus Christ," but δοῦλος Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, "James, the servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Further yet: St. Paul, although as having an immediate calling from Christ to the office of apostolate, at large calls himself the apostle of Jesus Christ; yet when he was sent to preach to the gentiles, by the particular direction indeed of the Holy Ghost, but by human constitution, and imposition of hands;[h] in relation to that part of his office, and his cure of the uncircumcision, he limits his apostolate to his diocess, and calls himself,

[a] For the apostle and the bishop are all one in name and person.
[b] In cap. 60. Isaiah v. 17.
[c] Gal. i. 19. [d] 1 Cor. xv.
[e] Vide Carol. Bovium in Constit. Apost. Schol. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Jacobo, et in Galat. i. Epiphan. Hæres. 78, 79. Tract. 124 in Johan.
[f] Vide Pap.
[g] Phil. ii. 25. In hunc locum uterque et Theod. in 1 Tim. iii.
[h] Acts xiii. 2. 3.

Ἀπόστολον ἐθνῶν, "the apostle of the gentiles;"[i] as St. Peter, for the same reason, and in the same modification, is called Ἀπόστολος περιτομῆς, that is, "the apostle of those who were of the circumcision."[k] And thus Epaphroditus is called "the apostle of the Philippians," who clearly was their bishop, (as I shall show in the sequel,) that is, he had an apostolate limited to the diocess of Philippi. "Paulatim verò tempore procedente, et alii ab his quos Dominus elegerat, ordinati sunt apostoli, sicut ille ad Philippenses sermo declarat, dicens, Necessarium autem existimo Epaphroditum," &c., so St. Jerome;[l] "In process of time, others, besides those whom the Lord had chosen, were ordained apostles:" and particularly he instances in Epaphroditus, from the authority of this instance, adding also, that by the apostles themselves, Judas and Silas were called "apostles."

4. Thus Titus, and some other with him, who came to Jerusalem with the Corinthian benevolence, are called Ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν, "the apostles of the churches:"[m] apostles, I say, in the episcopal sense. They were none of the twelve, they were not of immediate Divine mission, but of apostolic ordination; they were actually bishops, as I shall show hereafter. Titus was bishop of Crete, and Epaphroditus of Philippi; and these were the apostles; for Titus came with the Corinthian, Epaphroditus with the Colossian liberality. Now these men were not Ἀπόστολοι, called "messengers" in respect of these churches sending them with their contributions. 1. Because they are not called the "apostles of these churches," to wit, whose alms they carried, but simply Ἐκκλησιῶν, "of the churches," *viz.* of their own, of which they were bishops. For if the title of apostle had related to their mission from these churches, it is unimaginable that there should be no term of relation expressed. 2. It is very clear that, although they did indeed carry the benevolence of the several churches, yet St. Paul, not those churches, sent them; "And we have sent with them our brother,"[n] &c. 3. They we called "apostles of the churches," not going from Corinth with the money, but before they came thither, from whence they were to be despatched in legation to Jerusalem: "If any inquire of Titus, or the brethren, they are the apostles of the church, and the glory of Christ."[o] So they were "apostles" before they went to Corinth, not for their being employed in the transportation of their charity. So that it is plain, that their apostolate being not relative to the churches, whose benevolence they carried, and they having churches of their own, as Titus had Crete, Epaphroditus had Philippi, their apostolate was a fixed residence, and superintendency of their several churches.

[i] Rom. xi. 13.
[l] In cap. i. Gal.
[n] Verse 22.
[k] Gal. ii. 8.
[m] 2 Cor. viii. 23.
[o] Verse 23.

SECTION V.

And Office.

BUT in Holy Scripture, the identity of the ordinary office of apostleship and episcopacy is clearer yet. For when the Holy Spirit had sent seven letters to the seven Asian bishops, the angel of the church of Ephesus is commended for trying them, which say they are apostles, and are not, and hath found them liars.[a] This angel of the church of Ephesus, as antiquity hath taught us, was at that time Timothy, or Gaius;[b] the first a disciple, the other had been an entertainer of the apostles, and either of them knew them well enough: it could not be, that any man should dissemble their persons, and counterfeit himself St. Paul or St. Peter. And if they had, yet little trying was needful to discover their folly in such a case; and whether it was Timothy or Gaius, he could deserve but small commendations for the mere believing of his own eyes and memory. Besides, the apostles, except St. John, all were then dead, and he known to live in Patmos; known by the public attestation of the sentence of relegation "ad insulam." These men, therefore, dissembling themselves to be apostles, must dissemble an ordinary function, not an extraordinary person. And, indeed, by the concourse of story, place, and time, Diotrephes was the man St. John chiefly pointed at. For he, seeing that at Ephesus there had been an episcopal chair placed, and Timothy a long while possessed of it, and perhaps Gaius after him,[c] if we may trust Dorotheus, and the like in some other churches; and that St. John had not constituted bishops in all other churches of the lesser Asia, but kept the jurisdiction to be ministered by himself, would arrogantly take upon him to be a bishop without apostolical ordination, obtruding himself upon the church of Ephesus; so becoming ἀλλοτριο-επίσκοπος, "a busy man in another's diocess." This, and such impostors as this, the angel of the church of Ephesus did try, and discover, and convict; and in it he was assisted by St. John himself, as is intimated in St. John's third epistle, written to his Gaius, (ver. 9.) "I wrote unto the church," to wit, of Asia, "but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not." Clearly this ψευδο-απόστολος would have been a bishop. It was a matter of ambition, a quarrel for superintendence and pre-eminence, that troubled him; and this also appears further, in that he exercised jurisdiction and excommunication, where he had nothing to do; (ver. 10.) "He forbids them that would receive the brethren, and casteth them out of the church." So that here it is clear, this false apostolate was his ambitious seeking of episcopal pre-eminence and jurisdiction, without lawful ordination. Φιλοπρωτεύων Διοτρεφὴς, that was his design; he loved to

[a] Apocal. ii.
[b] Doroth. Synops.
[c] Vide Constit. Apost. per Clement. ubi quidem Johannes in Epheso Episc. post Timoth. collocatur.

be the first in the church, "esse apostolum, esse episcopum;" "to be an apostle, or a bishop."

SECTION VI.

Which Christ himself hath made distinct from Presbyters.

But this office of the ordinary apostleship or episcopacy, derives its fountain from a rock; Christ's own distinguishing the apostolate from the function of presbyters. For when our blessed Saviour had gathered many disciples, who believed him at his first preaching, "Vocavit discipulos suos, et elegit duodecim ex ipsis quos et apostolos nominavit,"[a] saith St. Luke: "He called his disciples and out of them chose twelve, and called them apostles." That was the first election. "Post hæc autem designavit Dominus et alios septuaginta-duos." That was his second election; the first were called "apostles," the second were not, and yet he sent them by two and two.

We hear but of one commission granted them, which when they had performed, and returned joyful at their power over devils, we hear no more of them in the gospel, but that their names were written in heaven. We are likely, therefore, to hear of them after the passion, if they can but hold their own. And so we do. For after the passion, the apostles gathered them together, and joined them in clerical commission, by virtue of Christ's first ordination of them; for a new ordination we find none in Holy Scripture recorded, before we find them doing clerical offices. Ananias, we read, baptizing of Saul: Philip, the evangelist, we find preaching in Samaria, and baptizing his converts; others also, we find, presbyters at Jerusalem, especially at the first council; for there was Judas, surnamed Justus; and Silas, and St. Mark; and John, (a presbyter, not an apostle, as Eusebius reports him,[b]) and Simeon Cleophas, who tarried there till he was made bishop of Jerusalem. These, and divers others, are reckoned to be of the number of the seventy-two, by Eusebius and Dorotheus.

Here are plainly two offices of ecclesiastical ministries, apostles and presbyters; so the Scripture calls them. These were distinct, and not temporary, but succeeded to; and if so, then here is clearly a Divine institution of two orders, and yet deacons neither of them. Here let us fix awhile.

SECTION VII.

Giving to Apostles a Power to do some Offices perpetually necessary, which to others he gave not.

Then, it is clear in Scripture, that the apostles did some acts of ministry, which were necessary to be done for ever in the church, and, therefore, to b committed to their successors; which acts th seventy disciples or presbyters could not do. 'Ε- *κρίτως δὲ αὐτῇ παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις εἰς λειτουργία ὁ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἀπονενέμηκε τὰς θειοτέρας ἱερουργία* saith St. Denis, of the highest order of the hie archy:[c] "The law of God hath reserved the greate and diviner offices to the highest order."

First: The apostles imposed hands in ordination which the seventy-two did not. The case is known Acts vi. The apostles called the disciples, willin them to choose seven men, whom they might con stitute in the ministration and oversight of the poo They did so, and set them before the twelve apos tles; so they are specified and numbered, verse 2 cum 6. "and when they had prayed, they laid thei hands on them." They, not the disciples, not th seventy-two, who were there actually present, an seven of them were then ordained to this ministry for they were not now ordained to be *διάκονοι μι στηρίων*, but *τραπέζων*, as the council of Constanti nople calls them;[d] and that these were the numbe of the seventy-two disciples, Epiphanius bears wit ness.[e] He sent other seventy-two to preach, *ἐξ ὧ ἦσαν οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ τῶν χηρῶν τεταγμένοι*, "of which number were those seven ordained and set over th widows." And the same is intimated by St. Chry sostom, if I understand him right; *Ποῖον δὲ ἄρ ἀξίωμα εἶχον οὗτοι, καὶ ποίαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονία ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν· ἆρα τὴν τῶν διακόνων; καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρεσ βυτέρων ἐστιν ἡ οἰκονομία.*[f] What dignity ha these seven here ordained? Of deacons? No; fo this dispensation is made by priests, not deacons and Theophylact, more clearly repeating the word of St. Chrysostom, "pro more suo," adds this: *Τῶ πρεσβυτέρων οἶμαι τὸ ὄνομα εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμ αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ τέως εἰς τοῦτο διακονεῖν τοῖς πιστοῖς τ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐχειροτονήθησαν.*[g] The name an dignity of these seven was no less, but even th dignity of presbyters, only for the time they were appointed to dispense the goods of the church fo the good of the faithful people. Presbyters they were, say St. Chrysostom and Theophylact; of th number of the seventy-two, saith Epiphanius. But however, it is clear, that the seventy-two were pre sent; for the whole multitude of the disciples was as yet there resident; they were not yet sen abroad, they were not scattered with persecution till the martyrdom of St. Stephen; but the twelve called the whole multitude of the disciples to them about this affair (verse 2). But yet themselves only did ordain them.

Secondly: An instance parallel to this, is in the imposition of hands upon St. Paul and Barnabas, in the first ordination that was held at Antioch.[h] "Now there were in the church that were at Antioch, certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaen, and Saul. *Λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν*, while these men were ministering, the Holy Ghost said to them, Separate me Barnabas and Saul." They did so; they "fasted,

[a] Luke x. [b] Lib. iii. c. 3.
[c] Eccles. Hierarch. c. 5. As of Ordination.
[d] In Trullo, can. 6. [e] Hæres. xx.
[f] Homil. 14. in Act. vi. [g] In hunc locum. [h] Acts xiii.

they prayed, they laid their hands on them, and sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed into Seleucia." This is the story; now let us make our best of it. Here, then, was the ordination and imposition of hands complete; and that was said to be done by the Holy Ghost, which was done by the prophets of Antioch. For they sent them away; and yet the next words are, "so they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost." So that here was the thing done, and that by the prophets alone, and that by the command of the Holy Ghost, and said to be his act. Well! but what were these prophets? They were prophets in the church of Antioch: not such as Agabus, and the daughters of Philip the evangelist, prophets of prediction extraordinary, but prophets of ordinary office and ministration; προφῆται, διδάσκαλοι, καὶ λειτουργοῦντες, "prophets, and teachers, and ministers."[i] More than ordinary ministers, for they were doctors or teachers; and that is not all, for they were prophets too. This, even at first sight, is more than the ordinary office of the presbytery. We shall see this clear enough in St. Paul,[k] where the ordinary office of prophets is reckoned before pastors, before evangelists, next to apostles; that is, next to such apostles, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔδωκε, as St. Paul there expresses it; next to those apostles to whom Christ hath given immediate mission. And these are, therefore, apostles too; apostles "secundi ordinis;" none of the twelve, but such as St. James, and Epaphroditus, and Barnabas, and St. Paul himself. To be sure they were such prophets as St. Paul and Barnabas; for they are reckoned in the number by St. Luke; for here it was that St. Paul, although he had immediate vocation by Christ, yet he had particular ordination to his apostolate or ministry of the gentiles. It is evident, then, what prophets these were; they were, at the least, more than ordinary presbyters, and, therefore, they imposed hands, and they only. And yet, to make the business up complete, St. Mark was amongst them, but he imposed no hands; he was there as the deacon and minister, (verse 5.) but he meddled not. St. Luke fixes the whole action upon the prophets, such as St. Paul himself was, and so did the Holy Ghost too; but neither did St. Mark, who was an evangelist and one of the seventy-two disciples, (as he is reckoned in the primitive catalogues by Eusebius and Dorotheus,) nor any of the college of the Antiochian presbyters, that were less than prophets, that is, who were not more than mere presbyters.

The sum is this: Imposition of hands is a duty and office necessary for the perpetuating of a church, "ne gens sit unius ætatis," "lest it expire in one age." This power of imposition of hands for ordination, was fixed upon the apostles and apostolic men, and not communicated to the seventy-two disciples or presbyters; for the apostles and apostolic men did so "de facto," and were commanded to do so, and the seventy-two never did so. Therefore this office and ministry of the apostolate is distinct, and superior to that of presbyters; and this distinction must be so continued to all ages of the church; for the thing was not temporary, but productive of issue and succession; and, therefore, as perpetual as the clergy, as the church itself.

[i] Prophetas duplici genere intelligamus, et futura dicentes, et scripturas revelantes.—S. Ambros. in 1 Cor. xii.

SECTION VIII.

And Confirmation.

Secondly: The apostles did impose hands for confirmation of baptized people; and this was a perpetual act of a power to be succeeded to, and yet not communicated, nor executed by the seventy-two, or any other mere presbyter. That the apostles did confirm baptized people, and others of the inferior clergy could not, is, beyond all exception, clear, in the case of the Samaritan christians, Acts viii. For when St. Philip had converted and baptized the men of Samaria, the apostles sent Peter and John to lay their hands on them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. St. Philip was an evangelist; he was one of the seventy-two disciples,[a] a presbyter, and appointed to the same ministration that St. Stephen was, about the poor widows; yet he could not do this; the apostles must, and did. This giving of the Holy Ghost by imposition of the apostles' hands, was not for a miraculous gift, but an ordinary grace. For St. Philip could, and did do miracles enough; but this grace he could not give, the grace of consigning or confirmation. The like case is in Acts xii. where some people, having been baptized at Ephesus, St. Paul confirmed them, giving them the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. The apostles did it; not the twelve only, but apostolic men, the other apostles. St. Paul did it. St. Philip could not, nor any of the seventy-two; or any other mere presbyters ever did it, that we find in Holy Scripture.

Yea, but this imposition of hands was for a miraculous issue; for the Ephesine christians received the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues, and prophesied; which effect, because it is ceased, certainly the thing was temporary, and long ago expired. First: Not for this reason, to be sure. For extraordinary effects may be temporary, when the function which they attest may be eternal; and, therefore, are no signs of an extraordinary ministry. The apostles' preaching was attended by miracles, and extraordinary conversions of people, *ut in exordio*, "Apostolos divinorum signorum comitabantur effectus et Spiritûs Sancti gratia, ita ut videres unâ alloquutione integros simul populos ad cultum divinæ religionis adduci, et prædicantium verbis non esse tardiorem audientium fidem," as Eusebius tells,[b] of the success of the preaching of some evangelists; yet I hope preaching must not now cease, because no miracles are done; or that to convert one man now, would be the greatest miracle. The apostles, when they cursed and anathematized

[k] Ephes. iv.

[a] S. Cyprian. ad Jubajan.

[b] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 37.

a delinquent, he died suddenly; as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira, whom St. Peter slew with the word of his ministry; and yet now, although these extraordinary issues cease, it is not safe venturing upon the curses of the church. When the apostles did excommunicate a sinner, he was presently delivered over to Satan to be buffeted, that is, to be afflicted with corporal punishments; and now, although no such exterminating angels beat the bodies of persons excommunicate, yet the power of excommunication, I hope, still remains in the church, and the power of the keys is not also gone. So, also, in the power of confirmation;[c] which, however attended by a miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost, in gifts of languages and healing, yet, like other miracles in respect of the whole integrity of christian faith, these miracles at first did confirm the function and the faith for ever.

Now then, that this right of imposing hands, for confirming of baptized people, was not to expire with the persons of the apostles, appears from these considerations.

First: Because Christ made a promise of sending "Vicarium suum Spiritum," the Holy Ghost, in his stead; and this, by way of appropriation, is called "the promise of the Father." This was pertinent to all christendom, "Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem;" so it was in the prophecy. "For the promise is to you and to your children, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν, ὅσους ἂν προσκαλέσηται Κύριος, and to all them that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord shall call."[d] So it was in the first accomplishing. To all: and this for ever; "for I will send the Holy Ghost unto you, and he shall abide with you for ever." For it was "in subsidium," to supply the comforts of his desired presence; and must, therefore, "ex vi intentionis," be remanent till Christ's coming again. Now, then, this promise being to be communicated to all, and that for ever, must either come to us by, 1. Extraordinary and miraculous mission; or by, 2. An ordinary ministry. Not the first; for we might as well expect the gift of miracles. If the second, (as it is most certain so,) then the main question is evicted; viz. that something perpetually necessary was in the power of the apostles, which was not in the power of the inferior ministers, nor of any but themselves and their colleagues; to wit, "ministerium S. Spiritûs," or the ordinary "office of giving the Holy Ghost" by imposition of hands. For this promise was performed to the apostles in Pentecost, to the rest of the faithful after baptism; "Quod enim nunc in confirmandis Neophytis manûs impositio tribuit singulis, hoc tunc Spiritûs Sancti descensio, in credentium populo donavit universis," saith Eusebius Emissenus.[e] Now we find no other way of performing it, nor any ordinary conveyance of the Spirit to all people, but this; and we find that the Holy Ghost actually was given this way. Therefore the effect, to wit, the Holy Ghost, being to continue for ever, and the promise of universal concernment, this way also of its communication, to wit, by apostolical imposition of hands, is also "perpetuum ministerium," to be succeeded to, and to abide for ever.

Secondly: This ministry of imposition of hands for confirmation of baptized people, is so far from being a temporary grace, and to determine with the persons of the apostles, that it is a fundamental point of christianity, an essential ingredient to it composition; St. Paul is my author, "Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, faith towards God, the doctrines of baptism, and of laying on of hands,"[f] &c. Here is imposition of hands reckoned as part of the foundation and a principle of christianity in St. Paul's catechism. Now imposition of hands is used by name in Scripture but for two ministrations: first, for ordination; and secondly for this, whatsoever it is. Imposition of hands for ordination does indeed give the Holy Ghost, but not as he is that promise which is called "the promise of the Father." For the Holy Ghost for ordination was given before the ascension, John xx. But the promises of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, (the Paraclete, I say, not the Ordainer or Fountain of priestly order, that) was not given till the day of Pentecost; and besides, it was promised to all christian people, and the other was given only to the clergy.

Add to this, that St. Paul having laid this in the foundation, makes his progress from this to "perfection," (as he calls it,) that is, to higher mysteries; and then his discourse is immediately of the priesthood evangelical, which is originally in Christ, ministerially in the clergy; so that, unless we will either confound the terms of his progress, or imagine him to make the ministry of the clergy the foundation of Christ's priesthood, and not rather contrary, it is clear, that by imposition of hands, St. Paul means not ordination, and therefore confirmation, there being no other ordinary ministry of imposition of hands, but these two, specified in Holy Scripture. For, as for benediction, in which Christ used the ceremony, and as for healing, in which Ananias and the apostles used it; the first is clearly no principle or fundamental point of christianity; and the second is confessedly extraordinary; therefore the argument is still firm upon its first principles.

3. Lastly: The primitive church did, "de facto," and believed themselves to be tied "de jure" to use this right of confirmation and giving of the Holy Ghost after baptism.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius, tells a story of a young man whom St. John had converted and committed to a bishop to be brought up in the faith of christendom: "Qui," saith St. Clement, "eum baptismi sacramento illuminavit, postea verò sigillo Domini tanquam perfectâ et tutâ ejus animi custodiâ obsignavit."[g] The bishop first "baptized" him, then "consigned" him. Justin Martyr says, (speaking "pro more ecclesiæ," according to the custom of the church,) that when the mysteries of

[c] Vide August. tract. vi. in 1. Epist. Johan.
[d] Acts ii. 39.
[e] Serm. de Pentecost.
[f] Heb. vi. 2.
[g] Lib. iii. Hist. cap. 17.

baptism were done, then the faithful are consigned or confirmed.[h]

St. Cyprian relates to this story of St. Philip and the apostles, and gives this account of the whole affair: "Et idcircò quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptismum consequuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultrà non oportebat; sed tantummodo id quod deerat, id à Petro et Johanne factum erat, ut, oratione pro eis habitâ, et manu impositâ, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus Sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesiâ baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur; ut per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico confirmentur,"[i] St. Peter and St. John, by imposing their hands on the converts of Samaria, praying over them, and giving them the Holy Ghost, made supply to them of what was wanting after baptism: and this is to this day done in the church; for new baptized people are brought to the bishops, and by imposition of their hands obtain the Holy Ghost.

But for this who pleases to be further satisfied in the primitive faith of christendom, may see it in the decretal epistles of Cornelius the martyr, to Fabianus, recorded by Eusebius; in the epistle[k] written to Julius and Julianus, bishops, under the name of St. Clement; in the epistle[l] of Urban P. and martyr; in Tertullian,[m] in St. Austin,[n] and in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whose whole third Mystagogique catechism is concerning confirmation. This only: "the catholics, whose christian prudence it was, in all true respects, to disadvantage heretics, lest their poison should infect like a pest, laid it in Novatus's dish as a crime, "He was baptized in his bed, and was not confirmed," Unde nec Spiritum Sanctum unquam potuerit promereri; Therefore he could never receive the gift of the Holy Ghost:" So Cornelius in the fore-quoted epistle. Whence it is evident, that then it was the belief of christendom, that the Holy Ghost was, by no ordinary ministry, given to faithful people after baptism, but only by apostolical or episcopal consignation and imposition of hands.

What also the faith of Christendom was concerning the minister of confirmation, and that bishops only could do it, I shall make evident in the descent of this discourse. Here the scene lies in Scripture, where it is clear that St. Philip, one of the seventy-two disciples, as antiquity reports him, and an evangelist, and a disciple, as Scripture also expresses him, could not impose hands for application of the promise of the Father, and ministerial giving of the Holy Ghost, but the apostles must go to do it; and also there is no example in Scripture of any that ever did it but an apostle, and yet this is an ordinary ministry which "de jure" ought, and "de facto" always was continued in the church. Therefore there must always be an ordinary office of apostleship in the church to do it, that is, an office above presbyters, for in Scripture they could never do it; and this is it which we call episcopacy.

[h] Quæst. 137. ad Orthod.
[i] Epist 73. ad Jubajan.
[k] Lib. vi. Hist. cap. 33.
[l] In 1. tom. Concil.
[m] Lib. de Baptismo, c. 8.
[n] Lib. ii. contra Lit. Petil. cap. 104. et lib. xv. de Trinit. c. 26. Vide etiam S. Hieron. contra Luciferianos. S. Ambros. lib. ii. c. 2. de Sacramentis, Epist. 3. Euseb. P. et M. ad Episc. Tusciæ et Campon. Isidor. Hispal. de Eccles. Offic. lib. ii. c. 26.

SECTION IX.

And Superiority of Jurisdiction.

THIRDLY: The apostles were rulers of the whole church, and each apostle respectively of his several diocess, when he would fix his chair; and had superintendency over the presbyters and the people, and this by Christ's donation. The charter is by the fathers said to be this: "Sicut misit me Pater sic ego mitto vos;" "as my Father hath sent me, even so I send you."[a] Manifesta enim est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem à Patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus eâdem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes;" said Clarus à Musculâ, the bishop in the council of Carthage, related by St. Cyprian and St. Austin.[b] But, however, it is evident in Scripture, that the apostles had such superintendency over the inferior clergy, (presbyters I mean and deacons,) and a superiority of jurisdiction, and therefore it is certain that Christ gave it them, for none of the apostles took this honour, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron.

1. Our blessed Saviour gave to the apostles "plenitudinem potestatis." It was "Sicut misit me, Pater," &c. "As my Father sent, so I send you, my apostles, whom I have chosen." This was not said to presbyters, for they had no commission at all given to them by Christ, but at their first mission to preach repentance; I say no commission at all; they were not spoken to, they were not present. Now then consider. Suppose that, as Aerius did deny the Divine institution of bishops over the presbyters "cum grege," another as confident as he should deny the Divine institution of presbyters, what proof were there in all the Holy Scripture to show the Divine institution of them as a distinct order from apostles or bishops? Indeed Christ selected seventy-two and gave them commission to preach; but that commission was temporary, and expired before the crucifixion, for aught appears in Scripture. If it be said the apostles did ordain presbyters in every city, it is true, but not sufficient, for so they ordained deacons at Jerusalem, and in all established churches, and yet this will not tantamount to an immediate Divine institution for deacons; and how can it then for presbyters? If we say a constant catholic traditive interpretation of Scripture does teach us that Christ did institute the presbyterate together with episcopacy, and made the apostles presbyters as well as bishops; this is

[a] John xx. 21.
[b] Lib. vii. de Baptism. contra Donatist. c. 43. Vide etiam S. Cyprian de Unit. Eccles. et S. Cyril. in Joh. lib. xii. c. 55.

true. But then, 1. We recede from the plain words of Scripture, and rely upon tradition, which, in this question of episcopacy, will be of dangerous consequence to the enemies of it; for the same tradition, if that be admitted for good probation, is for episcopal pre-eminence, over presbyters, as will appear in the sequel. 2. Though no use be made of this advantage, yet to the allegation it will be quickly answered, that it can never be proved from Scripture, that Christ made the apostles priests first, and then bishops or apostles, but only that Christ gave them several commissions, and parts of the office apostolical, all which being in one person, cannot by force of Scripture prove two orders. Truth is, if we change the scene of war, and say that the presbyterate as a distinct order from the ordinary office of apostleship, is not of Divine institution, the proof of it would be harder than for the Divine institution of episcopacy. Especially if we consider, that, in all the enumerations of the parts of clerical offices, there is no enumeration of presbyters, but of apostles there is;[c] and the other members of the induction are of gifts of christianity, or parts of the apostolate; and either must infer many more orders than the church ever yet admitted of, or none distinct from the apostolate; insomuch as apostles were pastors, and teachers, and evangelists, and rulers, and had the gift of tongues, of healing, and of miracles. This thing is of great consideration; and this use I will make of it: That either Christ made the seventy-two to be presbyters, and in them instituted the distinct order of presbyterate, as the ancient church always did believe, or else he gave no distinct commission for any such distinct order. If the second be admitted, then the presbyterate is not of immediate Divine institution, but of apostolical only, as is the order of deacons; and the whole plenitude of power is in the order apostolical alone, and the apostles did constitute presbyters with a greater portion of their own power, as they did deacons with a less. But if the first be said, then the commission to the seventy-two presbyters being only of preaching that we find in Scripture, all the rest of their power which now they have, is by apostolical ordinance; and then, although the apostles did admit them "in partem solicitudinis," yet they did not admit them "in plenitudinem potestatis," for then they must have made them apostles, and then there will be no distinction of order neither by Divine nor apostolical institution neither.

I care not which part be chosen, one is certain; but if either of them be true, then since to the apostles only Christ gave a plenitude of power, it follows, that either the presbyters have no power of jurisdiction, as affixed to a distinct order, and then the apostles are to rule them by virtue of the order and ordinary commission apostolical; or, if they have jurisdiction, they do derive it "à fonte apostolorum," and then the apostles have superiority of jurisdiction over presbyters, because presbyters only have it by delegation apostolical. And that I say truth, (besides that there is no possibility of showing the contrary in Scripture, by the producing any other commission given to presbyters, than what I have specified,) I will hereafter show it to have been the faith and practice of christendom, not only that presbyters were actually subordinate to bishops (which I contend to be the ordinary office of apostleship,) but that presbyters have no jurisdiction essential to their order, but derivative only from apostolical pre-eminence.

2. Let us now see the matter of fact. They that can inflict censures upon presbyters have certainly superiority of jurisdiction over presbyters, for "Æqualis æqualem coercere non potest," saith the law. Now it is evident, in the case of Diotrephes a presbyter, and a bishop would-be, that, for his peremptory rejection of some faithful people from the catholic communion without cause, and without authority, St. John the apostle threatened him in his epistle to Gaius, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐὰν ἔλθω, ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ*, &c. "Wherefore when I come, I will remember him;" and all that would have been to very little purpose, if he had not had coercive jurisdiction to have punished his delinquency.

3. Presbyters many of them did succeed the apostles by a new ordination, as Matthias succeeded Judas, who, before his new ordination, was one of the seventy-two, as Eusebius,[d] Epiphanius,[e] and St. Jerome[f] affirm, and in Scripture is expressed to be of the number of them that went in and out with Jesus; St. Clement succeeded St. Peter at Rome: St. Simeon Cleophas succeeded St. James at Jerusalem, St. Philip succeeded St. Paul at Cæsarea; and divers others of the seventy-two reckoned by Dorotheus, Eusebius, and others of the fathers, did govern the several churches after the apostles' death, which before they did not. Now it is clear that he that receives no more power after the apostles, than he had under them, can no way be said to succeed them in their charge or churches. It follows then, since (as will more fully appear anon) presbyters did succeed the apostles, that under the apostles they had not such jurisdiction as afterwards they had. But the apostles had the same to which the presbyters succeeded, therefore greater than the presbyters had, before they did succeed. When I say presbyters succeeded the apostles, I mean, not as presbyters, but by a new ordination to the dignity of bishops; so they succeeded, and so they prove an evidence of fact, for a superiority of jurisdiction in the apostolical clergy. Now, that this superiority of jurisdiction was not temporary, but to be succeeded in, appears from reason, and from ocular demonstration, or of the thing done.

1. If superiority of jurisdiction was necessary in the ages apostolical for the regiment of the church, there is no imaginable reason why it should not be necessary in succession, since, upon the emergency of schisms and heresies, which were foretold should multiply in descending ages, government and superiority of jurisdiction, unity of supremacy, and coercion, was more necessary than at first, when extra-

[c] Ephes. iv. 1 Cor. xii.
[d] Lib. i. Hist. c. 12. et Lib. ii. c. 9.
[e] Hæres. xx.
[f] De Script. Eccles. in Matt. vide Irenæum, lib. iv. c. 63. Tertul. de Præscript.

ordinary gifts might supply, what now we expect to be performed by an ordinary authority.

2. Whatsoever was the regiment of the church in the apostles' times, that must be perpetual, (not so as to have[g] "all" that which was personal and temporary, but so as to have "no other,") for that, and that only, is of Divine institution which Christ committed to the apostles; and if the church be not now governed as then, we can show no Divine authority for our government; which we must contend to do, and do it too, or be called usurpers. For either the apostles did govern the church as Christ commanded them, or not. If not, then they failed in the founding of the church, and the church is built upon a rock. If they did, as most certainly they did, then either the same disparity of jurisdiction must be retained, or else we must be governed with an unlawful and unwarranted equality, because not by that which only is of immediate Divine institution; and then it must needs be a fine government, where there is no authority, and where no man is superior.

3. We see a disparity in the regiment of churches warranted by Christ himself, and confirmed by the Holy Ghost, in fairest intimation. I mean the seven angel-presidents of the seven Asian churches. If these seven angels were seven bishops, that is, prelates or governors of these seven churches, in which it is evident and confessed of all sides there were many presbyters,—then it is certain, that a superiority of jurisdiction was intended by Christ himself, and given by him, insomuch as he is the fountain of all power derived to the church; for Christ writes to these seven churches, and directs his epistles to the seven governors of these churches, calling them angels; which it will hardly be supposed he would have done, if the function had not been a ray of the Sun of righteousness; they had not else been angels of light, nor stars held in Christ's own right hand.

This is certain, that the function of these angels, whatsoever it be, is a Divine institution. Let us then see what is meant by these stars and angels. "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches."[h]

1. Then it is evident, that although the epistles were sent, with a final intention for the edification and confirmation of the whole churches or people of the diocess, with an "attendite quid Spiritus dicit ecclesiis;" yet the personal direction was not to the whole church, for the whole church is called the candlestick, and the superscription of the epistles is not to the seven "candlesticks," but to the seven "stars," which are the angels of the seven churches, viz. the lights shining in the candlesticks. By the angel, therefore, is not, cannot be meant, the "whole church."

2. It is plain, that by the angel is meant the governor of the church; first, because of the title of eminency, the angel *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, that is, the messenger, the legate, the apostle of the church.[i] *Ἄγγελοι ἐαυτῶν.* For these words, "angel" or "apostle," although they signify mission or legation, yet, in Scripture, they often relate to the persons to whom they are sent; as in the examples before specified. *Ἄγγελοι ἐαυτῶν*: "Their angels."—*Ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν*: "The apostles of the churches."—*Ἄγγελος τῆς Ἐφησίκης Ἐκκλησίας*: "The angel of the church of Ephesus;" and divers others. Their compellation, therefore, being a word of "office," in respect to him that sends them, and of "eminence," in relation to them to whom they are sent, shows that the angel was the ruler of each church respectively. 2. Because acts of jurisdiction are concredited to him; as not to suffer false apostles; so to the angel of the church of Ephesus, which is clearly a power of cognizance and coercion "in causis clericorum," to be "watchful" and "strengthen" the things that remain; as to the angel of the church in Sardis, *γίνου γρηγορῶν, καὶ στήριξον τὰ λοιπά*: "The 'first' is the office of rulers, for they 'watch' for your souls;"[j] and the second, of apostles and apostolic men. *Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ Σίλας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπεστήριξαν*: "Judas and Silas confirmed the brethren;" for these men, although they were but of the LXXII. at first, yet by this time were made apostles and "chief men among the brethren." St. Paul, also, was joined in this work, *διήρχετο ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς Ἐκκλησίας*: "He went up and down confirming the churches."[k] And *τὰ λοιπὰ διατάξομαι.* St. Paul.[l] To confirm the churches, and to make supply of what is deficient in discipline and government, these were offices of power and jurisdiction, no less than episcopal or apostolical; and besides, the angel here spoken of had a propriety in the people of the diocess; "thou hast a few names even in Sardis;" they were the bishop's people, the angel had a right to them. And good reason that the people should be his, for their faults are attributed to him, as to the angel of Pergamus, and divers others, and, therefore, they are deposited in his custody. He is to be their ruler and pastor, and this is called "his ministry." To the angel of the church of Thyatira, *οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τὴν διακονίαν*, "I have known thy ministry." His office, therefore, was clerical, it was an angel-minister; and this, his office, must make him the guide and superior to the rest, even all the whole church, since he was charged with all.

3. By the angel is meant a singular person, for the reprehensions and the commendations respectively, imply personal delinquency, or suppose personal excellencies. Add to this, that the compellation is singular, and of determinate number, so that we may as well multiply churches as persons; for the seven churches had but seven stars, and these seven stars were the angels of the seven churches. And if by seven stars they may mean seventy times seven stars, (for so they may, if they begin to multiply,) then, by one star, they must mean many stars; and so they may multiply churches too, for there were as many churches as stars, and no more angels than churches; and it is as reasonable to multiply these seven churches into seven thousand,

[g] Ut puta, viduarum collegium, et diaconorum, et cœnobium fidelium, &c.

[h] Rev. i. 20.
[i] Acts xv.
[j] Heb. xiii.
[k] 1 Cor. xi.

as every star into a constellation, or every angel into a legion.

But besides the exigency of the thing itself, these seven angels are, by antiquity, called the seven governors or bishops of the seven churches, and their names are commemorated. Unto these seven churches, "St. John," saith Arethas,[m] "reckoneth ἰσαρίθμους ἐφόρους Ἀγγέλους, an equal number of angel-governors;" and Œcumenius, in his Scholia upon this place, saith the very same words, "Septem igitur angelos rectores septem ecclesiarum debemus intelligere eò quòd angelus nuntius interpretatur," saith St. Ambrose; and again, "Angelos episcopos dicit, sicut docetur in apocalypsi Johannis."[n] Let the woman have a covering on her head, "because of the angels;"[o] that is, in reverence and in subjection to the bishop of the church, for bishops are the angels, as is taught in the Revelation of St. John. "Divinâ voce sub angeli nomine laudatur præpositus ecclesiæ," so St. Austin: "By the voice of God, the bishop of the church is commended under the title of an angel."[p] Eusebius names some of these angels, who were then presidents and actually bishops of these churches. St. Polycarp was one to be sure, "apud Smyrnam et episcopus et martyr," saith Eusebius. He was the angel of the church of Smyrna; and he had good authority for it, for he reports it out of Polycrates,[q] who, a little after, was himself an angel of the church of Ephesus; and he also quotes St. Irenæus for it, and out of the encyclical epistle of the church of Smyrna itself; and, besides these authorities, it is attested by St. Ignatius,[r] and Tertullian.[s] St. Timothy was another angel, to wit, of the church of Ephesus; to be sure had been, and most likely was still surviving. Antipas is reckoned by name in the Revelation, and he had been the angel of Pergamus; but before this book was written, he was turned from an angel to a saint.[t] Melito, in all probability, was then the angel of the church of Sardis. "Melito quoque Sardensis ecclesiæ antistes, et Apollinaris apud Hierapolim ecclesiam regens celeberrimi inter cæteros habebantur," saith Eusebius.[u] These men were actually living when St. John writ his Revelation; for Melito writ his book de Paschate, when Sergius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, and writ after the Revelation; for he writ a treatise of it, as saith Eusebius. However, at least some of these were then, and all of these about that time, were bishops of these churches; and the angels St. John speaks of, were such who had jurisdiction over their whole diocess; therefore these, or such as these, were the angels to whom the Spirit of God writ hortatory and commendatory letters, such whom Christ held in his right hand, and fixed them in the churches like lights set on a candlestick, that they might give shine to the whole house.

The sum of all is this: that Christ did institute apostles and presbyters, or seventy-two disciples. To the apostles he gave a plenitude of power; for the whole commission was given to them in as great and comprehensive clauses as were imaginable; for by virtue of it, they received a power of giving the Holy Ghost in confirmation, and of giving his grace in the collation of holy orders, a power of jurisdiction and authority to govern the church: and this power was not "temporary," but "successive" and "perpetual," and was intended as an "ordinary" office in the church, so that the "successors" of the apostles had the same right and institution that the apostles themselves had; and though the personal mission was not immediate, as of the apostles it was, yet the commission and institution of the function was all one. But to the seventy-two Christ gave no commission but of "preaching," which was a very limited commission. There was all the immediate Divine institution of presbyterate, as a distinct order that can be fairly pretended. But yet further, these seventy-two the apostles did admit "in partem solicitudinis," and, by new ordination or delegation apostolical, did give them power of administering sacraments, of absolving sinners, or governing the church in conjunction and subordination to the apostles, of which they had a capacity by Christ's calling them at first "in sortem ministerii;" but the exercise, and the actuating of this capacity, they had from the apostles. So that, not by Divine ordination, or immediate commission from Christ, but by derivation from the apostles, and therefore, in minority and subordination to them, the presbyters did exercise acts of order and jurisdiction in the absence of the apostles or bishops, or in conjunction consiliary, and by way of advice, or before the consecration of a bishop to a particular church. And all this I doubt not but was done by the direction of the Holy Ghost, as were all other acts of apostolical ministration, and particularly the institution of the other order, viz. of deacons. This is all that can be proved out of Scripture, concerning the commission given in the institution of presbyters; and this I shall afterwards confirm by the practice of the catholic church, and so vindicate the practices of the present church from the common prejudices that disturb us; for, by this account, episcopacy is not only a Divine institution, but the only order that derives immediately from Christ.

For the present only, I sum up this with that saying of Theodoret, speaking of the seventy-two disciples. "Palmæ sunt isti qui nutriuntur ac eruditur ab apostolis. Nam quanquam Christus hos etiam eligit, erant tamen duodecim illis inferiores, et postea illorum discipuli et sectatores:" "The apostles are the twelve fountains, and the LXXII. are the palms that are nourished by the waters of those fountains. For though Christ also ordained the LXXII. yet they were inferior to the apostles, and afterwards were their followers and disciples."[x]

I know no objection to hinder a conclusion; only two or three words out of Ignatius are pretended against the main question, viz. to prove that he, although a bishop, yet had no apostolical authority, οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, "I do not command

[m] In 1 Apocal. [n] Ibid. [o] In 1 Cor. xi.
[p] Epist. 162. et in Apocal. lib. v. c. 21.
[q] Lib. iv. c. 10. Lib. iv. c. 15.
[r] Epist. ad Polycarp. [s] De Præscrip.
[t] Vide Aretha in 1 Apoc. [u] Lib. iv. c. 26.
[x] In Lucam. c. 1.

this as an apostle, (for what am I, and what is my father's house, that I should compare myself with them,) but as your fellow-soldier and a monitor."[y] But this answers itself, if we consider to whom he speaks it. Not to his own church of Antioch, for there he might command as an apostle, but to the Philadelphians he might not, they were no part of his diocess, he was not "their" apostle, and then because he did not equal the apostles in their commission extraordinary, in their personal privileges, and in their universal jurisdiction, therefore he might not command the Philadelphians, being another bishop's charge, but admonish them with the freedom of a christian bishop, to whom the souls of all faithful people were dear and precious. So that still episcopacy and apostolate may be all one in ordinary office: this hinders not, and I know nothing else pretended, and that antiquity is clearly on this side is the next business.

For hitherto the discourse hath been of the "immediate Divine institution" of episcopacy, by arguments derived from Scripture; I shall only add two more from antiquity, and so pass on to tradition apostolical.

SECTION X.

So that Bishops are Successors in the Office of Apostleship, according to the general Tenent of Antiquity.

1. THE belief of the primitive church is, that bishops are the ordinary successors of the apostles, and presbyters of the seventy-two, and, therefore, did believe that episcopacy is as truly of Divine institution as the apostolate, for the ordinary office both of one and the other is the same thing. For this there is abundant testimony. Some I shall select, enough to give fair evidence of a catholic tradition.

St. Irenæus is very frequent and confident in this particular, "Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos.——Etenim si recondita mysteria scîssent apostoli, his vel maxime traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsas ecclesias committebant—quos successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes:" "We can name the men the apostles made bishops in their several churches, appointing them their successors, and most certainly those mysterious secrets of christianity which themselves knew, they would deliver to them, to whom they committed the churches, and left to be their successors in the same power and authority themselves had."[a]

Tertullian reckons Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and others, to be churches apostolical, "apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident:" "Apostolical they are from their foundation, and by their succession, for the apostles did found them, and apostles or men of apostolic authority still do govern them."[b]

St. Cyprian: "Hoc enim vel maximè, frater, et laboramus et laborare debemus, ut unitatem à Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantùm possumus obtinere curemus:" "We must preserve the unity commanded us by Christ, and delivered by his apostles to us, their successors."[c] "To us, Cyprian and Cornelius," for they only were then in view, the one bishop of Rome, the other of Carthage. And in his epistle ad Florentium Pupianum: "Nec hæc jacto, sed dolens profero, cum te judicem Dei constituas et Christi, qui dicit ad apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt, Qui vos audit, me audit," &c. "Christ said to his apostles, and in them to the governors or bishops of his church, who succeeded the apostles as vicars in their absence, He that heareth you, heareth me."[d]

Famous is that saying of Clarus à Muscula, the bishop, spoken in the council of Carthage, and repeated by St. Austin: "Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus eâdem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. Nos successimus:" "We succeed the apostles, governing the church by the same power."[e] He spake it in full council in an assembly of bishops, and himself was a bishop.

The council of Rome under St. Silvester, speaking of the honour due to bishops, expresses it thus: "Non oportere quemquam Domini discipulis, id est, apostolorum successoribus detrahere:" "No man must detract from the disciples of our Lord, that is, from the apostles' successors."

St. Jerome, speaking against the Montanists for undervaluing their bishops, shows the difference of the catholics' honouring, and the heretics' disadvantaging that sacred order.[f] "Apud nos," saith he, "apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est:" "Bishops with us [Catholics] have the place or authority of apostles, but with them [Montanists] bishops are not the first but the third state of men." And upon that of the Psalmist, "Pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii," St. Jerome, and divers others of the fathers, make this gloss; "Pro patribus apostolis filii episcopi, ut episcopi apostolis, tanquam filii patribus, succedant:" "The apostles are fathers, instead of whom bishops do succeed, whom God hath appointed to be made rulers in all lands." So St. Jerome, St. Austin, and Euthymius, upon the 44th Psalm, aliàs 45th.

But St. Austin, for his own particular makes good use of his succeeding the apostles, which would do very well now also to be considered; "Si solis apostolis dixit, Qui vos spernit me spernit, spernite nos; si autem sermo ejus pervenit ad nos, et vocavit nos, et in eorum loco constituit nos videte ne spernatis nos."[g] It was good counsel not to despise bishops, for they being in the apostles' places and offices are concerned and protected by that saying, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me." I said it

[y] Epist. ad Philadelph.
[a] Lib. c. 3.
[b] Lib. de Præscript. c. 36.
[c] Epist. 42. ad Cornelium.
[d] Epist. 69.
[e] Lib. vii. c. 43. de Baptis. cont. Donatist.
[f] Epist. 54.
[g] De verbis Dom. serm. 24.

was good counsel, especially if, besides all these, we will take also St. Chrysostom's testimony. "Potestas anathematizandi ab apostolis ad successores eorum nimirum episcopos transit:" "A power of anathematizing delinquents is derived from the apostles to their successors, even to bishops."

St. Ambrose, upon that of St. Paul, Ephes. iv. "Quosdam dedit apostolos, apostoli episcopi sunt:" "He hath given apostles, that is, he hath given some bishops."[h] That is downright, and this came not by chance from him; he doubles his assertion. "Caput itaque in ecclesiâ apostolis posuit, qui legati Christi sunt, sicut dicit idem apostolus, 'pro quo legatione fungimur.' Ipsi sunt episcopi, firmante istud Petro apostolo, et dicente inter cætera de Judâ, Et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter."[i] And a third time: "Numquid omnes apostoli? verum est; quia in ecclesiâ unus est episcopus." Bishop and apostle was all one with St. Ambrose, when he spake of their ordinary offices; which puts me in mind of the fragment of Polycrates, of the martyrdom of Timothy in Photius, ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόστολος, Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφησίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται.[k] "The apostle Timothy was ordained bishop in the metropolis of Ephesus, by St. Paul, and there enthroned." To this purpose are those compellations and titles of bishopries usually in antiquity. St. Basil calls a bishopric, προεδρίαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, and προεδρίαν Ἀποστολικήν. So Theodoret. "An apostolical presidency." The sum is the same which St. Peter himself taught the church, as St. Clement, his scholar, or some other primitive man in his name, reports of him. "Episcopos ergo vicem apostolorum gerere Dominum docuisse dicebat, et reliquorum discipulorum vicem tenere presbyteros debere insinuabat:" "He [Peter] said that our Lord taught, that bishops were to succeed in the place of the apostles, and presbyters in the place of the disciples."[l] Who desires to be farther satisfied concerning catholic consent, for bishops' succession to apostles in their order and ordinary office, he may see it in Pacianus, the renowned bishop of Barcinona,[m] in St. Gregory,[n] St. John Damascen,[o] in St. Sextus the First, his second decretal epistle, and most plentifully in St. Cœlestine writing to the Ephesine council,[p] in the epistle of Anacletus de Patriarchis et Primatibus,[q] &c. In Isidore,[r] and in venerable Bede.[s] His words are these; "Sicut duodecim apostolos formam episcoporum exhibere simul et demonstrare nemo est qui dubitet: sic et 72 figuram presbyterorum gessisse sciendum est, tametsi primis ecclesiæ temporibus, ut apostolica Scriptura testis est, utrique presbyteri, et utrique vocabantur episcopi, quorum unum scientiæ maturitatem, aliud industriam curæ pastoralis significat. Sunt ergo jure Divino episcopi à presbyteris prælatione distincti:" "As no man doubts but apostles were the order of bishops; so the seventy-two of presbyters, though at first they had names in common. Therefore, bishops by Divine right are distinct from presbyters, and their prelates or superiors."

[h] In Ephes. iv. In 1 Cor. xii. 28.
[i] In verse 29. ibid.
[k] Biblioth. Phot. n. 254.
[l] Lib. iv. c. 18. Epist. 1.
[m] Epist. 1. ad Sempron.
[n] Homil. 26. in Evang.
[o] Orat. 2. de Imagin.
[p] Epist. 7.
[q] Habetur Can. in Novo distinct. 21.
[r] In Synod. Hispal.
[s] Lib. iii. c. 15. super Lucam

SECTION XI.

And particularly of St. Peter.

To the same issue drive all those testimonies o antiquity, that call all bishops, "ex æquo," suc cessors of St. Peter. So St. Cyprian: "Dominu noster, cujus præcepta metuere et observare debe mus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationen disponens in evangelio, loquitur et dicit Petro, Eg tibi dico, quia tu est Petrus, &c. Inde per tempo rum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinati et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episco pos constituatur," &c. "When our blessed Saviou was ordering his church, and instituting episcopa dignity, he said to Peter: 'Thou art Peter, and o this rock will I build my church.' Hence come the order of bishops, and the constitution or being of the church, that the church be founded upo bishops."[a] &c.

The same also St. Jerome intimates, "Non es facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri:" "I is not a small thing to stand in the place of Paul to obtain the degree of Peter."[b] So he, while h dissuades Heliodorus from taking on him the grea burden of the episcopal office. "Pasce oves meas," said Christ to Peter and "Feed the flock of God which is amongst you," said St. Peter to th bishops of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, an Bithynia. "Similia enim successoribus suis Petru scripsit præcepta," saith Theodoret: "St. Pete gave the same precepts to his successors, whic Christ gave to him."[c] And St. Ephrem speakin of St. Basil, the Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia "Et sicut rursus Petrus Ananiam et Sapphiran fraudantes de pretio agri enecavit: ita et Basilius locum Petri obtinens ejusque pariter authoritate libertatemque participans, suam ipsius promissionem fraudantem Valentem redarguit, ejusque filium mort mulctavit:" "As St. Peter did to Ananias and Sap phira, so Basil did to Valens and his son, for th same delinquency; for he had the place, liberty and authority of St. Peter."

Thus Gaudentius, of Brixia, calls St. Ambros the successor of St. Peter; and Gildas, surname the Wise, saith, "that all evil bishops whatsoeve do, with unhallowed and unclean feet, usurp th seat of St. Peter."[d] But this thing is of catholi belief, and of this use. If the order and office o the apostolate be eternal, and to be succeeded in and this office superior to presbyters; and not onl of Divine institution, but, indeed, the only ord

[a] Epist. 27. ad Lapsos.
[b] Epist. 1.
[c] Lib. xii. Thes. cap. 13. Orat. de Laud. Basil.
[d] Tract. prima Die suæ Ordinat. Biblioth. SS. PP. tom. in Eccles. Ord. increpat.

which can clearly show an immediate Divine commission for its power and authority (as I have proved of the function apostolical); then those which do succeed the apostles in the ordinary office of apostolate, have the same institution and authority the apostles had; as much as the successors of the presbyters have with the first presbyters, and perhaps more.

For in the apostolical ordinations, they did not proceed as the church since hath done. Themselves had the whole priesthood, the whole commission of the ecclesiastical power, and all the offices. Now they, in their ordaining assistant ministers, did not in every ordination give a distinct order, as the church hath done since the apostles. For they ordained some to distinct offices, some to particular places; some to one part, some to another part, of clerical employment; as St. Paul, who was an apostle, yet was ordained by imposition of hands, to go to the churches of the uncircumcision; so was Barnabas, St. John, and James, and Cephas, to the circumcision; and there was scarce any public design or grand employment, but the apostolic men had a new ordination to it, a new imposition of hands; as is evident in the Acts of the Apostles. So that the apostolical ordinations of the inferior clergy, were only a giving of particular commissions to particular men, to officiate such parts of the apostolical calling as they would please to employ them in. Nay, sometimes their ordinations were only a delivering of jurisdiction, when the persons ordained had the order before; as it is evident in the case of Paul and Barnabas.[e] Of the same consideration is the institution of deacons to spiritual offices; and it is very pertinent to this question. For there is no Divine institution for these rising higher than apostolical ordinance; and so much there is for presbyters, as they are now authorized; for such power the apostles gave to presbyters as they have now, and sometimes more, as to Judas and Silas, and divers others; who, therefore, were more than mere presbyters, as the word is now used.

The result is this: The office and order of a presbyter is but part of the office and order of an apostle; so is a deacon, a lesser part; so is an evangelist; so is a prophet; so is a doctor; so is a helper, or a surrogate in government. But these will not be called orders; every one of them will not, I am sure; at least, not made distinct orders by Christ. For it was in the apostles' power to give any one, or all these powers, to any one man; or to distinguish them into so many men as there are offices, or to unite more or fewer of them. All these, I say, clearly make not distinct orders; and why are not all of them of the same consideration? I would be answered from grounds of Scripture; for there we fix, as yet.

Indeed the apostles did ordain such men, and scattered their power at first; for there was so much employment in any one of them, as to require one man for one office. But a while after, they united all the lesser parts of power into two sorts of men, whom the church hath since distinguished by the names of presbyters and deacons, and called them two distinct orders. But yet, if we speak properly and according to the exigence of Divine institution, there is "unum sacerdotium," "one priesthood" appointed by Christ; and that was the commission given by Christ to his apostles, and to their successors precisely; and those other offices of presbyter and deacon are but members of the great priesthood; and although the power of it is all of Divine institution, as the power to baptize, to preach, to consecrate, to absolve, to minister; yet that so much of it should be given to one sort of men, so much less to another, that is only of apostolical ordinance. For the apostles might have given to some only a power to absolve, to some only to consecrate, to some only to baptize. We see, that to deacons they did so. They had only a power to baptize and preach; whether all evangelists had so much or no, Scripture doth not tell us.

But if to some men they had only given a power to use the keys, or made them officers spiritual, to "restore such as are overtaken in a fault," and not to consecrate the eucharist; (for we see these powers are distinct, and not relative and of necessary conjunction, no more than baptizing and consecrating;) whether or no have those men, who have only a power of absolving or consecrating respectively; whether (I say) have they the order of a presbyter? If yea, then now every priest hath two orders, besides the order of deacon; for, by the power of consecration, he hath the power of a presbyter; and what is he, then, by his other power? But if such a man, ordained with but one of these powers, have not the order of a presbyter; then let any man show me, where it is ordained by Christ, or indeed by the apostles, that an order of clerks should be constituted with both these powers, and that these were called presbyters. I only leave this to be considered.

But all the apostolical power we find instituted by Christ; and we also find a necessity, that all that power should be succeeded in, and that all that power should be united in one order; for he that hath the highest, viz. a power of ordination, must needs have all the other, else he cannot give them to any else; but a power of ordination I have proved to be necessary and perpetual.

So that we have clear evidence of the Divine institution of the perpetual order of apostleship; marry, for the presbyterate, I have not so much either reason or confidence for it, as now it is in the church; but for the apostolate, it is beyond exception. And to this bishops do succeed. For that it is so, I have proved from Scripture; and because "no Scripture is of private interpretation," I have attested it with the catholic testimony of the primitive fathers,—calling episcopacy, the apostolate; and bishops, successors of St. Peter in particular; and of all the apostles in general, in their ordinary offices, in which they were superior to the seventy-two, the antecessors of the presbyterate.

One objection I must clear. For sometimes

[e] Acts xiii.

presbyters are also called apostles, and successors of the apostles; as in Ignatius, in Irenæus, in St. Jerome. I answer:—

1. They are not called "successores apostolorum," by any dogmatical resolution or interpretation of Scripture, as the bishops are, in the examples above alleged; but by illusion and participation, at the most. For true it is, that they succeed the apostles in the offices of baptizing, consecrating, and absolving, "in privato foro;" but this is but part of the apostolical power, and no part of their office, as apostles were superior to presbyters.

2. It is observable, that presbyters are never affirmed to succeed in the power and regiment of the church, but in subordination and derivation from the bishop; and, therefore, they are never said to succeed, "in cathedris apostolorum," in the apostolic sees.

3. The places which I have specified, and they are all I could ever meet with, are of peculiar answer. For as for Ignatius, in his epistle to the church of Trallis,[f] he calls the presbytery, or company of priests, "the college," or "combination of apostles." But here St. Ignatius, as he lifts up the presbyters to a comparison with apostles, so he also raises the bishop to the similitude and resemblance with God. "Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit; presbyteri verò sunt conjunctus apostolorum cœtus." So that, although presbyters grow high, yet they do not overtake the bishops, or apostles; who also, in the same proportion, grow higher than their first station. This, then, will do no hurt.

As for St. Irenæus, he indeed does say, that presbyters succeed the apostles; but what presbyters he means, he tells us; even such presbyters as were also bishops, such as St. Peter and St. John were, who call themselves presbyters. His words are these: "Propterea eis qui in ecclesiâ sunt presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, qui cum episcopatûs successione charisma veritatis certum secundùm placitum Patris acceperunt."[g] And a little after: "Tales presbyteros nutrit ecclesia, de quibus et propheta ait, Et dabo principes tuos in pace, et episcopos tuos in justitiâ."[h] So that he gives testimony for us, not against us. As for St. Jerome, the third man, he, in the succession to the honour of the apostolate, joins presbyters with bishops; and that is right enough; for if the bishop alone does succeed, "in plenitudinem potestatis apostolicæ ordinariæ,[i] as I have proved he does, then, also, it is as true of the bishop, together with his "consessus presbyterorum." "Episcopi presbyteri habeant in exemplum apostolos et apostolicos viros; quorum honorem possidentes, habere nitantur et meritum:" these are his words, and enforce not so much as may be safely granted; for "reddendo singula singulis," bishops succeed apostles, and presbyters apostolic men; and such were many that had not at first any power apostolical: and that is all that can be inferred from this place of St. Jerome. I know nothing else to stay me, or to hinder our assent to those authorities of Scripture I have alleged, and the full voice o traditive interpretation.

[f] Idem fere habet in Epist. ad Magnes. et Smyrnens.
[g] Lib. iv. c. 43. [h] Cap. xliv. [i] Epist. 13.

SECTION XII.

And the Institution of Episcopacy, as well as th Apostolate, expressed to be Divine, by primitiv Authority.

The second argument from antiquity is the direc testimony of the fathers for a "Divine institution." In this St. Cyprian is most plentiful: "Dominus nos ter, episcopi honorem et ecclesiæ suæ rationen disponens in evangelio, dicit Petro,[a] &c. Inde pe temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordi natio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia supe episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ pe eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cùm hoc itaqu Divinâ lege fundatum sit," &c. "Our Lord di institute in the gospel the honour of a bishop Hence comes the ordination of bishops; and th church is built upon them, and every action of th church is to be governed by them; and this is founde upon a Divine law." "Meminisse autem diacon debent quoniam apostolos, *i. e.* episcopos, et præ positos Dominus elegit:" "Our Lord hath chose apostles, that is, bishops and church governors." And a little after: "Quòd si nos aliquid auder contra Deum possumus qui episcopos facit, possun et contra nos audere diaconi, à quibus fiunt:" "W must not attempt any thing against God, who hath instituted bishops." The same father, in his epistl to Magnus, disputes against Novatianus's being bishop: "Novatianus in ecclesiâ non est, nec epis copus computari potest, qui evangelicâ et apostolic traditione contemptâ, nemini succedens à seips ordinatus est."[c] If there was both an evangelica and an apostolic tradition, for the successive ordina tion of bishops by other bishops, (as St. Cypria affirms there is, by saying "Novatianus contemne it,") then, certainly, the same evangelical power di institute that calling, for the modus of whose elec tion it took such particular order.

St. Ignatius, long before him, speaking concern ing his absent friend, Sotion, the deacon, *οὗ ἐγ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσ βυτερίῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* H wishes for the good man's company, because, "b the grace of God, and according to the law of Jesu Christ, he was obedient to the bishop and hi clergy."[d]—And a little after: *πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶ κα ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτ ἀντιλέγειν. οὐ γὰρ τουτονὶ τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τι ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενο παρὰ τίνος παραλογισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο, οὐ πρὸ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν, ἔχει τὴν ἀκαφοράν.* I is home enough. "Ye ought to obey your bishop and to contradict him in nothing." It is a fearfu thing to contradict him; for whosoever does s

[a] Epist. 27. [b] Epist. 65. ad Rogatian.
[c] Epist. 76. [d] Epist. ad Magnes.

"does not mock a visible man, but the invisible, undeceivable God. For this contumely relates not to man, but to God." So St. Ignatius; which could not be true, were it a human constitution, and no Divine ordinance. But more full are those words of his, in his epistle to the Ephesians: Σπουδάσατε ἀγαπητοὶ ὑποταγῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισαμένῳ αὐτούς. "He that obeys the bishop and clergy, obeys Christ, who did constitute and ordain them." This is plain and dogmatical; I would be loath to have two men so famous, so ancient, and so resolute, speak half so much against us.

But it is a general resolve and no private opinion. For St. Austin is confident in the case with a "Nemo ignorat episcopos Salvatorem ecclesiis instituisse. Ipse enim priusquam in cœlos ascenderet, imponens manum apostolis, ordinavit eos episcopos:" "No man is so ignorant but he knows that our blessed Saviour appointed bishops over churches; for before his ascension into heaven, he ordained the apostles to be bishops."[e] But long before him, Hegisippus, going to Rome, and by the way calling in at Corinth, and divers other churches, discoursed with their several bishops, and found them catholic and holy, and then stayed at Rome three successions of bishops, Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius. "Sed in omnibus istis ordinationibus, vel in cæteris quas per reliquas urbes videram, ita omnia habebantur, sicut lex antiquitùs tradidit, et prophetæ indicaverunt, 'Et Dominus statuit:'" "All things in these ordinations or successions were as our Lord had appointed."[f] All things, therefore, both of doctrine and discipline, and therefore the ordinations themselves too. Further yet, and it is worth observing, there was never any bishop of Rome, from St. Peter to St. Sylvester, that ever writ a decretal epistle now extant and transmitted to us, but, either professedly or accidentally, he said or intimated, "that the order of bishops did come from God."

St. Irenæus, speaking of bishops successors to the apostles, saith, that, with their order of bishopric, they have received "charisma veritatis certum," "a true, and certain or indelible character;" "secundum placitum Patris," "according to the will of God the Father."[g] And this also is the doctrine of St. Ambrose: "Ideò quanquam melior apostolus aliquando tamen eget prophetis; et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit:" "God, from whom all good things do come, did decree that every church should be governed by a bishop."[h] And again: "Honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis, nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari; si regum fulgori compares,"[i] &c. And a little after; "Quid jam de plebeiâ dixerim multitudine, cui non solùm præferri à Domino meruit, sed ut eam quoque jure tueatur patrio, præceptis imperatum est evangelicis:" "The honour and sublimity of the bishop is an incomparable pre-eminence, and is by God set over the people; and it is commanded by the precept of the holy gospel, that he should guide them by a father's right." And in the close of his discourse: "Sic certè à Domino ad B. Petrum dicitur, 'Petre, amas me?'—repetitum est à Domino tertiò, 'Pasce oves meas.' Quas oves, et quem gregem non solùm tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum illo nos suscepimus omnes:" "Our blessed Lord committed his sheep to St. Peter to be fed, and in him we (who have pastoral or episcopal authority) have received the same authority and commission." Thus also divers of the fathers, speaking of the ordination of St. Timothy to be bishop, and of St. Paul's intimation, that it was by prophecy, affirm it to be done by order of the Holy Ghost. Τὶ ἐστιν ἀπὸ προφητείας; ἀπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου, saith St. Chrysostom;[k] "He was ordained by prophecy, that is, by the Holy Ghost." Ὁ Θεὸς σε ἐξελέξατο· οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γέγονας ψήφῳ, "Thou wert not made bishop by human constitution." Πνεύματος προστάξει, so Oecumenius. "By Divine revelation," saith Theodoret. "By the command of the Holy Ghost," so Theophylact; and indeed so St. Paul, to the assembly of elders and bishops met at Miletus, "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos," "The Holy Ghost hath made you bishops:"[l] and to be sure St. Timothy was amongst them, and he was a bishop, and so were divers others there present; therefore the order itself is a ray streaming from the Divine beauty, since a single person was made bishop by revelation. I might multiply authorities in this particular, which are very frequent and confident for the Divine institution of episcopacy, in Origen;[m] in the council of Carthage, recorded by St. Cyprian; in the collection of the Oriental canons by Martinus Bracarensis;[n] in the councils of Aquisgrane,[o] and Toledo,[p] and many more. The sum is that which was taught by St. Sextus:[q] "Apostolorum dispositione, ordinante Domino, episcopi primitùs sunt constituti:" "The Lord did at first ordain, and the apostles did so order it, and so bishops at first had their original constitution."

These, and all the former who affirm bishops to be successors of the apostles, and by consequence to have the same institution, drive all to the same issue, and are sufficient to make faith, that it was the doctrine primitive and catholic that episcopacy is a Divine institution, which "Christ planted" in the first founding of christendom, which the "Holy Ghost watered" in his first descent on Pentecost, and to which we are confident that "God will give an increase" by a never-failing succession, unless where God removes the candlestick, or, which is all one, takes away the star, the angel of light, from it, that it may be enveloped in darkness, "usque ad consummationem sæculi et aperturam tenebrarum." The conclusion of all, I subjoin in the words of venerable Bede before quoted: "Sunt ergo jure Divino episcopi à presbyteris prælatione distincti:"

[e] Quæst. Vet. et N. Testam. qu. 97.
[f] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 29.
[g] Lib. iv. c. 43.
[h] In 1 Cor. xii.
[i] De Dignit. Sacerd. cap. 2.
[k] Homil. 4. Græc. 5. Lat. in 1 Tim. cap. iii. In Tit. i.
[l] Acts xx.
[m] Hom. 32. in Johan.
[n] Can. 6.
[o] Can. 25.
[p] Octavum, can. 7.
[q] Epist. 2.

"Bishops are distinct from presbyters, and superior to them by the law of God."[r]

The second basis of episcopacy is "apostolical tradition." We have seen what Christ did, now we shall see what was done by his apostles. And since they knew their Master's mind so well, we can never better confide in any argument to prove Divine institution of a derivative authority than the practice apostolical. "Apostoli enim, discipuli veritatis existentes, extra omne mendacium sunt; non enim communicat mendacium veritati, sicut non communicant tenebræ luci, sed præsentia alterius excludit alterum," saith St. Irenæus.[s]

SECTION XIII.

In pursuance of the Divine Institution, the Apostles did ordain Bishops in several Churches.

FIRST, then: the apostles did, presently after the ascension, fix an apostle or a bishop in the chair of Jerusalem. For they knew that Jerusalem was shortly to be destroyed; they themselves foretold of miseries and desolations to ensue; ("Petrus et Paulus prædicunt cladem Hierosolymitanam," saith Lactantius, lib. iv. Inst.) famines and wars, and not a stone left upon another, was the fate of that rebellious city by Christ's own prediction, which themselves recorded in scripture. And to say they understood not what they wrote, is to make them enthusiasts, and neither good doctors nor wise seers. But it is ἔξω βέλους that the Holy Spirit, which was promised "to lead them into all truth," would instruct them in so concerning an issue of public affairs, as was so great desolation; and therefore they began betimes to establish that church, and to fix it upon its perpetual base. Secondly: the church of Jerusalem was to be the precedent and platform for other churches. "The word of God went forth into all the world, beginning first at Jerusalem;" and therefore also it was more necessary a bishop should be there placed betimes, that other churches might see their government from whence they received their doctrine, that they might see from what stars their continual flux of light must stream. Thirdly; the apostles were actually dispersed by persecution, and this, to be sure, they looked for, and therefore (so implying the necessity of a bishop to govern in their absence or decession any ways) they ordained St. James the first bishop of Jerusalem; there he fixed his chair, there he lived bishop for thirty years, and finished his course with glorious martyrdom. If this be proved, we are in a fair way for practice apostolical.

First: Let us see all that is said of St. James in Scripture, that may concern this affair. Acts xv. We find St. James in the synod at Jerusalem, not disputing, but giving final determination to that great question about circumcision. "And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said," &c. He first drave the question to an issue, and told them what he believed concerning it, with a πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι, "we trust it will go as well with us without circumcision, as with our forefathers who used it." But St. James, when he had summed up what had been said by St. Peter, gave sentence and final determination: Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω, "Wherefore I judge or give sentence." So he. The acts of council which the brethren or presbyters did use, were deliberative; "they disputed," ver. 7. St. Peter's act was declarative, but St. James's was decisive; which proves him clearly, (if, by reasonableness of the thing, and the successive practice of christendom in imitation of this first council apostolical, we may take our estimate,) that St. James was the president of this synod; which, considering that he was none of the twelve, (as I proved formerly,) is unimaginable, were it not for the advantage of the place, it being held in Jerusalem, where he was "Hierosolymorum episcopus," as St. Clement calls him; especially in the presence of St. Peter, who was "primus apostolus," and decked with many personal privileges and prerogatives.

Add to this, that although the whole council did consent to the sending of the decretal epistle, and to send Judas and Silas, yet, because they were of the presbytery, and college of Jerusalem, St. James's clergy, they are said, as by way of appropriation, to come from St. James, Gal. ii. ver. 12. Upon which place St. Austin saith thus: "Cùm vidisset quosdam venisse à Jacobo, *i. e.* à Judæâ, nam ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ Jacobus præfuit." To this purpose that of Ignatius is very pertinent, calling St. Stephen the deacon of St. James,[a] and, in his epistle to Hero, saying that he did minister to St. James and the presbyters of Jerusalem; which if we expound according to the known discipline of the church in Ignatius's time, who was "suppar apostolorum," only not a contemporary bishop, here is plainly the eminency of an episcopal chair, and Jerusalem the seat of St. James, and the clergy his own, of a college of which he was the "præpositus ordinarius," he was their "ordinary."

The second evidence of Scripture is Acts xxi. "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present." Why unto James? Why not rather unto the presbytery, or college of elders, if James did not "eminere," were not the ἡγούμενος, the "præpositus" or "bishop" of them all?

Now that these conjectures are not vain and impertinent, see it testified by antiquity, to which, in matter of fact and church-story, he that will not give faith upon current testimonies, and uncontradicted by antiquity, is a madman, and may as well disbelieve every thing that he hath not seen himself, and can no way prove that himself was christened; and to be sure, after sixteen hundred years there is no possibility to disprove a matter of fact, that was never questioned or doubted of before, and therefore

[r] Lib. iii. in Lucum, c. 15.

[s] Lib. iii. cap. 5.

[a] Epist. ad Trall.

can never obtain the faith of any man to his contradictory, it being impossible to prove it.

Eusebius reports out of St. Clement: Πέτρον γάρ φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν Δίκαιον, ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι.[b] "St. Peter and St. John, although they were honoured of our Lord, yet they would not themselves be, but made James, surnamed the Just, bishop of Jerusalem." And the reason is that which is given by Hegesippus in Eusebius for his successor Simeon Cleophæ; for when St. James was crowned with martyrdom, and immediately the city destroyed, "Traditur apostolos qui supererant, in commune consilium habuisse, quem oportere dignum successione Jacobi judicare."[c] It was concluded for Simeon, because he was the kinsman of our Lord, as St. James also, his predecessor. The same concerning St. James is also repeated by Eusebius: "Judæi ergo, cùm Paulus provocâsset ad Cæsarem—in Jacobum fratrem Domini, 'cui ab apostolis sedes Hierosolymitana delata fuit,' omnem suam malevolentiam convertunt."[d]

In the apostolical constitutions under the name of St. Clement, the apostles are brought in speaking thus: "De ordinatis autem à nobis episcopis in vitâ nostrâ, significamus vobis quòd hi sunt; Hierosolymis ordinatus est Jacobus frater Domini:" "St. James, the brother of our Lord, was ordained bishop of Jerusalem by us,"[e] apostles. The same is witnessed by Anacletus: "Porrò et Hierosolymitarum primus episcopus B. Jacobus, qui Justus dicebatur, et secundum carnem Domini nuncupatus est frater, à Petro, Jacobo, et Johanne, apostolis, est ordinatus."[f] And the same thing in terms is repeated by Anicetus, with a "Scimus enim beatissimum Jacobum,"[g] &c. Just as Anacletus before. St. James was bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter, James, and John, were his ordainers.

But let us see the testimony of one of St. James's successors in the same chair, who certainly was the best witness of his own church-records. St. Cyril of Jerusalem is the man. "Nam de his non mihi solùm, sed etiam apostolis, et 'Jacobo hujus ecclesiæ olim episcopo' curæ fuit,"[h] speaking of the question of circumcision, and things sacrificed to idols; and again, he calls St. James "primum hujus parochiæ episcopum," "the first bishop of this diocess."[i]

St. Austin also attests this story. "Cathedra tibi quid fecit ecclesiæ, in quâ Petrus sedit, et in quâ hodiè Anastasius sedet? Vel ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ 'in quâ Jacobus sedit,' et in quâ hodiè Johannes sedet?"[k] I must not omit the testimony of St. Jerome, for it will be of great use in the sequel: "Jacobus," saith he, "post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus;" and the same also he repeats out of Hegesippus.[l] There are many more testimonies to this purpose, as of St. Chrysostom,[m] Epiphanius,[n] St. Ambrose,[o] the council of Constantinople in Trullo.[p] But Gregorius Turonensis rises a little higher: "Jacobus, frater Domini vocitatus, ab ipso Domino nostro Jesu Christo episcopus dicitur ordinatus:" "St. James, the brother of our Lord, is said to have been ordained bishop by our Lord Jesus Christ himself."[q] If by "ordinatus" he means "designatus," he agrees with St. Chrysostom: but either of them both will serve the turn for the present. But either in one sense or the other, it is true and attested also by Epiphanius: "Et primus hic accepit cathedram episcopatûs, cui concredidit Dominus thronum suum in terra primò:" "St. James had first the episcopal chair, for our Lord first intrusted his earthly throne to him."[r] And thus we are encircled with a cloud of witnesses; to all which if we add what I before observed, that St. James is in Scripture called an apostle, and yet he was none of the twelve, and that, in the sense of Scripture and the catholic church, a bishop and an apostle is all one,—it follows from the premises, (and of them already there is faith enough made,) that St. James was, by Christ's own designation and ordination apostolical, made bishop of the church of Jerusalem, —that is, had power apostolical concredited to him which presbyters had not; and this apostolate was limited and fixed, as his successors' since have been.

But that this also was not a temporary business, and to expire with the persons of St. James and the first apostles, but a regiment of ordinary and successive duty in the church, it appears by the ordination of St. Simeon, the son of Cleophas, to be his successor. It is witnessed by Eusebius: "Post martyrium Jacobi—traditur apostolos, &c. habuisse in commune consilium quem oporteret dignum successione Jacobi judicare; omnesque uno consilio, atque uno consensu, Simeonem Cleophæ filium decrevisse, ut episcopatûs sedem susciperet."[s] The same also he transcribes out of Hegesippus: "Posteaquam Jacobus Martyr effectus est—electione Divinâ Simeon Cleophæ filius episcopus ordinatur, electus ab omnibus pro eo quòd esset consobrinus Domini." St. Simeon was ordained bishop "by a Divine election;"[t] and Epiphanius, in the catalogue of the bishops of Jerusalem, reckons first James and next Simeon, "qui sub Trajano crucifixus est."[u]

SECTION XIV.

St. Timothy at Ephesus.

The next bishop we find ordained by the apostles, was Timothy at Ephesus. That he was ordained by an apostle appears in Scripture. For St. Paul imposed hands on him; that is certain; "Excita

[b] Lib. ii. Hist. cap. 1.
[c] Lib. iii. c. 11.
[d] Lib. ii. c. 22.
[e] Lib. vii. c. 46. et lib. viii. cap. ult.
[f] Epist. 2.
[g] Epist. Decret. Unic.
[h] Catech. 4.
[i] Catech. 16.
[k] Lib. ii. cont. Lit. Petil. c. 51. et lib. ii. cont. Crescon. c. 37.
[l] Lib. de Script. Eccles. in Jacobo.
[m] Hom. 38. in 1 Cor. xv. et 33. Hom. in Act. xv.
[n] Hæres. 66.
[o] In Galat. 1.
[p] Cap. iii. 3.
[q] Hom. 3. in Act.
[r] Hæres. 78.
[s] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 11
[t] Lib. iv. cap. 22.
[u] Hæres. 66.

gratiam, quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum;" "By the laying on of my hands."[a] That he was there a bishop is also apparent from the power and offices concredited to him. First, he was to be resident at Ephesus.[b] And although, for the public necessities of the church, and for assistance to St. Paul, he might be called sometimes from his charge; yet there he lived and died, as the church-story writes, there was his ordinary residence, and his avocations were but temporary and occasional. And when it was, his cure was supplied by Tychicus, whom St. Paul sent to Ephesus as his vicar, as I shall show hereafter.

2. St. Paul, in his epistles to him, gave directions to him for episcopal deportment, as is plain; "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife,"[c] &c. Thirdly, St. Paul concredits jurisdiction to St. Timothy. Over the people; παραγγέλλε ταῦτα καὶ δίδασκε. παραγγέλλειν is of as great extent in St. Timothy's commission as διδάσκειν. "Commanding" as "teaching." Over presbyters; but yet so as to make difference between them and the neotericks in christianity, "the one as fathers, the other as brethren."[d] Ἐπίπληξις is denied to be used towards either of them: ἐπίπληξις, ἐπιτίμησις, saith Suidas, "a dishonourable upbraiding or objurgation." Nay, it is more; ἐπιπλήττω is "castigo, plagam infero," saith Budæus: so that that kind of rebuking the bishop is forbidden to use, either toward priest or deacon, clergy or laity, old or young. "For a bishop must be no striker." But παρακάλει, that is, given him in commission both to old and young, presbyters and catechumens, that is, "Require them; postula provoca." Παρακεκλῆσθαι εἰς συμμαχιαν· Synesius; "To be provoked to a duel, to be challenged." And παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς εἰς προσευχήν.—Chrysostom: "Ad precandum vos provoco." Παρακαλεῖς με εἰς δάκρυα.—Eurip. "Thou makest me or compellest me to shed tears." "Suaviter omnia;" that is the way St. Paul takes: "Meekly," but yet so as to do his office, to keep all in their several duties, and that is by a παράγγελλε ταῦτα, "Command these things;" for so he sums up the bishop's duty towards presbyters, neophytes, and widows. "Give all these things in charge,"[e] command all to do their duty. Command, but not objurgate. "Et quid negotii esset episcopo ut presbyterum non objurgaret, si super presbyterum non haberet potestatem?"[f] So Epiphanius urges this argument to advantage.[f] For, indeed, it had been to little purpose for St. Paul to have given order to Timothy, how he should exercise his jurisdiction over presbyters and people, if he had had no jurisdiction and coercive authority at all. Nay, and howsoever St. Paul forbids Timothy to use ἐπίπληξις, which is, ἐπιτίμησις, yet St. Paul, in his second epistle, bids him use it, intimating, upon great occasion: Ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλησον.[g] To be sure παράκλησις, if it be but an urging, or an exhortation, is not all, for St. Paul gives him coercive jurisdiction, as well as directive. Over widows: νεωτέρας δὲ χήρας παραιτοῦ. "Reject the younger widows," viz. "à collegio viduarum, ab eleemosynis ecclesiæ." Over presbyters; for he commands him to have sufficient probate in the accusation of presbyters, of which if he was not to take cognizance, it was to no purpose to number witnesses. Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου. "Receive not a public accusation 'foro externo' against a priest." "Non vocabis in jus, nisi in testimonio duorum," &c. to wit, in causes criminal. That is sufficient intimation of the bishop's power to take cognizance in causes criminal; then for his punishing in such causes, it follows in the next words, τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγχε. "Reprehend them publicly,"[h] that is, "disgrace them." For ἐλεγχὴς is ἐπονείδιστος, "indecorous."——Ἀργεῖοι, ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχέες, οὔ νυ σέβεσθε;—Homer. Iliad. δ, 242. So that ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγχε in St. Paul, is, "to call them to public account:" that is one part of the jurisdiction. Ἔλεγχον τούτου λαβεῖν, is, "to examine." Plato, Epist. διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ βίου, "to give an account of one's life." Idem in Apolog. And then also it implies punishment upon conviction,

> Ἀτρείδη, νῦν δή σε, ἄναξ, ἐθέλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ
> Πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσι.
> HOM. ε. Iliad.

But the words in St. Paul will clear the business. "Let them that sin, be publicly shamed," ἵνα καὶ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσι, "that the rest may fear;" a punishment most certainly, something that is ἐν φύσει τῶν φοβερῶν, "malum in genere pœnæ." What else should they fear? to sin? Most true. But why upon this reprehension, if not for fear of being punished?

Add to all this, that here is, in this chapter, the plain giving of a jurisdiction, an erection of a judicatory, and is all the way direction for his proceeding in cases criminal, appears most evidently, verse 21. "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things," χωρὶς προκρίματος, "without prejudging" the cause of any man, before it comes in open contestation under public test of witnesses, μηδὲν ποιῶν κατὰ πρόσκλισιν, "doing nothing for favour or partiality." Nothing in the world is plainer, for the erection of a consistory, than these mandates of St. Paul.

Lastly: to make up his episcopal function complete, St. Paul gives him also direction concerning giving of orders. "Lay hands suddenly on no man."[i] "Sub testatione ergo ea quæ ad ordinationem ecclesiæ mandat custodiri——Nè facilè aliquis accipiat ecclesiasticam dignitatem——peccat enim si non probet et sic ordinet. Melior enim cæteris debet probari qui ordinandus est. Hæc episcopus custodiens, castum se exhibebit religioni, cujus rei in futuro præmium consequetur." So St. Ambrose upon the place, who is so far from exempting presbyters from being submitted to the bishop's consistory, that he does appropriate all his former cautions concerning the judicature and coercive jurisdiction to causes of the clergy.

[a] 2 Tim. i. 6. [b] 1 Tim. i. 3.
[c] 1 Tim. iii. [d] 1 Tim. v. 1.
[e] 1 Tim. v. 7. [f] Hæres. 75.
[g] 2 Tim. iv. 2. [h] 1 Tim. v. 20. [i] 1 Tim. v. 22.

Add to this evidence of Scripture, the testimony of catholic and unquestioned antiquity, affirming St. Timothy to have been ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul. Eusebius, speaking of the successions to St. Paul, "Sed et Lucas," saith he, "in actibus apostolorum plurimos ejus socios memorat, sicut Timothei et Titi, quorum alter in Epheso episcopus ——ab eo ordinatus præficitur."[k] St. Ambrose affirms that St. Paul, having ordained him bishop, writes his first epistle to him, to instruct him in his episcopal office: "Hunc igitur jam creatum episcopum instruit per epistolam, quomodo deberet ecclesiam ordinare."[l] And that this epistle was written to instruct St. Timothy for his own person, and all bishops in him, for their deportment in the office of a bishop, is the united concurrent testimony of St. Vincentius,[m] Tertullian,[n] St. Chrysostom,[o] St. Ambrose,[p] Œcumenius,[q] Epiphanius,[r] Primasius,[s] and St. Gregory.[t] As for Epiphanius, in the place now quoted, he uses it as an argument against the madness and stupidity of Aerius, contending a bishop and a presbyter to be all one: "Docet divinus apostoli sermo, quis sit episcopus et quis presbyter, quum dicit ad Timotheum, qui erat episcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges," &c. I shall transcribe no more testimonies for this particular, but that of the general council of Chalcedon, in the case of Bassianus and Stephanus; Leontius, the bishop of Magnesia, spake it in full council, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο, πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐχειροτονήθησαν*: "from St. Timothy until now, there have been twenty-seven bishops ordained in Ephesus." Who desires a multitude of testimonies, (though enough already have deposed in the cause, besides the evidence of Scripture,) may to these add that saying of St. Chrysostom,[u] that to Timothy was committed *ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τοῦτο Ἀσίας*: of Theodoret, calling him "episcopum Asianorum;" the subscription to the first epistle to Timothy; (which, if it were not writ by St. Paul, yet at least will prove a primitive record, and very ancient,) the fragment of the martyrdom of St. Timothy in Photius, St. Jerome,[x] St. Theophylact,[y] Isidore,[z] and Nicephorus.[a]

And now all is well, if, after all this, Timothy do not prove an evangelist, for this one objection will be sufficient to catch at, to support a drowning cause, and though neither pertinent nor true, yet shall be laid in the balance against all the evidence of Scripture and catholic antiquity. But "do the work of an evangelist," saith St. Paul; therefore it is clear St. Timothy was no bishop. No, was not? That is hard: but let us try however.

1. *Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον*, those are the next words; "fulfil thy deaconship." And therefore he was no bishop? As well this as the other; for if deaconship do not exclude episcopacy, why shall his being an evangelist exclude it? Or why may not his being a deacon exclude his being an evangelist, as well as his being an evangelist exclude his being a bishop? Whether is higher, a bishopric, or the office of an evangelist? If a bishop's office be higher, and, therefore, cannot consist with an evangelist, then a bishop cannot be a priest, and a priest cannot be a deacon, and an evangelist can be neither; for that also is thought to be higher than them both. But if the office of an evangelist be higher, then as long as they are not disparate, much less destructive of each other, they may have leave to consist in subordination. For as for the pretence that an evangelist is an office of a moveable employment, and a bishopric of fixed residence, that will be considered by and by.

2. All the former discourse is upon supposition, that the word *διακονία* implies the "office of a deacon;" and so it may, as well as St. Paul's other phrase implies St. Timothy to be an evangelist, for if we mark it well, it is *ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ*, "Do the work," not the "office, of an evangelist." And what is that? We may see it in the verses immediately going before, *Κήρυξον τὸν λόγον, ἐπίστηθι εὐκαίρως, ἀκαίρως· ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεσον ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδαχῇ*. And if this be the work of an evangelist, which St. Paul would have Timothy perform, viz. "to preach, to be instant in season and out of season, to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort," there is no harm done; a bishop may, nay, he must do all this.

3. Consider what an "evangelist" is, and thence take our estimate for the present. 1. He that writes the story of the gospel is an evangelist; so the Greek scholiast calls him. And in this sense, indeed, St. Timothy was not an evangelist; but yet if he had, he might have been a bishop; because St. Mark was an evangelist to be sure, and perhaps as sure, that he was a bishop; sure enough; for they are both delivered to us by the catholic testimony of the primitive church, as we shall see hereafter, so far as concerns our question. But then again; an apostle might be an evangelist; St. Matthew was; St. John was; and the apostolical dignity is as much inconsistent with the office of an evangelist as episcopal pre-eminence; for I have proved these two names, apostle and bishop, to signify all one thing. Secondly, St. Ambrose gives another exposition of evangelists; "Evangelistæ diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus."[b] St. Philip was one of the seven, commonly called deacons, and he was also a presbyter, and yet an evangelist; and yet a presbyter, in its proportion, is an office of as necessary residence as a bishop; or else why are presbyters cried out against so bitterly, in all cases, for non-residence? and yet nothing hinders, but that St. Timothy, as well as St. Philip, might have been a presbyter and an evangelist together; and then why not a bishop too? For why should a deaconship or a presbyterate consist with the office of an evangelist more than a bishopric? Thirdly; Another acceptation of

[k] Lib. iii. c. 4.
[l] Præfat. in 1 Tim.
[m] Cont. Hæres.
[n] Cont. Marcion. lib. v.
[o] Hom. 10. in 1 Tim.
[p] In 1 Tim. vi.
[q] 1 Tim. iv. 5.
[r] Hæres. 75.
[s] Ad 1 Tim. iv.
[t] In Pastor. part. ii. c. 11. Acts xi.
[u] In Titum et 1 Philip. et in 1 Tim. iii. Biblioth. Photii, n. 254.
[x] De Script. Eccles.
[y] In Præf. 1 Tim.
[z] De Vita et Mort. SS. 87, 88.
[a] Lib. ii. c. 34. 2 Tim. iv. 5.
[b] In Ephes. iv.

evangelist is also in Eusebius: "Sed et alii plurimi per idem tempus apostolorum discipuli superstites erant—Nonnulli ex his ardentiores divinæ philosophiæ, animas suas verbo Dei consecrabant; ut si quibus fortè provinciis nomen fidei esset incognitum, prædicarent, primaque apud eos evangelii fundamenta collocantes, evangelistarum fungebantur officio."[c] They that planted the gospel "first" in any country, were evangelists. St. Timothy might be such a one, and yet be a bishop afterwards. And so were some of this sort of evangelists. For so Eusebius: "Primaque apud eos fundamenta evangelii collocantes, atque electis quibusque ex ipsis officium regendæ ecclesiæ, quam fundaverant, committentes, ipsi rursum ad alias gentes properabant." So that they first converted the nation, and then governed the church; first they were evangelists, and afterwards bishops; and so was Austin the monk, that converted England in the time of St. Gregory and Ethelbert; he was first our evangelist, and afterwards bishop of Dover. Nay, why may they not, in this sense, be both evangelists and bishops at the same time? insomuch as many bishops have first planted christianity in divers countries, as St. Chrysostom in Scythia, St. Trophimus, St. Denis, St. Mark, and many more.[d] By the way only, according to all these acceptations of the word "evangelist," this office does not imply a perpetual motion. Evangelists many of them did travel, but they were never the more evangelists for that; but only their office was writing or preaching the gospel; and thence they had their name.

4. The office of an evangelist was but temporary, and take it in either of the two senses of Eusebius or Œcumenius, which are the only true and genuine, was to expire when christianity was planted every where, and the office of episcopacy, if it was at all, was to be succeeded in, and therefore in no respect could these be inconsistent, at least, not always. And how St. Paul should intend that Timothy should keep those rules he gave him, "to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,"[e] if the office, for the execution of which he gave him the rules, was to expire long before, is not so easily imagined. For if St. Paul did direct him in a temporary and expiring office, then in no sense, neither in person, nor in succession, could those rules of St. Paul be kept till Christ's coming, to wit, to judgment. But if he instructed him in the perpetual office of episcopacy, then it is easy to understand that St. Paul gave that caution to Timothy, to intimate that those his directions were not personal, but for his successors in that charge, to which he had ordained him, viz. in the sacred order and office of episcopacy.

5. Lastly; After all this stir, there are some of the fathers that will by no means admit St. Timothy to have been an evangelist.[f] So St. Chrysostom, so Theophylact, so the Greek scholiast. Now though we have no need to make any use of it, yet if it be true, it makes all this discourse needless, we were safe enough without it; if it be false, then itself we see is needless, for the allegation of St. Timothy's being an evangelist is absolutely impertinent, though it had been true.

But now I proceed.

SECTION XV.

St. Titus at Crete.

Titus was also made a bishop by the apostles. St. Paul also was his ordainer. First, "Reliqui te Cretæ." There St. Paul fixed his seat for him at Crete. Secondly: His work was τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθῶσαι, "to set in order things that are wanting;" viz. to constitute rights and forms of public liturgy, to erect a consistory for cognizance of causes criminal, to dedicate houses for prayer, by public destination for Divine service; and, in a word, by his authority, to establish such discipline and rituals, as himself did judge to be most for edification and ornament of the church of God. For he that was appointed by St. Paul to rectify and set things in order, was, most certainly, by him supposed to be the judge of all the obliquities which he was to rectify. 2. The next work is episcopal too, and it is the "ordaining presbyters in every city." Not presbyters collectively in every city, but distributively, κατὰ πόλιν, "city by city;" that is, elders in several cities; one in one city, many in many. For by these "elders," are certainly meant "bishops." Of the identity of names I shall afterwards give an account; but here, it is plain, St. Paul expounds himself to mean bishops.

1. In terms and express words: "To ordain elders in every city; if any be the husband of one wife, &c. For a bishop must be blameless:" that is, "the elders that you are to ordain in several cities, must be blameless; for else they must not be bishops." 2. The word πρεσβυτέρους cannot hinder this exposition; for St. Peter calls himself συμπρεσβύτερον, and St. John, "presbyter electæ dominæ," and "presbyter dilectissimo Gaio." Such presbyters as these were apostolical; and that is as much as episcopal, to be sure. 3. St. Paul adds further, "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God."[a] "Who, then, is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler?" St. Paul's bishop is God's steward;" and "God's steward" is the "ruler of his household," says our blessed Saviour himself; and, therefore, not a mere presbyter; amongst whom, indeed, there is a parity, but no superintendence of God's making. 4. St. Paul does, in the sequel, still qualify his elders or bishops, with more proprieties of rulers: "A bishop must be no striker; not given to wine." They are exactly the requisites which our blessed Saviour exacts, in his stewards' or rulers' accounts. "If the steward of the house will drink and be drunk, and beat his fellow-servants, then the Lord of that servant shall come, and divide him his portion with unbelievers." The

[c] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 37.
[d] Lib. x. Tripart. Hist. cap. 5. Theodoret.
[e] 1 Tim. vi. 14.
[f] In Ephes. iv.
[a] Tit. 1.

steward of the household, this ruler, must not be πάροινος, nor πλήκτης; no more must a bishop; he must not be "given to wine; no striker," "Neque enim pugilem describit sermo apostolicus, sed pontificem instituit quid facere non debeat," saith St. Jerome.[b] Still, then, these are the rulers of the church, which St. Titus was to ordain; and, therefore, it is required should rule well his own house; for how else shall he take charge of the church of God? Implying, that this, his charge, is to rule the house of God. 5. The reason why St. Paul appointed him to ordain these bishops in cities, is, in order to coercive jurisdiction; because "many unruly and vain talkers were crept in," (verse 10.) and they were to be silenced, οὓς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν, "their mouths must be stopped." Therefore they must be such elders as had superiority of jurisdiction over these impertinent preachers, which to a single presbyter, either by Divine or apostolical institution, no man will grant; and to a college of presbyters, St. Paul does not intend it, for himself had given it singly to St. Titus. For I consider,

Titus alone had coercive jurisdiction before he ordained these elders; be they bishops, be they presbyters. The presbyters which were at Crete before his coming, had not episcopal power, or coercive jurisdiction: for why, then, was Titus sent? As for the presbyters which Titus ordained, before his ordaining them, to be sure they had no power at all; they were not presbyters. If they had a coercive jurisdiction afterwards, to wit, by their ordination, then Titus had it before in his own person; (for they that were there before his coming, had not, as I showed;) and, therefore, he must also have it still, for he could not lose it by ordaining others; or if he had it not before, how could he give it unto them whom he ordained? For "plus juris in alium transferre nemo potest, quam ipse habet."

Howsoever it be then, to be sure, Titus had it in his own person; and then it follows undeniably, that either this coercive jurisdiction was not necessary for the church; (which would be either to suppose men impeccable, or the church to be exposed to all the inconveniences of schism and tumultuary factions, without possibility of relief;) or if it was necessary, then, because it was in Titus not as a personal prerogative, but a power to be succeeded to; he might ordain others, he had authority to do it, with the same power he had himself; and, therefore, since he alone had this coercion in his own person, so should his successors; and then, because a single presbyter could not have it over his brethren, by the confession of all sides, nor the college of presbyters, which were there before his coming, had it not; (for why, then, was Titus sent with a new commission;) nor those which he was to ordain, if they were but mere presbyters, could not have it, no more than the presbyters that were there before his coming;—it follows, that those elders, which St. Paul sent Titus to ordain, being such as were to be constituted in opposition and power over the false doctors and prating preachers, and with authority to silence them, (as is evident in the first chapter of that epistle,) these elders (I say) are verily and indeed, such as himself calls bishops, in the proper sense and acceptation of the word.

6. The Cretan presbyters, who were there before St. Titus's coming, had not power to ordain others; that is, had not that power that Titus had. For Titus was sent thither for that purpose, therefore, to supply the want of that power. And now, because to ordain others was necessary for the conservation and succession of the church; that is, because new generations are necessary for the continuing the world; and mere presbyters could not do it; and yet this must be done, not only by Titus himself, but after him; it follows undeniably, that St. Paul sent Titus to ordain men, with the same power that himself had; that is, with more than his first Cretan presbyters, that is, bishops; and he means them in the proper sense.

7. That by "elders in several cities," he means "bishops," is also plain, from the place where they were to be ordained; κατὰ πόλιν, not κατὰ κωμὴν, or κατὰ πολίχνιον· "In populous cities, not in village-towns;" for no bishops were ever suffered to be in village-towns; as is to be seen in the councils of Sardis,[c] of Chalcedon,[d] and St. Leo;[e] the cities, therefore, do at least highly intimate, that the persons to be ordained were not mere presbyters.

The issue of this discourse is: That since Titus was sent to Crete to ordain bishops, himself was a bishop, to be sure, at least. If he had ordained only presbyters, it would have proved that. But this infers him to be a metropolitan, forasmuch as he was bishop of Crete, and yet had many suffragans in subordination to him, of his own constitution, and yet of proper diocesses. However, if this discourse concludes nothing peculiar, it frees the place from popular prejudice and mistakes, upon the confusion of "episcopus" and "presbyter;" and at least infers his being a bishop, if not a great deal more.

Yea; but did not St. Titus ordain no mere presbyters? Yes, most certainly. But so he did deacons too; and yet neither one nor the other are otherwise mentioned in this epistle, but by consequence and comprehension, within the superior order. For he that ordains "a bishop," first makes him "deacon," and then he obtains καλὸν βαθμὸν, "a good degree;" and then "a presbyter," and then, "a bishop." So that these inferior orders are presupposed, in the authorizing the supreme; and by giving direction for the qualifications of bishops, he sufficiently instructs the inferior orders in their deportment, insomuch as they are probations for advancement to the higher.

2. Add to this, that he that ordains bishops in cities, sets there τάξιν γεννητικὴν, "ordinem generativum patrum," as Epiphanius calls episcopacy; and, therefore, most certainly with intention, not that it should be χεὶρ ἄκυρος, "manus mortua," but to produce others; and, therefore, presbyters and deacons.

3. St. Paul made no express provision for villages, and yet, most certainly, did not intend to leave them destitute; and, therefore, he took order that such ordinations should be made in cities,

[b] Advers. Jovinian. [c] Cap. 6. [d] Can. 17. [e] Epist. 87. ad. Episc. Afric.

which should be provisionary for villages; and that is, of such men as had power to ordain, and power to send presbyters to what part of their charge they pleased. For since presbyters could not ordain other presbyters, as appears by St. Paul's sending Titus to do it there, where, most certainly, many presbyters before were actually resident; if presbyters had gone to villages, they must have left the cities destitute; or if they stayed in cities, the villages would have perished; and at last, when these men had died, both one and the other had been made a prey to the wolf; for there could be no shepherd after the decay of the first generation.

But let us see further into St. Titus's commission, and letters of orders, and institution: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject."[f] Cognizance of heretical pravity, and animadversion against the heretic himself, is most plainly concredited to St. Titus: for, first, he is to "admonish him," then to "reject him," upon his pertinacity, from the catholic communion. "Cogere autem illos videtur, qui sæpe corripit," saith St. Ambrose, upon the establishing a coactive or coercive jurisdiction, over the clergy and whole diocess.

But I need not specify any more particulars; for St. Paul committed to St. Titus, *πᾶσαν ἐπιταγὴν*, "all authority and power."[g] The consequence is that, which St. Ambrose prefixes to the commentary on his epistle: Titum apostolus consecravit episcopum, et ideò commonet eum ut sit solicitus in ecclesiasticâ ordinatione, id est, ad quosdam, qui simulatione quâdam dignos se ostentabant ut sublimem ordinem tenerent, simulque et hæreticos ex circumcisione corripiendos."

And now, after so fair preparatory of Scripture, we may hear the testimonies of antiquity witnessing, that Titus was by St. Paul made bishop of Crete. "Sed et Lucas," saith Eusebius, "in Actibus Apostolorum, Timothei meminit et Titi; quorum alter in Epheso episcopus; alter ordinandis apud Cretam ecclesiis ab eo ordinatus præficitur."[h] That is it which St. Ambrose expresses something more plainly: "Titum apostolus consecravit episcopum;" "The apostle consecrated Titus, bishop;"[i] and Theodoret calling Titus, "Cretensium episcopum," "the bishop of the Cretans." And for this reason saith, St. Paul did not write to Sylvanus, or Silas, or Clemens, but to Timothy and Titus,[k] *ὅτι τούτοις ἤδη ἐκκλησίας ἦν ἐγκεχειρικώς*, "because to these he had already committed the government of churches." But a fuller testimony of St. Titus being a bishop, who please may see, in St. Jerome,[l] in Dorotheus,[m] in Isidore,[n] in Vincentius,[o] in Theodoret,[p] in St. Gregory,[q] in Primasius,[r] in Sedulius,[s] Theophylact,[t] and Nicephorus.[u] To which if we add the subscription of the epistle, asserted from all impertinent objections, by the clearer testimony of St. Athanasius,[v] St. Jerome,[w] the Syriac translation, Œcumenius,[x] and Theophylact,[y] no confident denial can ever break through, or escape conviction.

And now I know not what objection can fairly be made here; for I hope St. Titus was no "evangelist." He is not called so in Scripture, and all antiquity calls him "a bishop;" and the nature of his offices, the eminence of his dignity, the superiority of jurisdiction, the cognizance of causes criminal, and the epistle, proclaim him "bishop." But suppose awhile Titus had been an evangelist, I would fain know who succeeded him? or did all his office expire with his person? If so, then who shall reject heretics, when Titus is dead? Who shall silence factious preachers? If not, then still, who succeeded him? The presbyters? How can that be? For if they had more power after his death than before, and governed the churches, which before they did not; then, to be sure, their government in common is not an apostolical ordinance, much less is it a divine right, for it is postnate to them both. But if they had no more power after Titus, than they had under him, how then could they succeed him? There was, indeed, a dereliction of the authority, but no succession. The succession, therefore, both in the metropolis of Crete, and also in the other cities, was made by singular persons, not by a college; for so we find in the *διαδοχαὶ*, recorded by Eusebius, that in Gnossus, of Crete, Pinytus was a most eminent bishop, and that Philip was the metropolitan at Gortyna; "Sed et Pinytus nobilissimus apud Cretam in episcopis fuit," saith Eusebius.[z] But of this enough.

SECTION XVI.

St. Mark at Alexandria.

My next instance shall be of one that was an evangelist indeed, one that writ the gospel, and he was a bishop of Alexandria. In Scripture we find nothing of him, but that he was an evangelist and a deacon; for he was deacon to St. Paul and Barnabas, when they went to the gentiles, by ordination and special designment, made at Antioch; *συμπαραλαβόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον*. "They had John to be their minister; viz. John, whose surname was Mark."[a] But we are not to expect all the ordinations made by the apostles in their Acts, written by St. Luke, which end at St. Paul's first going to Rome; but many other things, their founding of divers churches, their ordination of bishops, their journeys, their persecutions, their miracles and martyrdoms, are recorded, and rely upon the faith of the primitive church. And yet the ordination of St. Mark was within the term of St. Luke's story; for his successor, "Ania-

[f] Tit. iii. 10. [g] Tit. ii. 15. [h] Lib. iii. c. 4.
[i] Ubi suprà. [k] 1 Tim. iii.
[l] De Script. Eccles. in Tito. [m] In Synops.
[n] De Vitâ et Morte S. Sanct. [o] Lib. xxxviii. c. 10.
[p] Apud Œcumen. in præfat. in Tit. et 1 Timoth. iii.
[q] In Pastor. part. ii. c. 11.
[r] Præfat. in 1 Tim. et in 2 Tim. i.
[s] In 1 Tim. i. et in 2 Tim. i. 6. [t] In 1 Tit.
[u] Lib. ii. c. 31. [v] In Synopsis Sacr. Script.
[w] Ad Paulum et Eustoch. [x] Comment. ad Titum.
[y] Ibid. [z] Lib. iv. c. 21.
[a] Acts xii. and xiii.

nus, was made bishop of Alexandria in the eighth year of Nero's reign, five or six years before the death of St. Paul." "Igitur Neronis primo imperii anno, post Marcum evangelistam, ecclesiæ apud Alexandriam Anianus sacerdotium suscepit;" so the Latin of Ruffinus reads it, instead of "octavo." "Sacerdotium," λειτουργίαν, that is, "the bishopric;" for else there were many λείτουργοι and priests in Alexandria besides him; and how then he should be St. Mark's successor, more than the other presbyters, is not so soon to be contrived. But so the collecta of the chapter runs: "Quod post Marcum primus episcopus Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ordinatus sit Anianus;" "Anianus was consecrated the first bishop of Alexandria, after St. Mark." And Philo, the Jew, telling the story of the christians in Alexandria, called by the inhabitants, "Cultores," and "Cultrices," "the worshippers," "Addit autem adhuc his," saith Eusebius; "quomodo sacerdotes vel ministri exhibeant officia sua, vel quæ sit supra omnia episcopalis apicis sedes;" intimating that, beside the offices of priests and ministers, there was an episcopal dignity, which was "apex super omnia," "a height above all employments," established at Alexandria: and how soon that was, is soon computed; for Philo lived in our blessed Saviour's time, and was ambassador to the emperor Caius, and survived St. Mark a little.

But St. Jerome will strike up this business. "A Marco evangelistâ ad Heraclam usque et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri Ægypti semper unum ex se electum in celsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominabant." And again, "Marcus interpres apostoli Petri, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus."[b] The same is witnessed by St. Gregory,[c] Nicephorus,[d] and divers others.

Now, although the ordination of St. Mark is not specified in the Acts, as innumerable multitudes of things more, and scarce any thing at all of any of the twelve but St. Peter, nothing of St. James the son of Thaddæus, nor of Alpheus, but the martyrdom of one of them; nothing of St. Bartholomew, of St. Thomas, of Simon Zelotes, of St. Jude the apostle; scarce any of their names recorded; yet no wise man can distrust the faith of such records, which all christendom hitherto, so far as we know, hath acknowledged as authentic; and these ordinations cannot possibly go less than apostolical, being done in the apostles' times, to whom the care of all the churches was concredited, they seeing and beholding several successions in several churches before their death; as here at Alexandria, first St. Mark, then Anianus, made bishop five or six years before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul. But yet, who it was that ordained St. Mark bishop of Alexandria, (for bishop he was most certainly,) is not obscurely intimated by the most excellent man, St. Gelasius, in the Roman council, "Marcus à Petro apostolo in Ægyptum directus, verbum veritatis prædicavit, et gloriosè consummavit martyrium."[e] St. Peter sent him into Egypt to found a church, and, therefore, would furnish him with all things requisite for so great employment; and that could be no less than the ordinary power apostolical.

SECTION XVII.

St. Linus and St. Clement at Rome.

But in the church of Rome, the ordination of bishops by the apostles, and their successions during the times of the apostles, is very manifest, by a concurrent testimony of old writers. "Fundantes igitur, et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his, quæ sunt ad Timotheum, epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus, post eum tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et vidit ipsos apostolos, et contulit cum eis, cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem apostolorum, et traditionem ante oculos haberet." So St. Irenæus.[f] "Memoratur autem ex comitibus Pauli Crescens quidam ad Gallias esse præfectus; Linus vero et Clemens in urbe Româ ecclesiæ præfuisse."[g] Many more testimonies there are of these men's being ordained bishops of Rome by the apostles; as of Tertullian,[h] Optatus,[i] St. Augustin,[k] and St. Jerome.[l] But I will not cloy my reader with variety of one dish, and be tedious in a thing so evident and known.

SECTION XVIII.

St. Polycarp at Smyrna, and divers others.

St. John ordained St. Polycarp bishop at Smyrna. "Sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne collocatum refert; sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit, proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant." So Tertullian.[a] "The church of Smyrna saith that Polycarp was placed there by St. John, as the church of Rome saith that Clement was ordained there by St. Peter; and other churches have those whom the apostles made to be their bishops." "Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus ——sed etiam ab apostolis in Asiâ, in eâ quæ est Smyrnis ecclesiâ, constitutus episcopus——et testimonium his perhibent quæ sunt in Asiâ, ecclesiæ omnes, et qui usque adhuc successerunt Polycarpo," &c. The same also is witnessed by St. Jerome, and Eusebius:[b] "Quoniam autem valde longum est in tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum successiones

[b] Epist. ad Evagr. De Scrip. Eccles. et in proœm. in Mat.
[c] Lib. vi. epist. 371. [d] Lib. xiv. c. 39.
[e] In Decret. de Lib. Authent. et Apocryph.
[f] Lib. iii. c. 3. [g] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 4.
[a] De Præscript. [i] Lib. ii. cont. Parmen.
[k] Epist. 165. [l] De Script. Eccles.
[a] De Præscript.
[b] De Script. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 35.

enumerare," to use St. Irenæus's expression. It were an infinite labour to reckon up all those whom the apostles made bishops with their own hands, as Dionysius[c] the Areopagite at Athens, Caius[d] at Thessalonica, Archippus[e] at Colosse, Onesimus[f] at Ephesus, Antipas[g] at Pergamus, Epaphroditus[h] at Philippi, Crescens[i] among the Gauls, Evodias[k] at Antioch, Sosipater[l] at Iconium, Erastus in Macedonia, Trophimus at Arles, Jason at Tarsus, Silas at Corinth, Onesiphorus at Colophon, Quartus at Berytus, Paul, the proconsul, at Narbona, besides many more whose names are not recorded in Scripture, as these fore-cited are, so many as Eusebius[m] counts impossible to enumerate; it shall therefore suffice to sum up this digest of their acts and ordinations in those general foldings used by the fathers, saying that the apostles did ordain bishops in all churches, that the succession of bishops, down from the apostles' first ordination of them, was the only argument to prove their churches catholic, and their adversaries, who could not do so, to be heretical. This also is very evident, and of great consideration in the first ages, while their tradition was clear and evident, and not so bepuddled as it since hath been with the mixture of heretics, striving to spoil that which did so much mischief to their causes.

"Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis, aut apostolicis viris, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem, hoc modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt," &c. And when St. Irenæus had reckoned twelve successions in the church of Rome from the apostles, "nunc duodecimo loco ab apostolis episcopatum habet Eleutherius. Hâc ordinatione," saith he, "et successione, et ea quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesiâ traditio et veritatis præconiatio pervenit usque ad nos; et est plenissima hæc ostensio unam et eandem vivatricem fidem esse, quæ in ecclesiâ ab apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate."[n] So that this succession of bishops from the apostles' ordination, must of itself be a very certain thing, when the church made it a main probation of their faith; for the books of Scripture were not all gathered together and generally received as yet. Now then, since this was a main pillar of their christianity, viz. a constant reception of it from hand to hand, as being delivered by the bishops in every chair, till we come to the very apostles that did ordain them; this, I say, being their proof, although it could not be more certain than the thing to be proved, which in that case was a Divine revelation, yet to them it was more evident, as being matter of fact, and known almost by evidence of sense, and as verily believed by all, as it was by any one, that himself was baptized, both relying upon the report of others. "Radix christianæ societatis per sedes apostolorum, et successiones episcoporum, certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur," saith St. Augustin:[o] "The very root and foundation of christian communion is spread all over the world, by the successions of apostles and bishops.

And is it not now a madness to say there was no such thing, no succession of bishops in the churches apostolical, no ordination of bishops by the apostles; and so, as St. Paul's phrase is, "overthrow the faith of some," even of the primitive christians, that used this argument as a great weapon of offence against the invasion of heretics and factious people? It is enough for us that we can truly say, with St. Irenæus, "Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis usque ad nos:" "We can reckon those, who, from the apostles until now, were made bishops in the churches;"[p] and of this we are sure enough, if there be any faith in christians.

SECTION XIX.

So that Episcopacy is at least an Apostolical Ordinance, of the same Authority with many other Points generally believed.

THE sum is this. Although we had not proved the immediate Divine institution of episcopal power over presbyters and the whole flock, yet episcopacy is not less than an apostolical ordinance, and delivered to us by the same authority that the observation of the Lord's day is. For, for that in the New Testament we have no precept, and nothing but the example of the primitive disciples meeting in their Synaxes upon that day, and so also they did on the Saturday in the Jewish synagogues, but yet (however that at Geneva they were once in meditation to have changed it into a Thursday meeting, to have shown their christian liberty) we should think strangely of those men that called the Sunday-festival less than an apostolical ordinance; and necessary now to be kept holy with such observances as the church hath appointed.

Baptism of infants is most certainly a holy and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity to all that ever cried, and yet the church hath founded this rite upon the tradition of the apostles; and wise men do easily observe, that the anabaptist can, by the same probability of Scripture, enforce a necessity of communicating infants upon us, as we do of baptizing infants upon them, if we speak of immediate Divine institution, or of practice apostolical recorded in Scripture; and therefore a great master of Geneva, in a book he wrote against the anabaptists, was forced to fly to apostolical traditive ordination, and therefore the institution of bishops must be served first, as having fairer plea, and

[c] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 23. et lib. iii. c. 4.
[d] Origen. lib. x. in Rom. x.
[e] St. Ambrose, in Coloss. iv.
[f] Ignatius epist. ad Ephes. et Euseb. lib. iii. c. 35.
[g] Arethas in i. Apocal.
[h] Epist. ad Philip. et Theodoret. ib. et 1 Tim. iii.
[i] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 4. apud Gallias. So Ruffinus reads it. "In Galatia," so is intimated in Scripture, and so the Roman Martyrol.
[k] Ignatius Epist. ad Antioch. et Euseb. lib. iii. c. 22.
[l] In Martyrologio Roman. [m] Lib. iii. c. 37.
[n] Lib. iii. cap. 3. [o] Epist. 42. [p] Ubi supra.

clearer evidence in Scripture, than the baptizing of infants, and yet they that deny this are, by the just anathema of the catholic church, confidently condemned for heretics.

Of the same consideration are divers other things in christianity, as the presbyters consecrating the eucharist; for if the apostles in the first institution did represent the whole church, clergy and laity, when Christ said "Hoc facite," "Do this," then why may not every christian man there represented do that, which the apostles, in the name of all, were commanded to do? If the apostles did not represent the whole church, why then do all communicate? Or what place or intimation of Christ's saying, is there in all the four gospels, limiting "hoc facite," id est, "benedicite," to the clergy, and extending "hoc facite," id est, "accipite et manducate," to the laity? This also rests upon the practice apostolical and traditive interpretation of holy church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, by any man that would not have his christendom suspected.

To these I add the communion of women, the distinction of books apocryphal from canonical, that such books were written by such evangelists and apostles, the whole tradition of Scripture itself, the apostles' creed, the feast of Easter (which, amongst all them that cry up the Sunday-festival for a Divine institution, must needs prevail as "caput institutionis," it being that for which the Sunday is commemorated). These, and divers others of greater consequence, (which I dare not specify for fear of being misunderstood,) rely but upon equal faith with this of episcopacy, (though I should wave all the arguments for immediate Divine ordinance,) and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked amongst the "credenda" of christianity, which the church hath entertained upon the confidence of that which we call "the faith of a christian," whose Mater is truth itself.

SECTION XX.

And was an Office of Power and great Authority.

What their power and eminence was, and the appropriates of their office so ordained by the apostles, appears also by the testimonies before alleged, the expressions whereof run in these high terms: "Episcopatus administrandæ ecclesiæ in Lino:" "Linus's bishopric was the administration of the whole church." "Ecclesiæ præfuisse" was said of him and Clemens; they were both "prefects of the church," or "prelates;" that is the church-word. "Ordinandis apud Cretam ecclesiis præficitur," so Titus; "He is set over all the affairs of the new-founded churches in Crete." "In celsiori gradu collocatus," "placed in a higher order or degree;" so the bishop of Alexandria, chosen "ex presbyteris," "from amongst the presbyters." "Supra omnia episcopalis apicis;" so Philo of that bishopric; "The seat of episcopal height above all things in christianity." These are its honours. Its offices these: τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθῶσαι, ἐπιστομίζειν ἀνυποτάκτους, καὶ ματαιολόγους, &c. "To set in order whatsoever he sees wanting, or amiss; to silence vain prating preachers, that will not submit to their superiors, to ordain elders, to rebuke delinquents, to reject heretics," viz. from the communion of the faithful, (for else why was the angel of the church of Pergamus reproved for tolerating the Nicolaitan heretics, but that it was in his power to eject them? And the same is the case of the angel of Thyatira in permitting the woman to teach and seduce the people,) but to the bishop was committed the cognizance of causes criminal, and particularly of presbyters, (so to Timothy in the instance formerly alleged,) nay πᾶσα ἐπιταγὴ, "all authority," so in the case of Titus, and "officium regendæ ecclesiæ," "the office of ruling the church," so to them all whom the apostles left in the several churches respectively, which they had new founded. So Eusebius.[b] For the bishop was ἐπὶ πᾶσι καθεστὼς, "set over all," clergy and laity, saith St. Clement.

This was given to bishops by the apostles themselves, and this was not given to presbyters, as I have already proved; and for the present it will sufficiently appear in this, that bishops had power over presbyters, which cannot be supposed they had over themselves, unless they could be their own superiors.

[b] Ubi supra, apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 23.

SECTION XXI.

Not lessened by the Assistance and Counsel of Presbyters.

But a council, or college of presbyters might have jurisdiction over any one, and such colleges there were in the apostles' times, and they did "in communi ecclesiam regere," "govern the church in common with the bishop;" as saith St. Jerome, viz. where there was a bishop; and where there was none, they ruled without him. This indeed will call us to a new account; and it relies upon the testimony of St. Jerome, which I will set down here, that we may leave the sun without a cloud.[a] St. Jerome's words are these: "Idem est enim presbyter quod episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, 'Ego sum Pauli, Ego Apollo, Ego autem Cephæ,' communi presbyterorum concilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam verò unusquisque eos quos baptizabat, suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur."

Then he brings some arguments to confirm his saying, and sums them up thus: "Hæc diximus,

[a] Comment. in Ep. ad Titum.

ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos episcopos, et ut episcopi noverint se magis ecclesiæ consuetudine quàm Dominicæ dispositionis veritate presbyteris esse majores: et in communi debere ecclesiam regere," &c.

The thing St. Jerome aims to prove, is the identity of bishop, presbyter, and their government of the church in common. For their identity, it is clear that St. Jerome does not mean it in respect of order, as if a bishop and a presbyter had both one office "per omnia" one power; for else he contradicts himself most apertly; for, in his epistle ad Evagrium "Quid facit?" saith he, "episcopus acceptâ ordinatione quod presbyter non faciat?" "A presbyter may not ordain, a bishop does;" which is a clear difference of power, and by St. Jerome is not expressed in matter of fact, but of right, "quod presbyter non *faciat*," not "non *facit*;" that a priest may not, must not, do that a bishop does, viz. he gives holy orders. And for matter of fact, St. Jerome knew that in his time a presbyter did not govern in common; but, because he conceived it was fit he should be joined in the common regiment and care of the diocess, therefore, he asserted it as much as he could; and therefore, if St. Jerome had thought that this difference of the power of ordination had been only customary, and by actual indulgence, or encroachment, or positive constitution, and no matter of primitive and original right, St. Jerome was not so diffident but out it should come, what would have come. And suppose St. Jerome, in this distinct power of ordination, had intended it only to be a difference in fact, not in right, (for so some of late have muttered,) then St. Jerome had not said true according to his own principles, for "Quid facit episcopus exceptâ ordinatione quod presbyter non faciat?" had been quickly answered, if the question had only been "de facto;" for the bishop governed the church alone, and so in jurisdiction was greater than presbyters, and this was by custom, and in fact, at least, St. Jerome says it, and the bishop took so much power to himself that "de facto" presbyters were not suffered to do any thing "sine literis episcopalibus," "without leave of the bishop;" and this St. Jerome complained of;[b] so that "de facto" the power of ordination was not the only difference. That then, (if St. Jerome says true,) being the only difference between presbyter and bishop, must be meant "de jure," in matter of right, not "human positive," (for that is coincident with the other power of jurisdiction, which, "de facto," and at least by a human right, the bishop had over presbyters,) but "divine;" and then this identity of bishop and presbyter, by St. Jerome's own confession, cannot be meant in respect of order, but that episcopacy is, by Divine right, a superior order to the presbyterate.

Add to this, that the arguments which St. Jerome uses in this discourse, are to prove that bishops are sometimes called "presbyters." To this purpose he urges Acts xx., and Philippians i., and the epistles to Timothy and Titus, and some others, but all driving to the same issue. To what? No to prove that presbyters are sometimes called presbyters; for who doubts that? But that bishops are so, may be of some consideration, and needs a proof and this he undertook. Now that they are so called, must needs infer an identity and a disparity in several respects. An identity, at least of names for else it had been wholly impertinent. A disparity; or else his arguments were to prove "idem affirmari de eodem;" which were a business next to telling pins. Now, then, this disparity must be either in order or jurisdiction. By the former probation it is sure that he means the orders to be disparate; if jurisdiction too, I am content; but the former is most certain, if he stand to his own principles.

This identity, then, which St. Jerome expresses of episcopus and presbyter, must be either in name or in jurisdiction. I know not certainly which he means, for his arguments conclude only for the identity of names, but his conclusion is for identity of jurisdiction: "Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere," is the intent of his discourse, If he means the first, viz. that of names, it is well enough, there is no harm done, it is "in confesso apud omnes;" but concludes nothing, as I shall show hereafter; but because he intends, so far as may be guessed by his words, a parity and concurrence of jurisdiction, this must be considered distinctly.

1, Then: In the first founding of churches, the apostles did appoint presbyters and inferior ministers, with a power of baptizing, preaching, consecrating, and reconciling, "in privato foro;" but did not in every church, at the first founding it, constitute a bishop. This is evident in Crete, in Ephesus, in Corinth, at Rome, at Antioch.

2. Where no bishops were constituted, there the apostles kept the jurisdiction in their own hands: "There comes upon me," saith St. Paul, "daily the care (or supravision) of all the churches." Not all "absolutely," for not all of the circumcision, but all "of his charge," with which he was once charged, and of which he had not exonerated himself by constituting bishops there, for of these there is the same reason. And again: "If any man obey not our word, *διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε*, signify him to me by an epistle;" so he charges the Thessalonians,[c] and therefore of this church, St. Paul as yet clearly kept the power in his own hands. So that the church was ever, in all the parts of it, governed by episcopal or apostolical authority.

3. For aught appears in Scripture, the apostles never gave any external or coercive jurisdiction in public and criminal causes, nor yet power to ordain rites or ceremonies, or to inflict censures, to a college of mere presbyters. The contrary may be greedily swallowed, and I know not with how great confidence, and prescribing prejudice; but there is not in all Scripture any commission from Christ, any ordinance or warrant from the apostles, to any presbyter, or college of presbyters without a bishop, or express delegation of apostolical authority, "tanquam vicario suo," as to his "substitute," in absence of

[b] Ad Nepotian. et de 7. Ordin. Eccles.

[c] 2 Thess. iii. 14.

the bishop or apostle, to inflict any censures, or take cognizance of persons and causes criminal. Presbyters might be "surrogati in locum episcopi absentis," but never had any ordinary jurisdiction given them by virtue of their ordination, or any commission from Christ or his apostles.

This we may best consider by induction of particulars.

1. There was a presbytery at Jerusalem, but they had a bishop always, and the college of the apostles sometimes: therefore, whatsoever act they did, it was in conjunction with, and subordination to, the bishop and apostles. Now it cannot be denied, both that the apostles were superior to all the presbyters in Jerusalem, and also had power alone to govern the church. I say they had power to govern alone, for they had the government of the church alone before they ordained the first presbyters, that is, before there were any of capacity to join with them, they must do it themselves, and then also they must retain the same power, for they could not lose it by giving orders. Now, if they had a power of sole jurisdiction, then the presbyters, being in some public acts in conjunction with the apostles, cannot challenge a right of governing as affixed to their order, they only assisting in subordination, and by dependency.

This only by the way: In Jerusalem the presbyters were something more than ordinary, and were not mere presbyters in the present and limited sense of the word. For Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas (*ἀνδρὰς ἡγουμένους*, St. Luke calls them[d]) were of that presbytery. *Καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες.* They were rulers, and prophets, chief men amongst the brethren, and yet called elders or presbyters, though of apostolical power and authority, *ὅτι καὶ πρεσβυτέρων εἶχον ἀξίαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, saith Œcumenius.[e] For truth is, that divers of them were ordained apostles with an unlimited jurisdiction, not fixed upon any see, that they also might, together with the twelve, "exire in totum mundum." So that, in this presbytery, either they were more than mere presbyters, as Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas, men of apostolical power, and they might well be in conjunction with the twelve; and with the bishop they were of equal power, not by virtue of their presbyterate, but by their apostolate; or if they were but mere presbyters, yet because it is certain, and proved, and confessed, that the apostles had power to govern the church alone, this their taking mere "presbyteros in partem regiminis," was a voluntary act, and from this example was derived to other churches; and then it is most true, that "presbyteros in communi ecclesiam regere," was rather "consuetudine ecclesiæ, quàm Dominicæ dispositionis veritate," to use St. Jerome's own expression; for this is more evident than that bishops do "eminere cæteris," by custom rather than Divine institution. For if the apostles might rule the church alone, then that the presbyters were taken into the number was a voluntary act of the apostles; and although fitting to be retained where the same reasons do remain, and circumstances concur, yet not necessary, because not affixed to their order; not "Dominicæ dispositionis veritate," and not laudable when those reasons cease, and there is an emergency of contrary causes.

2. The next presbytery we read of is at Antioch; but there we find no acts either of concurrent or single jurisdiction, but of ordination indeed we do, and that performed by such men as St. Paul was, and Barnabas,[f] for they were two of the prophets reckoned in the church of Antioch, but I do not remember them to be called "presbyters in that place;" to be sure they were not mere presbyters as we now understand the word; as I proved formerly.

3. But in the church of Ephesus there was a college of presbyters, and they were, by the Spirit of God, called bishops, and were appointed by him to be pastors of the church of God. This must do it or nothing, "In quo Spiritus Sanctus posuit *vos* episcopos:" "In whom the Holy Ghost hath made *you* bishops."[g] There must lie the exigence of the argument, and if we can find who is meant by "vos," we shall, I hope, gain the truth. St. Paul sent for the presbyters or elders, to come from Ephesus to Miletus, and to them he spoke. It is true, but that is not all the "vos." For there were present at that sermon Sopater, and Aristarchus, and Secundus, and Gaius, and Timothy, and Tychicus, and Trophimus,[h] and although he sent to Ephesus, as to the metropolis, and there many elders were, either accidentally or by ordinary residence, yet those were not all elders of that church, but of all Asia; in the Scripture sense, the Lesser Asia. For so, in the preface of his sermon. St. Paul intimates: "Ye know that from the first day I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons."[i] His whole conversation in Asia was not confined to Ephesus, and yet those elders who were present, were witnesses of it all, and, therefore, were of dispersed habitation; and so it is more clearly inferred from verse 25: "And now behold I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God," &c. It was a travel to preach to all that were present, and, therefore, most certainly they were inhabitants of places very considerably distant.

Now, upon this ground, I will raise these considerations.

1. If there be a confusion of names in Scripture, particularly of episcopus and presbyter, as it is contended for on one side, and granted on all sides, then where both the words are used, what shall determine the signification? For whether (to instance in this place) shall "presbyter" limit "episcopus," or "episcopus" extend "presbyter?" Why may not presbyter signify one that is verily a bishop, as episcopus signify a mere presbyter? For it is but an ignorant conceit, wherever presbyter is named, to fancy it in the proper and limited sense, and not to do so with episcopus; and when they are joined together, rather to believe it in the limited and present sense of presbyter, than in the proper and present sense of episcopus. So that as yet we are indifferent upon the terms. These men sent for

[d] Acts xv. [e] In Act. Apost. [f] Acts xiii. [g] Acts xx. [h] Acts xx. 4 [i] Verse 18.

from Ephesus, are called πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, "elders" or "presbyters of the church;" but at Miletus, "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos," there they are called "bishops" or overseers. So, that I may as well say here, "properly so called bishops," as another may say, "here were mere presbyters." And lest it be objected in prejudice of my affirmative, that they could not be bishops because they were of Ephesus, there never being but one bishop in one church; I answer, that in the apostles' times this was not true. For at Jerusalem there were many at the same time, that had episcopal and apostolical authority, and so at Antioch: as at Jerusalem were James, and Judas, and Silas, and the apostles; and Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, and at Rome, at the same time, Peter, and Paul, and Linus, and Clemens; but yet one of them was fixed, and properly the bishop of that place. But secondly; All these were not of Ephesus, but the elders of all Asia, but some from other countries, as appears verse 4. So that although they were all bishops, we might easily find distinct diocesses for them, without encumbering the church of Ephesus with a multiplied incumbency. Thus far then we are upon even terms; the community of compellations used here, can no more force us to believe them all to be mere presbyters than bishops, in the proper sense.

2. It is very certain, that they were not all mere presbyters at his farewell sermon; for St. Timothy was there, and I proved him to be a bishop by abundant testimony, and many of those which are reckoned, verse 4. were companions of the apostle in his journey; and employed, in mission apostolical, for the founding of churches; and particularly Sopater was there, and he was bishop of Iconium, and Tychicus, of Chalcedon in Bithynia, as Dorotheus and Eusebius witness;[k] and Trophimus, of Arles in France; for so it is witnessed by the suffragans of that province, in their epistle to St. Leo. But without all doubt, here were bishops present as well as presbyters, for, besides the premises, we have a witness beyond exception, the ancient St. Irenæus: "In Mileto enim convocatis episcopis et presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso, et à reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinavit Hierosolymis Pentecosten agere," &c.; St. Paul, making haste to keep his Pentecost at Jerusalem, "at Miletus did call together the bishops and presbyters from Ephesus, and the neighbouring cities."[l] Now to all these in conjunction, St. Paul spoke, and to these indeed the Holy Ghost had concredited his church to be fed, and taught with pastoral supravision; but, in the mean while, here is no commission of power, or jurisdiction to presbyters distinctly, nor supposition of any such pre-existent power.

3. All that St. Paul said in this narration, was spoken in the presence of them all, but not to them all. For that of verse 18. "Ye know how I have been with you in Asia in all seasons:" that indeed was spoken to all the presbyters that came from Ephesus and the voisinage, viz. in a collective sense, not in a distributive, for each of them was not in al the circuit of his Asian travels; but this was no spoken to Sopater, the Berean, or to Aristarchus the Thessalonian, but to Tychicus and Trophimus who were Asians, it might be addressed. And fo that of verse 25. "Ye all among whom I have gon preaching, shall see my face no more; this wa directed only to the Asians, for he was never mor to come thither; but Timothy, to be sure, saw hir afterwards, for St. Paul sent for him, a little befor his death, to Rome, and it will not be supposed h neglected to attend him. So that if there were conjunction of bishops and presbyters at his meetin as most certainly there was, and of evangelists an apostolical men besides, how shall it be known, o indeed with any probability suspected, that claus of verse 28. "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopo pascere ecclesiam Dei," does belong to the Ephesin presbyters, and not particularly to Timothy, wh was now actually bishop of Ephesus, and to Gaius and to the other apostolical men, who had, at leas episcopal authority, that is, power of founding an ordering churches without a fixed and limited juri diction.

4. Either in this place is no jurisdiction at all in timated "de antiquo," or concredited "de novo," or if there be, it is in the word ἐπισκόπους an ποιμαίνειν, verse 28. "bishops" and "feeders;" and then it belongs to the presbyters in conjunctio with, and subordination to, the bishops; for to th mere presbyters it cannot be proved to appertain, b any intimation of that place.

5. How and if these presbyters, which came fro Ephesus, and the other parts of Asia, were mad bishops at Miletus? Then also this way all difficult will be removed. And that so it was, is more tha probable; for to be sure, Timothy was now enterin and fixing upon his see; and it was consonant t the practice of the apostles, and the exigence of th thing itself, when they were to leave a church, t fix a bishop in it; for why else was a bishop fixe in Jerusalem so long before any other churches, bu because the apostles were to be scattered from thence and there the first bloody field of martyrdom was t be fought. And the case was equal here, for St Paul was never to see the churches of Asia an more; and foresaw that ravening wolves would en ter into the folds, and he had actually placed bishop in Ephesus; and it is unimaginable, that h would not make equal provision for other churches there being the same necessity, from the same dan ger, in them all, and either St. Paul did it now o never; and that about this time, the other six Asia churches had angels or bishops set in their candle sticks, is plain, for there had been a succession in th church of Pergamus; Antipas was dead, and St. Timo thy had sat in Ephesus, and St. Polycarp at Smyr na, many years before St. John writ his revelation

6. Lastly: That no jurisdiction was in the Ephe sine presbyters, except a delegate and subordinate appears beyond all exception, by St. Paul's firs epistle to Timothy, establishing in the person o Timothy power of coercitive jurisdiction over pres

[k] Ubi supra.

[l] Lib. iii. c. 14.

byters, and ordination in him alone, without the conjunction of any in commission with him, for aught appears either there or elsewhere.

4. The same also, in the case of the Cretan presbyters, is clear. For what power had they of jurisdiction? For that is it we now speak of. If they had none before St. Titus came, we are well enough at Crete. If they had, why did St. Paul take it from them, to invest Titus with it? Or if he did not, to what purpose did he send Titus with all those powers before mentioned? For either the presbyters of Crete had jurisdiction, in causes criminal, equal to Titus after his coming, or they had not. If they had not, then either they had no jurisdiction at all, or whatsoever it was in subordination to him, they were his inferiors, and he their ordinary judge and governor.

5. One thing more before this be left, must be considered concerning the church of Corinth, for there was power of excommunication in the presbytery when they had no bishop, for they had none of divers years after the founding of the church, and yet St. Paul reproves them for not ejecting the incestuous person out of the church.

This is it that I said before, that the apostles kept the jurisdiction in their hands where they had founded a church and placed no bishop, for in this case of the Corinthian incest, the apostle did make himself the sole judge: "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already;" [m] and then, secondly, St. Paul gives the church of Corinth commission and substitution to proceed in this cause, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together,[n] and my spirit," that is, "my power, my authority," for so he explains himself, "my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver him over to Satan." And thirdly, as all this power is delegate, so it is but declarative in the Corinthians; for St. Paul had given sentence before, and they of Corinth were to publish it. Fourthly; this was a commission given to the whole assembly, and no more concerns the presbyters than the people, and so some have contended; but so it is, but will serve neither of their turns, neither for an independent presbytery, nor a conjunctive popularity. As for St. Paul's reproving them for not inflicting censures on the peccant, I have often heard it confidently averred, but never could see ground for it. The suspicion of it is verse 2: "And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned; that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you:" taken away: but by whom? that is the question. Not by them, to be sure. For "taken away from you," implies that it is by the power of another, not by their act, for no man can take away any thing from himself, he may "put it away," not "take it," the expression had been very imperfect if this had been his meaning. Well then; in all these instances, viz. of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Crete, and Corinth, (and these are all I can find in Scripture of any consideration in the present question,) all the jurisdiction was originally in the apostles, while there was no bishop, or in the bishop, when there was any; and yet that the presbyters were joined in the ordering church affairs, I will not deny, to wit, by voluntary assuming them, "in partem sollicitudinis," and by delegation of power apostolical, or episcopal, and by way of assistance in acts deliberative and consiliary, though I find this no where specified but in the church of Jerusalem, where I proved that the elders were men of more power than mere presbyters, men of apostolical authority. But here lies the issue and strain of the question.

Presbyters had no jurisdiction in causes criminal, and pertaining to the public regiment of the church, by virtue of their order, or without particular substitution and delegation. For there is not in all Scripture any commission given by Christ to mere presbyters, no Divine institution of any power of regiment in the presbytery; no constitution apostolical, that mere presbyters should either alone, or in conjunction with the bishop, govern the church; no example in all Scripture of any censure inflicted by any mere presbyters, either upon clergy or laity; no specification of any power that they had so to do; but to churches where colleges of presbyters were resident, bishops were sent by apostolical ordination; not only with power of imposition of hands, but of excommunication, of taking cognizance even of causes and actions of presbyters themselves, as to Titus, and Timothy, the angel of the church of Ephesus; and there is also example of delegation of power of censures from the apostle to a church, where many presbyters were fixed, as in the case of the Corinthian delinquent before specified, which delegation was needless, if coercitive jurisdiction, by censures, had been by Divine right in a presbyter, or a whole college of them.

Now then return we to the consideration of St. Jerome's saying: "The church was governed (saith he) 'communi presbyterorum consilio,' by the common council of presbyters." But,

1. "Quo jure" was this? That the bishops are superior to those which were then called presbyters, by custom rather than Divine disposition, St. Jerome affirms; but that presbyters were joined with the apostles and bishops at first, by what right was that? Was not that also by custom and condescension, rather than by Divine disposition? St. Jerome does not say but it was. For he speaks only of matter of fact, not of right; it might have been otherwise, though, "de facto," it was so in some places.

2. "Communi presbyterorum consilio" is true in the church of Jerusalem, where the elders were apostolical men, and had episcopal authority, and something superadded, as Barnabas, and Judas, and Silas, for they had the authority and power of bishops, and an unlimited diocess besides, though afterwards Silas was fixed upon the see of Corinth. But yet even at Jerusalem they actually had a bishop, who was in that place superior to them in jurisdiction, and, therefore, does clearly evince, that the common council of presbyters is no argument against the superiority of a bishop over them.

[m] 1 Cor. v. 3. [n] Verse 4.

3. "Communi presbyterorum consilio" is also true, because the apostles called themselves presbyters, as St. Paul and St. John, in their epistles. Now at the first, many prophets, many elders, (for the words are sometimes used in common,) were, for a while, resident in particular churches, and did govern in common; as at Antioch were Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaën, and Paul, "communi horum presbyterorum consilio" the church of Antioch for a time was governed; for all these were presbyters, in the sense that St. Peter and St. John were, and the elders of the church of Jerusalem.

4. Suppose this had been true in the sense that any body please to imagine, yet this not being by any Divine ordinance, that presbyters should by their counsel assist in external regiment of the church, neither by any intimation of Scripture, nor by affirmation of St. Jerome, it is sufficient to stifle this by that saying of St. Ambrose; "Postquàm omnibus locis ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam cœperat."[o] It might be so at first "de facto," and yet no need to be so neither then, nor after. For at first Ephesus had no bishop of its own, nor Crete, and there was no need, for St. Paul had the supravision of them, and St. John, and other of the apostles; but yet afterwards St. Paul did send bishops thither; for when themselves were to go away, the power must be concredited to another; and if they, in their absence, before the constituting of a bishop, had intrusted the care of the church with presbyters, yet it was but independence on the apostles, and by substitution, not by any ordinary power, and it ceased at the presence or command of the apostle, or the sending of a bishop to reside. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν.[p] So St. Ignatius, being absent from his church, upon a business of being persecuted, he wrote to his presbyters, "Do you feed the flock amongst you, till God shall show you who shall be your ruler," viz. "my successor: no longer: your commission expires when a bishop comes."

5. To the conclusion of St. Jerome's discourse, viz. "That bishops are not greater than presbyters by the truth of Divine disposition;" I answer, that this is true in this sense, bishops are not, by Divine disposition, greater than all those which, in Scripture, are called presbyters, such as were the elders in the council at Jerusalem, such as were they of Antioch, such as St. Peter and St. John, συμπρεσβύτεροι all, and yet all of them were not bishops in the present sense, that is, of a fixed and particular diocess and jurisdiction.

Secondly: St. Jerome's meaning is also true in this sense, "Bishops, by the truth of the Lord's disposition, are not greater than presbyters," viz. "quoad exercitium actûs," that is, they are not tied to exercise jurisdiction solely in their own persons, but may "asciscere sibi presbyteros in commune consilium," they "may delegate jurisdiction to the presbyters;" and that they did not so, but kept the exercise of it only in their own hands in St. Jerome's time, this is it, which he saith is rather by custom than by Divine dispensation, for it was otherwise at first, viz. "de facto," and might be so still, there being no law of God against the delegation of power episcopal. As for the last words in the objection, "Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere," it is an assumentum of St. Jerome's own; for all his former discourse was of the identity of names, and common regiment "de facto," not "de jure," and from a fact to conclude with a "deberet," is a "non sequitur," unless this "debere" be understood according to the exigence of the former arguments, that is, they ought not by God's law, but in imitation of the practice apostolical; to wit, when things are as they were then, when the presbyters are such as then they were; they ought, for many considerations, and in great cases, not by the necessity of a precept.

And indeed, to do him right, he so explains himself: "Et in communi debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui cùm haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret:"[q] "The presbyters ought to judge in common with the bishop, for the bishops ought to imitate Moses, who might have ruled alone, yet was content to take others to him, and himself only to rule in chief." Thus St. Jerome would have the bishops do, but then he acknowledges the right of sole jurisdiction to be in them, and therefore, though his counsel perhaps might be good then, yet it is necessary at no time, and was not followed then, and to be sure, is needless now. For the arguments which St. Jerome uses to prove this intention, whatever it is, I have, and shall elsewhere produce, for they yield many other considerations than this collection of St. Jerome, and prove nothing less than the equality of the offices of episcopacy and presbyterate. The same thing is "per omnia" respondent to the parallel place of St. Chrysostom: it is needless to repeat either the objection or answer.

But however, this saying of St. Jerome, and the parallel of St. Chrysostom, is but like an argument against an evident truth, which comes forth upon a desperate service, and they are sure to be killed by the adverse party, or to run upon their own swords; for either they are to be understood in the senses above explicated, and then they are impertinent, or else they contradict evidence of Scripture and catholic antiquity, and so are false, and die within their own trenches.

I end this argument of tradition apostolical with that saying of St. Jerome in the same place; "Postquam unusquisque eos quos baptizabat suos putabat esse, non Christi, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, Ego Apollo, Ego autem Cephæ, in toto orbe decretum est ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur."

[o] In Ephes. iv.
[p] Epist ad Antioch.
[q] In 1 Tim. iii. Ὅτι οὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν· τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην αὐτῶν ἀναβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρέσβυτέρους.—Homil. 11.

That is, "a public decree issued out in the apostles' times, that in all churches one should be chosen out of the clergy, and set over them, viz. to rule and govern the flock committed to his charge. This, I say, was in the apostles' times, even upon the occasion of the Corinthian schism; for then they said, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and then it was, that he that baptized any catechumens, took them for his own, not as Christ's disciples." So that it was, "tempore apostolorum," that this decree was made; for "in the time of the apostles," St. James, and St. Mark, and St. Timothy, and St. Titus, were made bishops by St. Jerome's express attestation. It was also "toto orbe decretum;" so that if it had not been proved to have been an immediate Divine institution, yet it could not have gone much less, it being, as I have proved, and as St. Jerome acknowledges, catholic and apostolic.

SECTION XXII.

And all this hath been the Faith and Practice of Christendom.

"BE ye followers of me as I am of Christ," is an apostolical precept. We have seen how the apostles have followed Christ, how their tradition is consequent of Divine institution: next let us see how the church hath followed the apostles, as the apostles have followed Christ. Catholic practice is the next basis of the power and order of episcopacy. And this shall be "in subsidium," to them also that call for reduction of the state episcopal to a primitive consistence, and for the confirmation of all those pious sons of holy church, who have a venerable estimate of the public and authorized facts of catholic Christendom.

For consider we, is it imaginable, that all the world should, immediately after the death of the apostles, conspire together to seek themselves, and not "ea quæ sunt Jesu Christi;" to erect a government of their own devising, not ordained by Christ, not delivered by his apostles, and to relinquish a Divine foundation, and the apostolical superstructure, which, if it was at all, was a part of our Master's will, which whosoever knew, and observed not, was to be beaten with many stripes? Is it imaginable, that those gallant men, who could not be brought off from the prescriptions of gentilism, to the seeming impossibilities of christianity, without evidence of miracle, and clarity of demonstration upon agreed principles, should all, upon their first adhesion to christianity, make a universal dereliction of so considerable a part of their Master's will, and leave gentilism to destroy christianity; for he that erects another economy than what the Master of the family hath ordained, destroys all those relations of mutual dependence, which Christ hath made for the coadunation of all the parts of it, and so destroys it in the formality of a christian congregation or family.

Is it imaginable, that all those glorious martyrs, that were so curious observers of Divine sanctions, and canons apostolical, that so long as that ordinance of the apostles, concerning abstinence from blood, was of force, they would rather die than eat a strangled hen or a pudding, (for so Eusebius relates of the christians, in the particular instance of Biblis and Blandina,) that they would be so sedulous in contemning the government, that Christ left for his family, and erect another?

To what purpose were all their watchings, their banishments, their fears, their fastings, their penances, and formidable austerities, and finally, their so frequent martyrdoms, of what excellency or avail, if, after all, they should be hurried out of this world, and all their fortunes and possessions, by untimely, by disgraceful, by dolorous deaths, to be set before a tribunal, to give account of their universal neglect, and contemning of Christ's last testament, in so great an affair, as the whole government of his church?

If all christendom should be guilty of so open, so united a defiance against their Master, by what argument or confidence can any misbeliever be persuaded to christianity, which, in all its members for so many ages together, is so unlike its first institution, and in its most public affair, and, for matter of order, of the most general concernment, is so contrary to the first birth?

Where are the promises of Christ's perpetual assistance, of the impregnable permanence of the church against the gates of hell, of the Spirit of truth to lead it into all truth, if she be guilty of so grand an error, as to erect a throne where Christ had made all level, or appointed others to sit in it than whom he suffers. Either Christ hath left no government, or most certainly the church hath retained that government, whatsoever it is; for the contradictory to these would either make Christ improvident, or the catholic church extremely negligent (to say no worse) and incurious of her "depositum." But upon the confidence of all christendom, (if there were no more in it,) I suppose we may fairly venture: "Sit anima mea cum christianis."

SECTION XXIII.

Who first distinguished Names, used before in common.

THE first thing done in christendom, upon the death of the apostles, in this matter of episcopacy, is the distinguishing of names, which before were common. For in Holy Scripture all the names of clerical offices were given to the superior order, and particularly all offices, and parts, and persons, designed in any employment of the sacred priesthood, were signified by "presbyter" and "presbyterium." And therefore, lest the confusion of names might persuade an identity and indistinction of office, the wisdom of holy church found it necessary to dis-

tinguish and separate orders and offices, by distinct and proper appellations. "For the apostles did know, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions would arise, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name of episcopacy," saith St. Clement;[a] and so it did in the church of Corinth, as soon as their apostle had expired his last breath. But so it was.

1. The apostles, which I have proved to be the supreme ordinary office in the church, and to be succeeded in, were called in Scripture πρεσβύτεροι, "elders" or "presbyters;" πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, saith St. Peter the apostle; "The elders or presbyters that are among you, I also, who am an elder or presbyter, do entreat.[b] Such elders St. Peter spoke to, as he was himself, to wit, those to whom the regiment of the church was committed; the bishops of Asia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, that is, to Timothy, to Tychicus, to Sosipater, to the angels of the Asian churches, and all others, whom himself, in the next words, points out, by the description of their office, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπισκοποῦντες, &c. "Feed the flock of God as bishops," or "being bishops and overseers over it;" and that to rulers he then spake, is evident by his μὴ κατακυριεύοντες, for it was impertinent to have warned them of "tyranny," that had no rule at all. The mere presbyters, I deny not, but are included in this admonition; for as their office is involved in the bishop's office, the bishop being bishop and presbyter too, so is his duty also in the bishop's; so that, "pro ratâ," the presbyter knows what lies on him, by proportion and intuition to the bishop's admonition. But again: Ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, saith St. John the apostle; and ὁ πρεσβύτερος Γαίῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ. "The presbyter to Gaius; the presbyter to the elect lady."

2. If apostles be called presbyters, no harm though bishops be called so too; for apostles and bishops are all one in ordinary office, as I have proved formerly. Thus are those apostolical men, in the college at Jerusalem, called presbyters, whom yet the Holy Ghost calleth ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους "principal men, ruling men," and οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, "the presbyters that rule well." By presbyters are meant bishops, to whom only, according to the intention and exigence of Divine institution, the apostle had concredited the church of Ephesus, and the neighbouring cities, "ut solus quisque episcopus præsit omnibus," as appears in the former discourse. The same also is Acts xx. The Holy Ghost hath made you bishops; and yet the same men are called πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The one place expounds the other, for they are both "ad idem," and speak of elders of the same church.

3. Although bishops be called presbyters, yet, even in Scripture, names are so distinguished, that mere presbyters are never called bishops; unless it be in conjunction with bishops; and then in the general address, which, in all fair deportments, is made to the more eminent, sometimes presbyters are, or may be, comprehended. This observation, if it prove true, will clearly show, that the confusion of names of "episcopus," and "presbyter," such as it is in Scripture, is of no pretence, by any intimation of Scripture, for the indistinction of offices; for even the names in Scripture itself are so distinguished, that a mere presbyter alone is never called a bishop, but a bishop and apostle is often called a presbyter, as in the instances above. But we will consider those places of Scripture, which use to be pretended in those impertinent arguings from the identity of name, to confusion of things, and show that they neither interfere upon the main question, nor this observation: "Paul and Timotheus to all the saints which are in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." I am more willing to choose this instance, because the place is of much consideration in the whole question, and I shall take this occasion to clear it from prejudice and disadvantage.

By bishops are here meant presbyters, because many bishops in a church could not be, and yet St. Paul speaks plurally of the bishops of the church of Philippi, and therefore must mean mere presbyters; so it is pretended.

1. Then: By "bishops" are, or may be, meant the whole superior order of the clergy, "bishops and priests;" and that he speaks plurally, he may besides the bishops in the church, comprehend under their name the presbyters too; for why may not the name be comprehended as well as the office and order the inferior under the superior, the lesser within the greater; for, since the order of presbyters is involved in the bishops' order, and is not only inclusively in it, but derivative from it, the same name may comprehend both persons, because it does comprehend the distinct offices and orders of them both. And in this sense it is, if it be at all that presbyters are sometimes in Scripture called bishops.

2. Why may not "bishops" be understood properly? For there is no necessity of admitting that there were any mere presbyters at all, at the first founding of this church. It can neither be proved from Scripture, nor antiquity, if it were denied. For indeed a bishop, or a company of episcopal men, as there were at Antioch, might do all that presbyters could, and much more. And considering that there are some necessities of a church, which a presbyter cannot supply, and a bishop can, it is more imaginable that there was no presbyter, than that there was no bishop. And certainly it is most unlikely that what is not expressed, to wit, presbyters, should be only meant, and that which is expressed should not be at all intended.

3. "With the bishops" may be understood in the proper sense, and yet no more bishops in one diocess than one, of a fixed residence; for in that sense is St. Chrysostom and the fathers to be understood in their commentaries on this place, affirming that "one church could have but one bishop;"[c] but then take this along, that it was not then unusual in such great churches, to have many men who

[a] Epist. ad Corin.
[b] 1 Pet. v. 1.
[c] Τί τοῦτο; μίας πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν οὐδαμῶς. CHRYS. in Phil. i.

were temporary residentiaries, but of an apostolical and episcopal authority, as in the churches of Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch there was, as I have proved in the premises. Nay, in Philippi itself, if I mistake not, an instance may be given full and home to this purpose: "Salutant te episcopi Onesimus, Titus, Demas, Polybius, et omnes qui sunt Philippis in Christo, unde et hæc vobis scripsi," saith Ignatius, in his epistle to Hero, his deacon. So that many bishops, we see, might be at Philippi, and many were actually there long after St. Paul's dictate of the epistle.

4. Why may not "bishops" be meant in the proper sense? Because there could not be more bishops than one in a diocess. No? By what law? If by a constitution of the church after the apostles' times, that hinders not, but it might be otherwise in the apostles' times. If by a law in the apostles' times, then we have obtained the main question by the shift, and the apostles did ordain that there should be one, and but one, bishop in a church, although it is evident they appointed many presbyters. And then let this objection be admitted how it will, and do its worst, we are safe enough.

5. "With the bishops," may be taken distributively; for Philippi was a metropolis, and had divers bishoprics under it; and St. Paul, writing to the church of Philippi, wrote also to all the daughter-churches within its circuit, and therefore might well salute many bishops, though writing to one metropolis; and this is the more probable, if the reading of this place be accepted according to Œcumenius: for he reads it not *σὺν ἐπισκόποις*, but *συνεπισκόποις*, "Co-episcopis, et diaconis," "Paul and Timothy to the saints at Philippi, and to our *fellow-bishops*."

6. St. Ambrose refers this clause of "cum episcopis, et diaconis," to St. Paul and St. Timothy; intimating, that the benediction and salutation was sent to the saints at Philippi, from St. Paul and St. Timothy with the bishops and deacons, so that the reading must be thus: "Paul and Timothy with the bishops and deacons, to all the saints at Philippi," &c. "Cum episcopis et diaconis, hoc est, cum Paulo, et Timotheo, qui utique episcopi erant, simul et significavit diaconos qui ministrabant ei. Ad plebem enim scribit. Nam si episcopis scriberet, et diaconis, ad personas eorum scriberet, et loci ipsius episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus, sicut et ad Titum et Timotheum."[d]

7. The like expression to this is in the epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, which may give another light to this, speaking of the apostles, *καθιστάντας ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν*. "They delivered their first-fruits to the bishops and deacons."[e] "Bishops" here indeed may be taken distributively, and so will not infer that many bishops were collectively in any one church; but yet this gives intimation for another exposition of this clause to the Philippians. For here either presbyters are meant by *διακόνους*, "ministers;" or else presbyters are not taken care of in the ecclesiastical provision, which no man imagines, of what interest soever he be; it follows then that "bishops and deacons" are no more but "majores," and "minores sacerdotes" in both places; for as "presbyter" and "episcopus" were confounded, so also "presbyter" and "diaconus;" and I think it will easily be shown in Scripture, that the word "diaconus" is given oftener to apostles, and bishops, and presbyters, than to those ministers, which now, by way of appropriation, we call deacons. But of this anon. Now again to the main observation.

Thus also it was in the church of Ephesus; for St. Paul, writing to their bishop, and giving order for the constitution and deportment of the church-orders and officers, gives directions first for bishops, then for deacons.[f] Where are the presbyters in the interim? Either they must be comprehended in bishops or in deacons. They may as well be in one as the other; for "diaconus" is not in Scripture any more appropriated to the inferior clergy, than "episcopus" to the superior, nor so much neither. For "episcopus" was never used in the New Testament for any, but such as had the care, regiment, and supravision of a church, but "diaconus" was used generally for all ministries.

But yet supposing that presbyters were included under the word "episcopus," yet it is not because the offices and orders are one, but because that the order of a presbyter is comprehended within the dignity of a bishop. And then indeed the compellation is of the more principal, and the presbyter is also comprehended, for his conjunction, and involution in the superior, which was the principal observation here intended. "Nam in episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps est sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, et cætera adimplenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium;" saith St. Ambrose.[g] So that, if, in the description of the qualifications of a bishop, he intends to qualify presbyters also, then it is principally intended for a bishop, and of the presbyters only by way of subordination and comprehension. This only by the way, because this place is also abused to other issues; to be sure it is but a vain dream, that because presbyter is not named, that therefore it is all one with a bishop, when as it may be comprehended under bishop as a part in the whole, or the inferior within the superior, (the office of a bishop having in it the office of a presbyter and something more,) or else it may be as well intended in the word "deacons," and rather than the word "bishop." 1. Because "bishop" is spoken of in the singular number, "deacons" in the plural, and so liker to comprehend the multitude of presbyters. 2. Presbyters, or else bishops, and therefore much more presbyters, are called by St. Paul, *διάκονοι*, "ministers;" "deacons" is the word; *διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύετε*, "deacons by whose ministration ye believed." And 3. By the same argument deacons

[d] In Phil. i. [e] Page 54. [f] 1 Tim. iii.
[g] In Ephes iv. Idem ait S. Dionysius Eccles. Hierarch. cap. v. Ἐν τῇ ἱεραρχικῇ τάξεως δύναμις ἐν πάσαις χωρεῖ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὁλότησιν, i. e. τάξεσιν καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τάξεων ἐνεργεῖ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἱεραρχίας μυστήρια.

may be as well one with the bishop too; for, in the epistle to Titus, St. Paul describes the office of a bishop, and says not a word more either of presbyter or deacon's office; and why, I pray, may not the office of presbyters in the epistle to Timothy be omitted, as well as presbyters and deacons too in that to Titus? or else why may not deacons be confounded, and be all one with bishop, as well as presbyter? It will, it must be so, if this argument were any thing else but an airy and impertinent nothing.

After all this, yet it cannot be shown in Scripture that any one single and mere presbyter is called a bishop; but it may be often found that a bishop, nay, an apostle, is called a presbyter, as in the instances above; and therefore since this communication of names is only in descension, by reason of the involution or comprehension of presbyter within "episcopus," but never in ascension; that is, an apostle, or a bishop, is often called presbyter, and deacon, and prophet, and pastor, and doctor, but never "retrò;" that a mere deacon, or a mere presbyter, should be called either bishop or apostle, it can never be brought either to depress the order of bishops below their throne, or erect mere presbyters above their stalls in the quire. For we may as well confound apostle and deacon, and with clearer probability, than episcopus and presbyter. For apostles and bishops are in Scripture often called deacons. I gave one instance of this before, but there are very many. Εἰς διακονίαν ταύτην, was said of St. Matthias, when he succeeded Judas in the apostolate. Καλὸς ἔση διάκονος, said St. Paul to Timothy, bishop of Ephesus.[h] St. Paul is called διάκονος τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, "a deacon of the New Testament;" and διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, is said of the first founders of the Corinthian church; "deacons by whom ye believed."[i] Paul and Apollos were the men. It is the observation of St. Chrysostom, καὶ διάκονος ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο· διὰ τοῦτο γράφων τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε, Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι. "And a bishop was called a deacon; wherefore writing to Timothy, he saith to him, being a bishop, Fulfil thy deaconship."[k]

Add to this, that there is no word, or designation of any clerical office, but is given to bishops and apostles. The apostles are called "prophets," Acts xiii. The prophets at Antioch were Lucius and Manaen, and Paul and Barnabas; and then they are called "pastors" too; and indeed, "hoc ipso," that they are bishops, they are pastors: "Spiritus Sanctus posuit vos episcopos pascere ecclesiam Dei." Whereupon the Greek scholiast expounds the word "pastor" to signify bishops, τοὺς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένους λέγει, οἷος ὁ Τιμόθεος, οἷος ὁ Τίτος ἦν. And ever since that St. Peter set us a copy in the compellation of the prototype, calling him the "Great Shepherd, and Bishop of our souls," it hath obtained in all antiquity, that "pastors and bishops" are coincident, and we shall very hardly meet with an instance to the contrary.

If bishops be pastors, then they are doctors also, for these are conjunct, when other offices which may in person be united, yet in themselves are made disparate; for "God hath given some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers:"[l] Ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους. If pastors, then also doctors and teachers. And this is observed by St. Austin.[m] "Pastors and doctors whom you would have me to distinguish, I think are one and the same." For Paul doth not say, "some pastors, some doctors," but to pastors he joineth doctors, that pastors might understand it belongeth to their office to teach. The same also is affirmed by Sedulius upon this place.

Thus it was in Scripture; but after the churches were settled, and bishops fixed upon their several sees, then the names also were made distinct, only those names which did design temporary offices did expire, τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινωνοῦν ὀνόματι, saith St. Chrysostom: "Thus far the names were common," viz. in the sense above explicated, λοιπὸν δὲ τὸ ἰδίαζον ἑκάστῳ ἀπονενέμηται ὄνομα, ἐπισκόπου ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέρου πρεσβυτέρῳ. "But immediately the names were made proper and distinct, and to every order its own name is left, of a bishop to a bishop, of a presbyter to a presbyter." This could not be supposed at first; for when they were to borrow words from the titles of secular honour, or offices, and to transplant them to an artificial and imposed sense, use, which is the master of language, must rule us in this affair, and use is not contracted but in some process and descent of time. For at first, christendom itself wanted a name, and the disciples of the glorious Nazarene were christened first in Antioch, for they had their baptism some years before they had their name. It had been no wonder then, if "per omnia" it had so happened in the compellation of all the offices and orders of the church.

SECTION XXIV.

Appropriating the word "Episcopus" or Bishop to the Supreme Church-officer.

But immediately after the apostles, and still more in descending ages, "episcopus" signified only the superintendent of the church, the "bishop" in the present and vulgar conception. Some few examples I shall give instead of myriads. In the canons of the apostles, the word ἐπίσκοπος, or bishop, is used thirty-six times in appropriation to him that is the ordinary, ruler, and president of the church above the clergy and the laity, being twenty-four times expressly distinguished from presbyter, and in the other fourteen having particular care for government, jurisdiction, censures, and ordinations committed to him, as I shall show hereafter, and all this is within the verge of the first fifty, which are received as authentic, by the council of Nice;[a] of

[h] 2 Cor. vi. 4. [i] 1 Cor. iii. 5.
[k] In Phil. i.
[l] Ephes. iv. [m] Epist. 59. ad Paulinum.
[a] Can. 15 and 16.

Antioch,[b] twenty-five canons whereof are taken out of the canons of the apostles; the council of Gangra calling them "canones ecclesiasticos," and "apostolicas traditiones;" by the epistle of the first council of Constantinople to Damascus, which Theodoret hath inserted into his story; by the council of Ephesus;[c] by Tertullian;[d] by Constantine the Great;[e] and are sometimes, by way of eminency, called "the canons," sometimes "the ecclesiastical canons;" sometimes "the ancient and received canons of our fathers;" sometimes "the apostolical canons," *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων δεχθέντες, καὶ κυρωθέντες, ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ παραδοθέντες ἡμῖν ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀποστόλων*, said the fathers of the council in Trullo; and Damascen puts them in order next to the canon of Holy Scripture:[f] so in effect does Isidore, in his preface to the work of the councils, for he sets these canons in front, because "Sancti patres eorum sententias auctoritate synodali roborarunt, et inter canonicas posuerunt constitutiones:" "The holy fathers have established these canons by the authority of councils, and have put them amongst the canonical constitutions." And great reason; for, in Pope Stephen's time, they were translated into Latin by one Dionysius at the entreaty of Laurentius, because then the old Latin copies were rude and barbarous.[g] Now, then, this second translation of them being made in Pope Stephen's time, who was contemporary with St. Irenæus and St. Cyprian, the old copy, older than this, and yet after the original to be sure, shows them to be of prime antiquity; and they are mentioned by St. Stephen in an epistle of his to Bishop Hilarius, where he is severe in censure of them who do prevaricate these canons.

But, for further satisfaction, I refer the reader to the epistle of Gregory Holloander to the moderators of the city of Norimberg. I deny not but they are called apocryphal by Gratian, and some others, viz. in the sense of the church, just as the Wisdom of Solomon, or Ecclesiasticus, but yet by most believed to be written by St. Clement, from the dictate of the apostles, and, without all question, are so far canonical, as to be of undoubted ecclesiastical authority, and of the first antiquity.

Ignatius's testimony is next in time and in authority.[h] *Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει.* "The bishop bears the image and representment of the Father of all." And a little after, *τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάντων κρατῶν; τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον, ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνέδρευται τοῦ ἐπισκοπου; τί δὲ διάκονοι*, &c. "What is the bishop but he that hath all authority and rule? What is the presbytery, but a sacred college, counsellors and helpers, or assessors to the bishop? What are deacons," &c. So that here is the real and exact distinction of dignity, the appropriation of name, and intimation of office. The bishop is above all; the presbyters, his helpers; the deacons, his ministers; *μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων*, "Imitators of the angels, who are ministering spirits." But this of so known, so evident a truth, that it were but impertinent to insist longer upon it. Himself, in three of his epistles, uses it nine times in distinct enumeration, viz. to the Trallians, to the Philadelphians, to the Philippians. And now I shall insert these considerations.

1. Although it was so that "episcopus" and "presbyter" were distinct in the beginning after the apostles' death, yet sometimes the names are used promiscuously; which is an evidence, that confusion of names is no intimation, much less an argument, for the parity of offices, since themselves, who sometimes, though indeed very seldom, confound the names, yet distinguish the offices frequently and dogmatically. *Μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε· ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσι, σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων.*[i] Where by *επισκόπων* he means the presbyters of the church of Antioch; so indeed some say, and though there be no necessity of admitting this mean ing, because by *ἐπισκόπων* he may mean the suffragan bishops of Syria, yet the other may be fairly admitted; for himself their bishop was absent from his church, and had delegated to the presbytery episcopal jurisdiction to rule the church, till he being dead, another bishop should be chosen, so that they were "episcopi vicarii," and, by representment of the person of the bishop, and execution of the bishop's power by delegation, were called *ἐπισκόποι*, and this was done lest the church should not be only without a father, but without a guardian too; and yet what a bishop was, and of what authority, no man more confident and frequent than Ignatius. Another example of this is in Eusebius, speaking of the youth whom St. John had converted and commended to a bishop. Clemens, whose story was this, proceeding in the relation, says, *ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος*, &c. "But the presbyter;" unless by *πρεσβύτερος* here St. Clement means not the "order," but "age," of the man; as it is like enough he did, for a little after he calls him, *ὁ πρεσβύτης*, "The old man;" "Tum verò presbyter in domum suam suscipit adolescentem. Redde depositum, O episcope," saith St. John to him. "Tunc graviter suspirans senior," &c. So St. Clement. But this, as it is very unusual, so it is just as in Scripture, viz. in descent and comprehension; for this bishop also was a presbyter as well as bishop, or else in the delegation of episcopal power, for so it is in the allegation of Ignatius.

2. That this name "episcopus," or "bishop," was chosen to be appropriate to the supreme order of the clergy, was done with fair reason and design. For this is no fastuous or pompous title, the word is of no dignity, and implies none but what is consequent to the just and fair execution of its offices. But presbyter is a name of dignity and veneration, "Rise up to the grey head;" and it transplants the honour and reverence of age to the office of the presbyterate. And yet this the bishops left, and took that which signifies a mere supravision, and overlooking of his charge; so that, if we take esti-

[b] C. 9. et. alibi.
[c] Post adven. Epis. Cypri.
[d] Advers. Praxeam.
[e] Lib. iii. c. 59. de Vitâ Const.
[f] Can. 4. cap. 18. de Orthod. Fide.
[g] Anno Dom. 257.
[h] Epist. ad Trall.
[i] Epist. ad Heron.

mate from the names, "presbyter" is a name of dignity, and "episcopus" of office and burden. "He that desires the office of a bishop, desires a good work," προστασίας γὰρ ἔργον ἐστὶ, saith St. Chrysostom. "Nec dicit si quis episcopatum desiderat, bonum desiderat gradum, sed bonum opus desiderat, quod in majore ordine constitutus possit, si velit, occasionem habere exercendarum virtutum;" so St. Jerome: "It is not an honourable title, but a good office, and a great opportunity of the exercise of excellent virtues." But for this we need no better testimony than of St. Isidore: "Episcopatus autem vocabulum inde dictum, quòd ille qui superefficitur, superintendat, curam scil. gerens subditorum."[k] But, "presbyter Græcè Latinè 'senior' interpretatur, non pro tate, vel ætate, vel decrepitâ senectute, sed propter honorem et dignitatem quam acceperunt." Οὐδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον, ἄντι τοῦ οὐδέν ἐστι τιμιώτερον, καὶ πρεσβεύειν τὸ τιμᾶν, παρὰ Πλάτωνι, saith Julius Pollux.

3. Supposing that episcopus and presbyter had been often confounded in Scripture and antiquity, and that both in ascension and descension, yet as priests may be called angels, and yet the bishop be the angel of the church; "the angel," for his excellency; "of the church," for his appropriate preeminence and singularity; so, though presbyters had been called bishops in Scripture, (of which there is not one example but in the senses above explicated, to wit, in conjunction and comprehension,) yet the bishop is ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, by way of eminence, "the bishop:" and, in descent of time, it came to pass, that the compellation, which was always his, by way of eminence, was made his by appropriation. And a fair precedent of it we have from the compellation given to our blessed Saviour, ὁ μέγας ποίμην καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ψυχῶν, "the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls." The name "bishop" was made sacred by being the appellative of his person, and by fair intimation it does more immediately descend upon them, who had from Christ more immediate mission, and more ample power, and therefore "episcopus" and "pastor," by way of eminence, are the most fit appellatives for them who in the church have the greatest power, office, and dignity, as participating of the fulness of that power and authority, for which Christ was called "the Bishop of our souls." And besides this so fair a copy; besides the using of the word in the prophecy of the apostolate of Matthias, and in the prophet Isaiah, and often in Scripture, as I have shown before; any one whereof is abundantly enough, for the fixing an appellative upon a church-officer; this name may also be intimated as a distinctive compellation of a bishop over a priest; because ἐπισκοπεῖν is indeed often used for the office of bishops, as in the instances above, but σκοπεῖν is used for the office of the inferiors; for St. Paul writing to the Romans,[l] who then had no bishop fixed in the chair of Rome, does command them σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας ποιοῦντας: σκοπεῖν, not ἐπισκοπεῖν, this for the bishop, that for the subordinate clergy. So, then, the word "episcopus" is fixed at first, and that by derivation, and example of Scripture, and fair congruity of reason.

SECTION XXV.

Calling the Bishop, and him only, the Pastor of the Church.

BUT the church used other appellatives for bishops, which it is very requisite to specify, that we may understand divers authorities of the fathers, using those words in appropriation to bishops, which of late have been given to presbyters, ever since they have begun to set presbyters in the room of bishops.

And first, bishops were called "pastors" in antiquity, in imitation of their being called so in Scripture. Eusebius, writing the story of St. Ignatius, "Denique cùm Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus erat, scribit inde unam epistolam ad Ephesios, eorumque pastorem," that is, Onesimus; for so follows, "in quâ meminit Onesimi."[a] Now that Onesimus was their bishop, himself witnesses in the epistle here mentioned, τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγητῷ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ, &c.[b] Onesimus was their bishop, and therefore their pastor; and in his epistle "ad Antiochenos," himself makes mention of Evodius, τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν, "your most blessed and worthy pastor."

When Paulus Samosatenus first broached his heresy against the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, presently a council was called, where St. Denis, bishop of Alexandria, could not be present: "Cæteri verò ecclesiarum pastores, diversis è locis et urbibus, convenerunt Antiochiam. In quibus insignes et cæteris præcellentes erant Firmilianus à Cæsareâ Cappadociæ, Gregorius, et Athenodorus fratres, et Helenus Sardensis ecclesiæ episcopus: sed et Maximus Bostrensis episcopus dignus eorum consortio cohærebat."[c] These bishops, Firmilianus, and Helenus, and Maximus, were the pastors; and not only so, but presbyters were not called pastors, for he proceeds, "sed et presbyteri quam-plurimi, et diaconi ad supradictam urbem convenerunt." So that these were not under the general appellative of pastors. And the council of Sardis,[d] making provision for the manner of election of a bishop to a widow-church, when the people is urgent for the speedy institution of a bishop, if any of the comprovincials be wanting, he must be certified by the primate, ὅτι ἀξιοῖ τὰ πλήθη ποιμένα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι, "that the multitude require a pastor to be given unto them." The same expression is also in the epistle of Julius, bishop of Rome, to the presbyters, deacons, and people of Alexandria, in behalf of their bishop, Athanasius; "Suscipite itaque, fratres carissimi, cum omni Divinâ gratiâ pastorem vestrum ac præsulem tanquam

[k] Lib. vii. Etymolog. c. 12.
[l] Rom. xvi. 17.
[a] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 36.
[b] Epist. ad Ephes.
[c] Euseb. lib. vii. c. 24.
[d] Can. 6.

vere *ἀθανάσιον*."[e] And a little after, "et gaudete fruentes orationibus, qui pastorem vestrum esuritis et sititis," &c. The same is often used in St. Hilary and St. Gregory Nazianzen, where bishops are called "pastores magni," "great shepherds," or "pastors." When Eusebius, the bishop of Samosata, was banished, "universi lachrymis prosecuti sunt ereptionem pastoris sui," saith Theodoret: "They wept for the loss of their pastor." And Eulogius, a presbyter of Edessa, when he was arguing with the prefect in behalf of christianity, "Et pastorem (inquit) habemus, et nutus illius sequimur;" "We have a pastor," (a bishop certainly, for himself was a priest,) "and his commands we follow."[f] But I need not specify any more particular instances; I touched upon it before.[g] He that shall consider, that to bishops the regiment of the whole church was concredited at the first, and the presbyters were but his assistants in cities and villages, and were admitted "in partem sollicitudinis," first casually and cursorily, and then, by station and fixed residence, when parishes were divided and endowed, will easily see, that this word "pastor" must needs be appropriated to bishops, to whom, according to the conjunctive expression of St. Peter, and the practice of infant christendom, *ἐπισκοπεῖν* and *ποιμαίνειν* was intrusted, first solely, then in communication with others, but always principally.

But now of late, especially in those places where the bishops are exauctorated, and no where else that I know, but amongst those men that have complying designs, the word "pastor" is given to parish priests, against the manner and usage of ancient christendom; and though priests may be called pastors in a limited, subordinate sense, and by way of participation, (just as they may be called angels, when the bishop is the angel, and so pastors when the bishop is the pastor, and so they are called "pastores ovium," in St. Cyprian,[h]) but never are they called "pastores" simply, or "pastores ecclesiæ," for above six hundred years in the church, and I think eight hundred more. And, therefore, it was good counsel which St. Paul gave, to avoid "vocum novitates," because there is never any affectation of new words, contrary to the ancient voice of christendom, but there is some design in the thing too, to make an innovation; and of this we have had long warning, in the new use of the word "pastor."

SECTION XXVI.

And Doctor.

IF bishops were the pastors, then "doctors" also; it was the observation which St. Augustin made out of Ephes. iv. as I quoted him even now, "For God hath given some apostles, some prophets—some pastors and doctors." So the church hath learned to speak. In the Greeks' council of Carthage it was decreed, that places which never had a bishop of their own, should not now have *καθηγητὴν ἴδιον*, "a doctor of their own;" that is, a bishop; but still be subject to the bishop of the diocess to whom formerly they gave obedience; and the title of the chapter is, that the parts of the diocess without the bishop's consent, *ἐπίσκοπον ἕτερον μὴ δέχεσθαι*, "must not have another bishop." He who in the title is called "bishop," in the chapter is called the "doctor." And thus also, Epiphanius, speaking of bishops, calleth them *πατέρας, καὶ διδασκάλους*, "fathers and doctors,"[a] "Gratia enim ecclesiæ laus doctoris est," saith St. Ambrose, speaking of the eminence of the bishop over the presbyters and subordinate clergy. The same also is to be seen in St. Austin,[b] Sedulius, and divers others. I deny not but it is in this appellative as in divers of the rest, that the presbyters may, in subordination, be also called doctors; for every presbyter must be *διδακτικὸς*, "apt to teach;"[c] but yet this is expressed as a requisite in the particular office of a bishop, and no where expressly of a presbyter, that I can find in Scripture; but yet because, in all churches, it was by license of the bishop, that presbyters did preach, if at all, and in some churches the bishop only did it, particularly of Alexandria,—(*Μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος διδάσκει*, saith Sozomen,[d]) therefore it was, that the presbyter, in the language of the church, was not, but the bishop was often, called doctor of the church.

SECTION XXVII.

And Pontifex.

THE next word which the primitive church did use, as proper to express the offices and eminence of bishops, is "pontifex," and "pontificatus" for "episcopacy." "Sed à Domino edocti consequentiam rerum, episcopis pontificatûs munera assignavimus," said the apostles, as St. Clement reports.[e] "Pontificale *πέταλον*" St. John the apostle wore in his forehead, as an ensign of his apostleship, a gold plate or medal, when he was "in pontificalibus," "in his pontifical or apostolical habit," saith Eusebius.[f] "De dispensationibus ecclesiarum antiqua sanctio tenuit et definitio sanctorum patrum in Nicæâ convenientium—et si pontifices voluerint, ut cum eis vicini propter utilitatem celebrent ordinationes:" said the fathers of the council of Constantinople.[g] "Quâ tempestate in urbe Româ Clemens quoque, tertius post Paulum et Petrum, pontificatum tenebat," saith Eusebius,[h] according to the translation of Ruffinus. "Apud Antiochiam

[e] Hist. Tripart. lib. iv. c. 29.
[g] Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 18.
[a] Hæres. 75.
[b] Epist. 59.
[f] Lib. iv. c. 14.
[h] Epist. 11.
[c] 1 Tim. iii. 2.
[d] Lib. vii. c. 19.
[e] Lib. viii. c. ult. Apost. Constitut.
[f] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 31.
[g] Lib. ix. c. 14. Hist. Tripart.
[h] Lib. iii. c. 21.

vero Theophilus per idem tempus, sextus ab apostolis, ecclesiæ pontificatum tenebat;" saith the same Eusebius.[i] And there is a famous story of Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia, that when Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, was invalid and unfit for government, by reason of his extreme age, he was designed by a particular revelation and a voice from heaven; "Suscipite episcopum, qui vobis à Deo destinatus est:" "Receive your bishop, whom God hath appointed for you;" but it was when Narcissus "jam senio fessus pontificatûs ministerio sufficere non possit," saith the story.[k] Eulogius, the confessor, discoursing with the prefect, that wished him to comply with the emperor, asked him: "Numquid ille unà cum imperio etiam pontificatum est consequutus?" "He hath an empire, but hath he also a bishopric?" "Pontificatus" is the word. But St. Dionysius is very exact in the distinction of clerical offices,[l] and particularly gives this account of the present: "Est igitur pontificatus ordo, qui præditus vi perficiente munera hierarchiæ quæ perficiunt," &c. And a little after, "Sacerdotum autem ordo subjectus pontificum ordini," &c. To which agrees St. Isidore,[m] in his Etymologies: "Ideo autem et presbyteri sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant sicut et episcopi, qui licet sacerdotes sint, tamen pontificatûs apicem non habent, quia nec chrismate frontem signant, nec Paracletum Spiritum dant, quod solis deberi episcopis lectio 'Actuum Apostolicorum' demonstrat;" and in the same chapter, "Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est."

One word more there is often used in antiquity for bishops, and that is "sacerdos."[n] "Sacerdotum autem bipartitus est ordo," say St. Clement and Anacletus; for they are "majores" and "minores." The "majores, bishops," the "minores, presbyters;" for so it is in the apostolical constitutions attributed to St. Clement:"[o] "Episcopis quidem assignavimus et attribuimus quæ ad principatum sacerdotii pertinent, presbyteris verò quæ ad sacerdotium." And in St. Cyprian,[p] "Presbyteri cum episcopis sacerdotali honore conjuncti." But although in such distinction and subordination, and in concretion, a presbyter is sometimes called "sacerdos," yet in antiquity "sacerdotium ecclesiæ" does evermore signify "episcopacy," and "sacerdos ecclesiæ" the "bishop." "Theotecnus sacerdotium ecclesiæ tenens in episcopatu," saith Eusebius:[q] and "summus sacerdos," the "bishop" always; "dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus," saith Tertullian;[r] and, indeed, "sacerdos" alone is very seldom used in any respect but for the "bishop," unless when there is some distinctive term, and of higher report, given to the bishop at the same time.

"Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, et grex pastori suo adhærens," saith St. Cyprian.[s] And that we may know by "sacerdos" he means the "bishop," his next words are, "Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesiâ esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo." And in the same epistle, "qui ad Cyprianum episcopum in carcere literas direxerunt, sacerdotem Dei agnoscentes, et contestantes." Eusebius,[t] reckoning some of the chief bishops assembled in the council of Antioch, "In quibus erant Helenus Sardensis ecclesiæ episcopus, et Nicomas ab Iconio, et Hierosolymorum præcipuus sacerdos Hymenæus, et vicinæ huic urbis Cesareæ Theotecnus;" and in the same place, the bishops of Pontus are called "Ponti provinciæ sacerdotes." "Abilius apud Alexandriam tredecim annis sacerdotio ministrato, diem obiit;" for so long he was bishop; "cui succedit Cerdon tertius in sacerdotium."—"Et Papias similiter apud Hierapolim sacerdotium gerens;" for he was bishop of Hierapolis, saith Eusebius:[u] and the bishop of the province of Arles,[x] speaking of their first bishop, Trophimus, ordained bishop by St. Peter, says: "Quod prima inter Gallias Arelatensis civitas missum à beatissimo Petro apostolo sanctum Trophimum habere meruit sacerdotem." The bishop also was ever designed, when "antistes ecclesiæ" was the word. "Melito quoque Sardensis ecclesiæ antistes," saith Eusebius out of Irenæus:[y] προεστὼς is the name in Greek, and used for the bishop by Justin Martyr, and is of the same authority and use with "prælatus" and "præpositus ecclesiæ." "Antistes autem sacerdos dictus, ab eo quod antistat. Primus est enim in ordine ecclesiæ: et supra se nullum habet," saith St. Isidore.

But in those things, which are of no question, I need not insist. One title more I must specify, to prevent misprision upon a mistake of theirs of a place in St. Ambrose.[z] The "bishop" is sometimes called "primus presbyter."—"Nam et Timotheum episcopum à se creatum presbyterum vocat: quia primi presbyteri episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet."[a] Elections were made of bishops out of the college of presbyters: "Presbyteri unum ex se electum episcopum nominabant," saith St. Jerome; but at first this election was made, not according to merit, but according to seniority; and, therefore, bishops were called "primi presbyteri;" that is St. Ambrose's sense. But St. Austin gives another, "primi presbyteri," that is, "chief above the presbyters."—"Quid est episcopus nisi primus presbyter, h. e. summus sacerdos," saith he.[b] And St. Ambrose himself gives a better exposition of his words, than is intimated in that clause before: "Episcopi, et presbyteri una ordinatio est: uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est; ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non omnis presbyter episcopus. Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est."[c] The bishop is "primus presbyter," that is, "primus sacerdos, h. e. princeps est sacerdotum," so he expounds it; not "princeps" or "primus inter presbyteros," himself remaining a mere presbyter, but "princeps presbyterorum;" for "primus presbyter" could not be

[i] Lib. iv. c. 20. Eccles. Hierarch.
[k] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 9.
[m] Lib. vii. 12.
[n] And "sacerdos ecclesiæ."
[o] Lib. viii. c. 46.
[p] Lib. iii. Ep. 1.
[q] Lib. vii. c. 28.
[r] Lib. de Baptism.
[s] Epist. 69.
[t] Euseb. lib. iii. c. 21.
[u] Lib. iii. c. 35.
[x] Epist. Com. Provinc. ad S. Leonem.
[y] Lib. iv. c. 26.
[z] Lib. vii. Etymol. c. 12.
[a] Comment. in Ephes. iv.
[b] Quæst. Vet. et N. Testam. qu. 101.
[c] In 1 Tim. iii.

"episcopus" in another sense, he is the chief, not the senior of the presbyters. Nay, "princeps presbyterorum" is used in a sense lower than "episcopus;" for Theodoret, speaking of St. John Chrysostom, saith that, "having been the first presbyter at Antioch, yet he refused to be made bishop for a long time;" "Johannes enim, qui diutissimè princeps fuit presbyterorum Antiochiæ, ac sæpe electus præsul, perpetuus vitator dignitatis illius de hoc admirabili solo pullulavit."[d]

The church also, in her first language, when she spake of "præpositus ecclesiæ," meant the "bishop of the diocess." Of this there are innumerable examples, but most plentifully in St. Cyprian, in his epistles;[e] and in Tertullian's book "ad Martyres;" and infinite places more. Of which this advantage is to be made, that the primitive church did generally understand those places of Scripture which speak of "prelates," or "præpositi," to be meant of "bishops;" "obedite præpositis," saith St. Paul:[f] "Obey your prelates, or them that are set over you." "Præpositi autem pastores sunt," saith St. Austin: "Prelates are they that are pastors." But St. Cyprian sums up many of them together, and insinuates the several relations, expressed in the several compellations of bishops. For writing against Florentius Pupianus, "Ac nisi," saith he,[g] "apud te purgati fuerimus, ecce jam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit episcopum, nec plebs præpositum, nec grex pastorem, nec ecclesia gubernatorem, nec Christus antistitem, nec Deus sacerdotes;" and all this he means of himself, who had then been "six years bishop of Carthage, a prelate of the people, a governor to the church, a pastor to the flock, a priest of the most high God, a minister of Christ."

The sum is this: When we find in antiquity any thing asserted of any order of the hierarchy, under the names of "episcopus," or "princeps sacerdotum," or "presbyterorum primus," or "pastor," or "doctor," or "pontifex," or "major," or "primus sacerdos," or "sacerdotium ecclesiæ habens," or "antistes ecclesiæ," or "ecclesiæ sacerdos;" (unless there be a specification and limiting of it to a parochial and inferior minister,) it must be understood of "bishops" in its present acceptation. For these words are all, by way of eminency, and most of them by absolute appropriation and singularity, the appellations and distinctive names of "bishops."

SECTION XXVIII.

And these were a distinct Order from the rest.

But ὀνόματα τῶν πραγμάτων μιμήματα, saith the philosopher: and this their distinction of names did, amongst the fathers of the primitive church, denote a distinction of calling, and office, supereminent to the rest.

For, first, bishops were, by all antiquity, reckoned as a distinct office of clergy. "Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quilibet de numero clericorum, ——pergat ad alienam parochiam præter episcopi sui conscientiam," &c. So it is in the fifteenth canon of the apostles, and so it is there plainly distinguished as an office different from presbyter and deacon, above thirty times in those canons, and distinct powers given to the bishop, which are not given to the other, and to the bishop above the other. The council of Ancyra[h] inflicting censures upon presbyters first, then deacons which had fallen in time of persecution, gives leave to the bishop to mitigate the pains as he sees cause: "Sed si ex episcopis aliqui in iis vel afflictionem aliquam—viderint, in eorum potestate id esse." The canon would not suppose any bishops to fall, for indeed they seldom did; but for the rest, provision was made for both their penances, and indulgence at the discretion of the bishop. And yet sometimes they did fall; Optatus bewails it, but withal gives evidence of their distinction of order: "Quid commemorem laicos, qui tunc in ecclesiâ nullâ fuerant dignitate suffulti? Quid ministros plurimos, quid diaconos in tertio, quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio, constitutos? Ipsi apices, et principes omnium aliqui episcopi aliqua instrumenta Divinæ legis impiè tradiderunt." "The laity, the ministers, the deacons, the presbyters, nay, the bishops themselves, the princes and chief of all, proved traditors."[i] The diversity of order is here fairly intimated, but dogmatically affirmed by him in his second book adv. Parmen.: "Quatuor genera capitum sunt in ecclesiâ, episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et fidelium:" "There are four sorts of heads in the church, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the faithful laity." And it was remarkable, when the people of Hippo had, as it were, by violence carried St. Austin to be made priest by their bishop Valerius, some seeing the good man weep in consideration of the great hazard and difficulty accruing to him in his ordination to such an office, thought he had wept because he was not bishop; they pretending comfort, told him, "Quia locus presbyterii, licèt ipse majore dignus esset, appropinquaret tamen episcopatui:" "The office of a presbyter, though indeed he deserved a greater, yet was the next step in order to a bishopric." So Possidonius tells the story.[k] It was the next step, the next descent in subordination, the next under it. So the council of Chalcedon; Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν φέρειν ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν: "It is sacrilege to bring down a bishop to the degree and order of a presbyter," ἀπὸ τῆς πράξεως ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποκινεῖν· so the council permits in case of great delinquency, to suspend him from the execution of his episcopal order, but still the character remains, and the degree of itself is higher.[l]

"Nos autem idcirco hæc scribimus, fratres carissimi, quia novimus quàm sacrosanctum debeat esse episcopale sacerdotium, quod et clero, et plebi debet esse exemplo," said the fathers of the council of

[d] In Ephes. iv. Heb. xiii.
[e] Epist. 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 23, 27.
[f] Epist. 69.
[g] Lib. ad Parmen.
[h] Can. 1. and 2.
[i] De Vita August. c. 4.
[l] Can. 29.

Antioch, in Eusebius;[m] "The office of a bishop is sacred, and exemplary both to the clergy and the people." "Interdixit, per omnia magna synodus, non episcopo, non presbytero, non diacono licere,"[n] &c. And it was a remarkable story, that Arius troubled the church for missing of a prelation to the order and dignity of a bishop. "Post Achillam enim Alexander—ordinatur episcopus: hoc autem tempore Arius in ordine presbyterorum fuit;" Alexander was ordained a bishop, and Arius still left in the order of mere presbyters." Of the same exigence are all those clauses of commemoration of a bishop and presbyters of the same church. "Julius autem Romanus episcopus propter senectutem defuit, erantque pro eo præsentes Vitus, et Vicentius presbyteri ejusdem ecclesiæ:" "They were his vicars, and deputies for their bishop in the Nicene council," saith Sozomen. But most pertinent is that of the Indian persecution, related by the same man.[o] Many of them were put to death. "Erant autem horum alii quidem episcopi, alii presbyteri, alii diversorum ordinum clerici." And this difference of order is clear in the epistle of the bishops of Illyricum to the bishops of the Levant: "De episcopis autem constituendis, vel comministris jam constitutis, si permanserint usque ad finem sani, bene—similiter presbyteros atque diaconos in sacerdotali ordine definivimus," &c. And of Sabbatius it is said, "Nolens in suo ordine manere presbyteratus, desiderabat episcopatum;" "He would not stay in the order of a presbyter, but desired a bishopric."—Ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis, et episcopis," saith St. Isidore; Omnes autem superius designati ordines uno eodemque vocabulo episcopi nominantur."[p] But it were infinite to reckon authorities, and clauses of exclusion, for the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; we cannot almost dip in any tome of the councils, but we shall find it recorded: and all the martyr bishops of Rome did ever acknowledge and publish it, that episcopacy is a peculiar office and order in the church of God; as is to be seen in their decretal epistles, in the first tome of the councils. I only sum this up with the attestation of the church of England, in the preface to the book of ordination: "It is evident to all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' times there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons."[q] The same thing exactly, that was said in the second council of Carthage;[r] *τρεῖς βαθμοὺς τούτους, φημὶ δὲ, ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους.* But we shall see it better, and by more real probation, for that bishops were a distinct order, appears by this:

[m] Lib. vii. c. 26. [n] Can. 3. Nicene Council.
[o] Lib. ii. c. 1. Hist. Tripart. Lib. iii. Tripart. c. 2.
[p] Hist. Tripart. lib. xi. c. 5. Etymol. lib. vii. c. 12.

SECTION XXIX.

To which the Presbyterate was but a Degree.

1. The presbyterate was but a step to episcopacy, as deaconship to the presbyterate; and therefore the council of Sardis decreed,[s] that no man should be ordained bishop, but he that was first a reader, and a deacon, and a presbyter, *ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον βαθμὸν—εἰς τὴν ἀψῖδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, κατὰ προκοπὴν διελθεῖν δυνηθείη*: "That by every degree he may pass to the sublimity of episcopacy." *Ἐξεῖ δὲ ἑκάστου τάγματος ὁ βαθμὸς οὐκ ἐλαχίστου δηλονότι χρόνου μῆκος*, &c. "But the degree of every order must have the permanence and trial of no small time." Here there is clearly a distinction of orders and ordinations, and assumptions to them respectively, all of the same distance and consideration; and Theodoret,[t] out of the synodical epistle of the same council, says, that they complained that some from Arianism were reconciled, and promoted from deacons to be presbyters, from presbyters to be bishops, calling it *μείζονα βαθμὸν*, "a greater degree," or "order:" and St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his Encomium of St. Athanasius, speaking of his canonical ordination and election to a bishopric, says, that he was chosen being *ἀξιάγαστος*, "most worthy," and *πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίαν διεξελθὼν*, "coming through all the inferior orders." The same commendation St. Cyprian gives of Cornelius:[u] "Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpè promeritus ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit; et factus est episcopus à plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ aderant, qui ad nos literas de ejus ordinatione miserunt." Here is evident, not only a promotion, but a new ordination of St. Cornelius to be bishop of Rome; so that "now the chair is full," saith St. Cyprian; "et quisquis jam episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fiat necesse est, nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem," &c.: "No man else can receive ordination to the bishopric."

SECTION XXX.

There being a peculiar Manner of Ordination to a Bishopric.

2. The ordination of a bishop to his chair was done "de novo," after his being a presbyter; and not only so, but in another manner than he had, when he was made priest. This is evident in the first ecclesiastical canon that was made after Scripture.[a] *Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν· πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτο-*

[q] Per Binium Paris. [r] Can. 2.
[s] Can. 10. [t] Lib. v. c. 8.
[u] Epist. 52. [a] Can. Apost. 1. et 2.

νεισθω, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοι: "A priest and deacon must be ordained of one bishop, but a bishop must be ordained by two or three at least." And that we may see it yet more to be apostolical, St. Anacletus, in his second epistle, reports, "Hierosolymitarum primus episcopus B. Jacobus à Petro, Jacobo, et Johanne apostolis est ordinatus." Three apostles went to the ordaining of St. James to be a bishop, and the self-same thing is in words affirmed by Anicetus:[b] "Ut in ore duorum, vel trium stet omnis veritas;" and St. Cyprian observes, that when Cornelius was made bishop of Rome, there happened to be many of his fellow-bishops there, "et factus est episcopus à plurimis collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Româ aderant." These "collegiæ" could not be mere priests; for then the ordination of Novatus had been more canonical than that of Cornelius, and all christendom had been deceived; for not Novatus, who was ordained by three bishops,—but Cornelius, had been the schismatic, as being ordained by priests, against the canon. But here I observe it for the word "plurimis," there were "many" of them at that ordination.

In pursuance of this apostolical ordinance, the Nicene fathers decreed,[c] that a bishop should be ordained ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ, "by all the bishops in the province," unless it be in case of necessity; and then it must be done by three being gathered together, and the rest consenting; so the ordination to be performed. The same is ratified in the council of Antioch,[d] Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχιας· "A bishop is not to be ordained without a synod of bishops, and the presence of the metropolitan of the province." But if this cannot be done conveniently, yet however it is required,[e] μετὰ τῆς τῶν πλειόνων παρουσίας, ἢ ψήφου γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν: "the ordinations must be performed by many." The same was decreed in the council of Laodicea, can. 12., in the thirteenth canon of the African code, in the twenty-second canon of the first council of Arles, and the fifth canon of the second council of Arles, and was ever the practice of the church; and so we may see it descend through the bowels of the fourth council of Carthage to the inferior ages. "Episcopus quum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant, et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput, et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant."

The thing was catholic and canonical. It was "prima, et immutabilis constitutio;" so the first canon of the council of Epaunum calls it:[f] and, therefore, after the death of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, a schism was made about his successor, and Evagrius's ordination condemned;[g] because "præter ecclesiasticam regulam fuerit ordinatus:" "it was against the rule of Holy Church." Why so? "Solus enim Paulinus cum instituerat, plurimas regulas prævaricatus ecclesiasticas. Non enim præcipiunt ut per se quilibet ordinare possit, sed convocare universos provinciæ sacerdotes, et præter per tres pontifices ordinationem penitus fieri interdicunt." Which because it was not observed in the ordination of Evagrius, who was not ordained by three bishops, the ordination was cassated in the council of Rhegium. And we read, that when Novatus would fain be made a bishop, in the schism against Cornelius, he did it "tribus adhibitis episcopis," saith Eusebius: "he obtained three bishops," for performance of the action.[h]

Now, besides these apostolical and catholic canons and precedents, this thing, according to the constant and united interpretation of the Greek fathers, was actually done in the ordination of St. Timothy to the bishopric of Ephesus: "Neglect not the grace that is in thee by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." The Latin fathers expound it abstractly, viz. to signify the office of priesthood, that is, "neglect not the grace of priesthood, that is in thee by the imposition of hands;" and this Erasmus helps, by making "presbyterii" to pertain to "gratiam," by a new interpunction of the words; but however, "presbyterii," with the Latin fathers, signifies "presbyteratus," not "presbyterorum;" and this "presbyteratus" is in their sense used for "episcopatus" too. But the Greek fathers understand it collectively, and πρεσβυτερίου is put for πρεσβυτέρων not simply such, but bishops too, all agree in that, that episcopacy is either meant in office, or in person. Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπισκόπους φησίν; so Œcumenius: and St. Chrysostom, οὐ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων φησὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπων: so Theophylact; so Theodoret. The probation of this lies upon right reason and catholic tradition; for,

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SECTION XXXI.

To which Presbyters never did assist by imposing Hands.

3. The bishop's ordination was peculiar, in this respect, above the presbyter's; for a presbyter did never impose hands on a bishop. On a presbyter they did, ever since the fourth council of Carthage; but never on a bishop. And that was the reason of the former exposition. By the "presbytery" St. Paul means "bishops," οὐ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐχειροτόνησαν τὸν ἐπισκοπον: "presbyters did not impose hands on a bishop," and therefore, "presbyterium" is not a college of mere presbyters, for such could never ordain St. Timothy to be a bishop. The same reason is given by the Latin fathers, why they expound "presbyterium" to signify "episcopacy." For, saith St. Ambrose, "St. Paul had ordained Timothy to be a bishop; unde, et quemadmodum episcopum ordinet, ostendit. Neque enim fas erat, aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret ma-

[b] Epist. Unica. [c] Can. 4.
[d] Can. 19. [e] Can. 12. [f] A. D. 509.
[g] Theodoret, lib. ix. c. 44.
[h] Cap. 1, 2. Hist. lib. vi. c. 33.

jorem;" so he; and subjoins this reason, "Nemo enim tribuit quod non accepit." The same is affirmed by St. Chrysostom, and generally by the authors of the former expositions, that is, the fathers both of the east and west. For it was so general and catholic a truth, that priests could not, might not, lay hands on a bishop, that there was never any example of it in christendom till almost six hundred years after Christ, and that but once, and that irregular, and that without imitation of his successors, or example in his antecessors. It was the case of Pope Pelagius the First:[a] "Et dum non essent episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Johannes de Perusio, et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas presbyter de Ostiâ, et ordinaverunt eum pontificem. Tunc enim non erant in clero, qui eum possent promovere;" saith Damasus:[b] "It was in case of necessity, because there were not three bishops, therefore he procured two, and a priest of Ostia to supply the place of the third," that three, according to the direction apostolical, and canons of Nice, Antioch, and Carthage, make episcopal ordination. The church of Rome is concerned in the business to make fair this ordination, and to reconcile it to the council of Rhegium, and the others before mentioned, who, if asked, would declare it to be invalid. But certainly, as the canons did command three to impose hands on a bishop, so also they commanded that those three should be three bishops; and Pelagius might as well not have had three, as not three bishops; and better, because, so they were bishops, the first canon of the apostles approves the ordination if done "by two," ἐπισκόπων δύο, ἢ τριῶν. And the Nicene canon is as much exact, in requiring the capacity of the person, as the number of the ordainers. But let them answer it. For my part, I believe that the imposition of hands by Andreas, was no more in that case than if a layman had done it; it was χεὶρ ἄκυρος, and though the ordination was absolutely uncanonical, yet it being in the exigence of necessity, and being done by two bishops, according to the apostolical canon, it was valid "in naturâ rei," though not "in formâ canonis," and the addition of the priest was but to cheat the canon, and cozen himself into an impertinent belief of a canonical ordination. Ἐπίσκοποι ἐπίσκοπους καθιστᾶν ὀφείλουσιν, saith the council of Sardis:[c] "Bishops must ordain bishops;" it was never heard that priests did, or, "de jure," might.

These premises do most certainly infer a real difference between episcopacy and the presbyterate. But whether or no they infer a difference of order, or only of degree; or whether degree and order be all one or no, is of great consideration in the present, and in relation to many other questions.

1. Then it is evident that in antiquity, "ordo" and "gradus" were used promiscuously. Βαθμὸς was the Greek word, and for it the Latins used "ordo," as is evident in the instances above mentioned; to which add, that Anacletus says,[d] that Christ did "instituere duos ordines, episcoporum et sacerdotum." And St. Leo affirms:[e] "Primum ordinem esse episcopalem, secundum presbyteralem, tertium Leviticum;" and these among the Greeks are called τρεῖς βαθμοὶ, "three degrees." So the order of deaconship in St. Paul is called καλος βαθμὸς, "a good degree;" and βαθμοῦ ἐκπίπτειν, &c. is a censure used alike in the censures of bishops, priests, and deacons. They are all of the same name, and the same consideration, for order, distance, and degree, amongst the fathers; gradus and ordo are equally affirmed of them all; and the word gradus is used sometimes for that, which is called ordo most frequently. So Felix,[f] writing to St. Austin, "Non tantum ego possum contra tuam virtutem, quia mira virtus est gradus episcopalis;" and St. Cyprian of Cornelius:[g] "Ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit." Degree and order are used in common; for he that speaks most properly, will call that an order in persons, which corresponds to a degree in qualities; and neither of the words are wronged by a mutual substitution.

2. The promotion of a bishop "ad munus episcopale," was at first called "ordinatio episcopi." "Stir up the grace that is in thee," "juxta ordinationem tuam in episcopatum," saith Sedulius; and St. Jerome,[h] "Prophetiæ gratiam habebat cum ordinatione episcopatus."—"Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem," saith St. Ambrose, proving that presbyters might not impose hands on a bishop. "Romanorum ecclesia Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit," saith Tertullian; and St Jerome affirms,[i] that "St. James was ordained bishop of Jerusalem immediately after the passion of our Lord." "Ordinatus" was the word at first, and afterwards "consecratus" came in conjunction with it, when Moses the monk was to be ordained, to wit, a bishop, (for that is the title of the story in Theodoret,) and spied that Lucius was there ready to impose hands on him: "Absit," says he, "ut manus tua me consecret."[k]

3. In all orders, there is the impress of a distinct character; that is, the person is qualified with a new capacity to do certain offices, which, before his ordination, he had no power to do. A deacon hath an order or power,

> ——Quo pocula vitæ
> Misceat, et latices cum sanguine porrigat agni;

as Arator himself, a deacon, expresses it. A presbyter hath a higher order or degree in the office or ministry of the church, whereby he is enabled, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ λειτουργεῖν τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιῶν, as the council of Ancyra does intimate.[l] But a bishop hath a higher yet; for besides all the offices communicated to priests and deacons, he can give orders, which very one thing makes episcopacy to be a distinct order. For "ordo" is de-

[a] A. D. 555. [b] In Libr. Pontificali. Vit. Pelag. 1.
[c] Can. 9. Concil. Sardic. [d] Epist. 3.
[e] Epist. 84. c. 4.
[f] Lib. i. c. 12. de Actis cum Felice Manich.
[g] Lib. iv. epist. 2. [h] In 1 Tim. iii.
[i] De Præscript. c. 32.
[k] Lib. iv. c. 23. [l] Cap. 1.

signed by the schools to be "traditio potestatis spiritualis, et collatio gratiæ, ad obeunda ministeria ecclesiastica:" "a giving a spiritual power, and a conferring grace for the performance of ecclesiastical ministrations." Since then episcopacy hath a new ordination, and a distinct power, as I shall show in the descent, it must needs be a distinct order, both according to the name given it by antiquity, and according to the nature of the thing in the definitions of the school.

There is nothing said against this but a fancy of some of the church of Rome, obtruded, indeed, upon no grounds; for they would define order to be "a special power in relation to the holy sacrament," which they call "corpus Christi naturale;" and episcopacy indeed to be a distinct power, in relation "ad corpus Christi mysticum," or the regiment of the church, and ordaining labourers for the harvest, and, therefore, not to be a distinct order.

But this to them that consider things sadly, is true or false, according as any man list. For if these men are resolved they will call nothing an order but what is a power in order to the consecration of the eucharist,—who can help it? Then indeed, in that sense, episcopacy is not a distinct order; that is, a bishop hath no new power in the consecration of the venerable eucharist, more than a presbyter hath. But then why these men should only call this power "an order," no man can give a reason. For, 1. In antiquity, the distinct power of a bishop was ever called an order, and I think, before Hugo de S. Victore, and the Master of the Sentences, no man ever denied it to be an order. 2. According to this rate, I would fain know the office of a subdeacon, and of an ostiary, and of an acolouthite, and of a reader, come to be distinct orders; for surely the bishop hath as much power in order to consecration "de novo," as they have "de integro." And if I mistake not, that the bishop hath a new power to ordain presbyters who shall have a power of consecrating the eucharist, is more a new power in order to consecration, than all those inferior officers put together have in all; and yet they call them orders; and, therefore, why not episcopacy also, I cannot imagine, unless because they will not.

But however, in the mean time, the denying the office and degree of episcopacy to be a new and distinct order, is an innovation of the production of some in the church of Rome, without all reason, and against all antiquity. This only by the way.

The enemies of episcopacy call in aid, from all places, for support of their ruinous cause, and, therefore, take their main hopes from the church of Rome, by advantage of the former discourse. For since, say they, that consecration of the sacrament is the greatest work, of the most secret mystery, greatest power, and highest dignity, that is competent to man, and this a presbyter hath as well as a bishop,—is it likely that a bishop should, by Divine institution, be so much superior to a presbyter, who, by the confession of all sides, communicates with a bishop in that which is his highest power? And shall issues of a lesser dignity distinguish the orders, and make a bishop higher to a presbyter, and not rather the greater raise up a presbyter to the counterpoise of a bishop?—Upon this surmise, the men of the church of Rome would infer an identity of order, though a disparity of degree, but the men of the other world would infer a parity both of order and degree too.[m] The first are already answered in the premises; the second must now be served.

1. Then, whether power be greater, of ordaining priests, or consecrating the sacrament, is an impertinent question: possibly, it may be of some danger; because in comparing God's ordinances, there must certainly be a depression of one, and whether that lights upon the right side or no, yet peradventure, it will not stand with the consequence of our gratitude to God, to do that, which, in God's estimate, may tantamount to a direct undervaluing; but however it is unprofitable, of no use in case of conscience, either in order to faith or manners; and besides, cannot fix itself upon any basis, there being no way of proving either to be more excellent than the other.

2. The sacraments and mysteries of christianity, if compared among themselves, are greater and lesser in several respects. For since they are all in order to several ends, that is, productive of several effects, and they all are excellent,—every rite and sacrament, in respect of its own effect, is more excellent than the other not ordained to that effect. For example: matrimony is ordained for a means to preserve chastity, and to represent the mystical union of Christ and his church; and therefore, in these respects, is greater than baptism, which does neither. But baptism is for remission of sins,[n] and, in that, is more excellent than matrimony: the same may be said for ordination, and consecration; the one being in order to Christ's natural body, as the schools speak; the other in order to his mystical body, and so have their several excellencies respectively; but for an absolute pre-eminence of one above the other, I said there was no basis to fix that upon, and I believe all men will find it so, that please to try. But in a relative or respective excellency, they go both before and after one another. Thus wool and a jewel are better than each other; for wool is better for warmth, and a jewel for ornament. A frog hath more sense in it than the sun, and yet the sun shines brighter.

3. Suppose consecration of the eucharist were greater than ordaining priests, yet that cannot hinder but that the power of ordaining may make a higher and distinct order; because the power of ordaining hath in it the power of consecrating and something more; it is all that which makes the priest, and it is something more besides which makes the bishop. Indeed if the bishop had it not, and the priest had it, then supposing consecration to be greater than ordination, the priest would not only equal but excel the bishop; but because the

[m] S. Hieron. ad Rusticum Narbonens apud Gratian. dist. 95. Cad. Ecce Ego Casus, ibid.

[n] The Nicene Creed.

bishop hath that, and ordination besides,—therefore he is higher both in order and dignity.

4. Suppose that consecration were the greatest clerical power in the world, and that the bishop and the priest were equal in the greatest power, yet a lesser power than it, superadded to the bishops, may make a distinct order and superiority. Thus it was said of the Son of man, "Constituit eum paulò minorem angelis:" "He was made a little lower than the angels." It was but a little lower, and yet so much as to distinguish their natures, for he took not upon him the "nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham." So it is in proportion between bishop and priest; for though a priest communicating in the greatest power of the church, viz. consecration of the venerable eucharist, yet differing in a less, is "paulò minor angelis;" "a little lower than the bishop, the angel of the church;" yet this "little lower" makes a distinct order, and enough for a subordination. An angel and a man communicate in those great excellencies of spiritual essence; they both discourse; they have both election and freedom of choice; they have will, and understanding, and memory, impresses of the Divine image,—and locomotion, and immortality. And these excellencies are (being precisely considered) of more real and eternal worth, than the angelical manner of moving so in an instant, and those other forms and modalities of their knowledge and volition; and yet for these superadded parts of excellency, the difference is no less than specifical. If we compare a bishop and a priest thus, what we call difference in nature there, will be a difference in order here, and of the same consideration.

5. Lastly, it is considerable, that these men that make this objection, do not make it because they think it true, but because it will serve a present turn. For all the world sees, that to them that deny the real presence, this can be no objection; and most certainly the anti-episcopal men do so, in all senses; and then, what excellency is there in the power of consecration, more than in ordination? Nay, is there any such thing as consecration at all? This also would be considered from their principles. But I proceed.

One thing only more is objected against the main question. If episcopacy be a distinct order, why may not a man be a bishop that never was a priest, as (abstracting from the laws of the church) a man may be a presbyter that never was a deacon; for if it be the impress of a distinct character, it may be imprinted "per saltum," and independently, as it is in the order of a presbyter?

To this answer, It is true, if the powers and characters themselves were independent; as it is in all those offices of human constitution, which are called the inferior orders: for the office of an acolouthite, of an exorcist, of an ostiary, are no way dependent on the office of a deacon; and, therefore, a man may be deacon that never was in any of those; and perhaps a presbyter too, that never was a deacon, as it was in the first example of the presbyterate in the seventy-two disciples. But a bishop, though he have a distinct character, yet it is not disparate from that of a presbyter, but supposes it "ex vi ordinis." For since the power of ordination (if any thing be) is the distinct capacity of a bishop, this power supposes a power of consecrating the eucharist to be in the bishop; for how else can he ordain a presbyter with a power, that himself hath not? Can he give what himself hath not received?

I end this point with the saying of Epiphanius: "Vox est Aerii hæretici, Unus est ordo episcoporum et presbyterorum, una dignitas:"[n] "To say that bishops are not a distinct order from presbyters, was a heresy first broached by Aerius," and hath lately been (at least in the manner of speaking) countenanced by many of the church of Rome.

SECTION XXXII.

For Bishops had a Power distinct and superior to that of Presbyters. As of Ordination.

FOR to clear the distinction of order, it is evident in antiquity, that bishops had a power of imposing hands, for collating of orders, which presbyters have not. What was done in this affair in the times of the apostles, I have already explicated: but now the inquiry is, what the church did in pursuance of the practice and tradition apostolical. The first and second canons of apostles command, that two or three bishops should ordain a bishop, and one bishop should ordain a priest and a deacon. A presbyter is not authorized to ordain; a bishop is. St. Dionysius affirms, "Sacerdotem non posse initiari, nisi per invocationes episcopales," and acknowledges no ordainer but a bishop.[a] No more did the church ever; insomuch that when Novatus, the father of the old Puritans, did "ambire episcopatum," he was fain to go to the utmost parts of Italy, and seduce or entreat some bishops to impose hands on him, as Cornelius witnesses in his epistle to Fabianus, in Eusebius.[b] To this we may add, as so many witnesses, all those ordinations made by the bishops of Rome, mentioned in the pontifical book of Damasus Platina, and others. "Habitis de more sacris ordinibus Decembris mense, presbyteros decem, diaconos duos, &c. creat S. Clemens: Anacletus presbyteros quinque, diaconos tres, episcopos diversis in locis sex numero creavit;" and so in descent, for all the bishops of that succession, for many ages together.

But let us see how this power of ordination went in the bishop's hand alone, by law and constitution; for particular examples are infinite.

In the council of Ancyra it is determined, χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ. "That rural bishops shall not ordain presbyters or deacons in another's diocess, without letters of license from the bishop. Neither shall the priests of the city attempt it."[c] First, not

[n] Hæres. 75. [a] Eccles. Hier. c. 5. [b] Lib. vi. c. 23. [c] Can. 13.

rural bishops, that is, bishops that are taken "in adjutorium episcopi principalis," "vicars to the bishop of the diocess," they must not ordain priests and deacons. For it is ἑτέρα παροικία, "it is another's diocess," and to be ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος is prohibited by the canon of Scripture. But then they may with license? Yes; for they had episcopal ordination at first, but not episcopal jurisdiction, and so were not to invade the territories of their neighbour. The tenth canon of the council of Antioch clears this part. The words are these, as they are rendered by Dionysius Exiguus: "Qui in villis, et vicis constituti sunt chorepiscopi, tametsi manûs impositionem ab episcopis susceperunt, [et ut episcopi sunt consecrati] tamen oportet eos modum proprium retinere," &c. εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, the next clause, "et ut episcopi consecrati sunt," although it be in very ancient Latin copies, yet is not found in the Greek, but is an "assumentum" for exposition of the Greek, but is most certainly implied in it; for else, what description could this be of "chorepiscopi," above "presbyteri rurales," to say that they were χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, for so had country priests, they had received imposition of the bishop's hands. Either then the chorepiscopi had received ordination from three bishops, and ἐπισκόπων is to be taken collectively, not distributively, to wit, that each country-bishop had received ordination from bishops; many bishops in conjunction, and so they were very bishops; or else they had no more than village-priests, and then this caution had been impertinent.

But the city-priests were also included in this prohibition. True it is, but it is in a parenthesis, with an ἀλλὰ μηδὲ, in the midst of the canon; and there was some particular reason for the involving them; not that they ever did actually ordain any; but that since it was prohibited to the chorepiscopi to ordain, (to them I say, who thought, for want of jurisdiction, they might not ordain without license, it being "in alienâ parochiâ," yet they had capacity by their order to do it,) if these should do it, the city-presbyters,—who were often despatched into the villages upon the same employment, by a temporary mission, that the chorepiscopi were, by an ordinary and fixed residence,—might, perhaps, think that their commission might extend farther than it did; or that they might go beyond it, as well as the chorepiscopi; and therefore their way was obstructed by this clause of ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως. Add to this; the presbyters of the city were of great honour and peculiar privilege, as appears in the thirteenth canon of the council of Neo-Cæsarea, and, therefore, might easily exceed, if the canon had not been their bridle.

The sum of the canon is this. With the bishop's license the chorepiscopi might ordain; for themselves had episcopal ordination: but without license they might not; for they had but delegate and subordinate jurisdiction: and, therefore, in the fourteenth canon of Neo-Cæsarea, are said to be εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, "like the seventy disciples," that is, inferior to bishops, as the seventy were to the twelve apostles; viz. "in hoc particulari," not in order, but like them in subordination and inferiority of jurisdiction: but the city-presbyters might not ordain, neither with nor without license; for they are in the canon only by way of parenthesis, and the sequence of procuring a faculty from the bishops to collate orders, is to be referred to "chorepiscopi," not to "presbyteri civitatis," unless we should strain this canon into a sense contrary to the practice of the catholic church. "Res enim ordinis non possunt delegari," is a most certain rule in divinity, and admitted by men of all sides and most different interests. However, we see here that they were prohibited; and we never find, before this time, that any of them actually did give orders, neither by ordinary power, nor extraordinary dispensation; and the constant tradition of the church, and practice apostolical, is, that they never could give orders; therefore this exposition of the canon is liable to no exception, but is clear for the illegality of a presbyter giving holy orders either to a presbyter or a deacon,—and is concluding for the necessity of concurrence, both of episcopal order and jurisdiction for ordinations; for "reddendo singula singulis," and expounding this canon according to the sense of the church and exigence of catholic custom, the chorepiscopi are excluded from giving orders, for want of jurisdiction,—and the priests of the city, for want of order; the first may be supplied by a delegate power "in literis episcopalibus;" the second cannot, but by a new ordination, that is, by making the priest a bishop. For if a priest of the city have not so much power as a chorepiscopus, as I have proved he hath not, by showing that the chorepiscopus then had episcopal ordination, and yet the chorepiscopus might not collate orders without a faculty from the bishop,—the city-priests might not do it, unless more be added to them; for their want was more. They not only want jurisdiction, but something besides, and that must needs be "order."

But although these chorepiscopi, at the first, had episcopal ordination, yet it was quickly taken from them, for their encroachment upon the bishop's diocess; and as they were but "vicarii," or "visitatores episcoporum in villis," so their ordination was but to a mere presbyterate. And this we find, as soon as ever we hear that they had had episcopal ordination. For those who, in the beginning of the tenth canon of Antioch, we find had been consecrated as bishops, in the end of the same canon we find it decreed "de novo:" χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἧ ὑπόκειται, ἐπισκόπου. "The chorepiscopus, or country-bishop, must be ordained by the bishop of the city, in whose jurisdiction he is;" which was clearly ordination to the order of a presbyter, and no more. And ever after this, all the ordinations they made, were only to the inferior ministries, with the bishop's license too; but they never ordained any to be deacons or priests; for these were orders of the Holy Ghost's appointing, and, therefore, were "gratia Spiritûs Sancti," and issues of order; but the inferior ministries, as of a reader, an ostiary, &c., were human

constitutions, and required not the capacity of episcopal order to collate them: for they were not "graces of the Holy Ghost," as all orders properly so called are, but might, by human dispensation, be bestowed, as well as by human ordinance they had their first constitution.

The chorepiscopi lasted in this consistence, till they were quite taken away by the council of Hispalis: save only that such men also were called chorepiscopi, who had been bishops of cities, but had fallen from their honour, by communicating in gentile sacrifices, and by being traditors; but in case they repented and were reconciled, they had not indeed restitution to their see; but because they had the indelible character of a bishop, they were allowed the name, and honour, and sometime the execution of offices chorepiscopal. Now of this sort of chorepiscopi no objection can be pretended, if they had made ordinations; and of the other, nothing pertinent, for they also had the ordination and order of bishops. The former was the case of Meletius, in the Nicene council, as is to be seen in the epistle of the fathers to the church of Alexandria.[d] But however, all this while, the power of ordination is so fast held in the bishop's hand, that it was communicated to none, though of the greatest privilege.

I find the like care taken in the council of Sardis:[e] for when Musæus and Eutychianus had ordained some clerks, themselves not being bishops,—Gaudentius, (one of the moderate men, it is likely,) for quietness' sake, and to comply with the times, would fain have had those clerks received into clerical communion; but the council would by no means admit that any should be received into the clergy, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους τοὺς ἱερωθέντας παρὰ τίνων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὲν ὄντων ἐπισκόπων, (as Balsamon expresses upon that canon:) "but such as were ordained by them, who were bishops verily and indeed." But with those who were ordained by Musæus and Eutychianus, ὡς λαϊκοῖς συγκοινωνήσομεν, "we will communicate as with laymen:" ὅτι οὐδὲ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου δύνανται ἐκδικεῖν, οἱ αὐτοὺς τάχα χειροτονήσαντες: "For they were no bishops, that imposed hands on them:" and, therefore, the clerks were not ordained truly, but were πλασάμενοι χειροτονίαν, "dissemblers of ordination." "Quæ autem de Musæo et Eutychiano dicta sunt, trahe etiam ad alios, qui non ordinati fuerunt," &c. saith Balsamon; intimating, that it is a ruled case and of public interest.

The same was the issue of those two famous cases, the one of Ischiras ordained of Colluthus, φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπὴν, "one that dreamed only he was a bishop." Ischiras, being ordained by him, could be no priest, nor any else of his ordaining; καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος· and Ischiras himself was reduced into lay-communion, being deposed by the synod of Alexandria, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ τῆς ψευδοῦς ὑπονοίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου: "falling from the imagination of his presbyterate," say the priests and deacons of Mareotis:[f] and of the rest that were ordained with Ischiras, λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ οὕτω συνάγονται, saith St. Athanasius: and this is so known a business, ὡς οὐδενὶ καθέστηκεν ἀμφίβολον: "no man made scruple of the nullity." The parallel case is of the presbyters ordained by Maximus, who was another bishop in the air too; all his ordinations were pronounced null, by the fathers of the council in Constantinople.[g] A third is of the blind bishop of Agabra imposing hands, while his presbyters read the words of ordination; the ordination was pronounced invalid by the first council of Sevil.[h] These cases are so known, I need not insist on them. This only:

In divers cases of transgression of the canons, clergymen were reduced to lay-communion, either being suspended or deposed; that is, from their place of honour and execution of their function, with or without hope of restitution respectively; but then still they had their order, and the sacraments conferred by them were valid, though they indeed were prohibited to minister; but in the cases of the present instance, the ordinations were pronounced as null, to have bestowed nothing, and to be merely imaginary.

But so also it was in case that bishops ordained without a title, or in the diocess of another bishop; as in the council of Chalcedon,[i] and of Antioch,[k] πάντα τὰ ἄκυρα. And may be it was so in case of ordination by a presbyter, it was by positive constitution, pronounced void, and no more; and, therefore, may be rescinded by the countermand of an equal power; a council at most may do it; and, therefore, without a council, a probable necessity will let us loose. But to this the answer is evident.

1. The expressions in the several cases are several, and of diverse issue; for in case of those nullities, which are merely canonical, they are expressed as then first made; but in the case of ordination by a non-bishop, they are only declared void "ipso facto." And therefore, in that decree of Chalcedon against sine-titular ordinations, the canon saith: τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, "irritam existimari manus impositionem," "to be esteemed as null," that is, not to have canonical approbation; but is not declared null, "in natura rei," as it is in the foregoing instances.

2. In the cases of Antioch and Chalcedon, the degree is "pro futuro, which makes it evident that those nullities are such as are made by canon; but in the cases of Colluthus and Maximus, there was declaration of a past nullity, and that before any canon was made; and though synodal declarations pronounced such ordinations invalid, yet none decreed so for the future; which is a clear evidence that this nullity, viz. in case of ordination by a non-presbyter, is not made by canon, but by canon declared to be invalid in the nature of the thing.

3. If to this be added, that in antiquity it was dogmatically resolved, that by nature and institution

[d] Tripart. Hist. lib. ii. c. 12. ex Theodoret.
[e] Can. 19.
[f] Apud Athanas. Apolog. 2. epist. Presb. et Diacon. Mareotic. ad Curiosum et Philagrium.
[g] Cap. 4.
[h] Cap. 5.
[i] Can. 6.
[k] Can. 13.

of the order of bishops, ordination was appropriate to them, then it will also from hence be evident, that the nullity of ordination without a bishop, is not dependent upon positive constitution, but on the exigence of the institution. Now that the power of ordination was only in the bishop, even they who, to advance the presbyters, were willing enough to speak less for episcopacy, give testimony; making this the proper distinctive cognizance of a bishop from a presbyter, that the bishop hath power of ordination, the presbyter hath not. So St. Jerome: "Quid facit episcopus, excepta ordinatione, quod presbyter non faciat?" "All things," saith he,[l] (to wit, all things of precise order,) "are common to bishops with priests, except ordination;" for that is proper to the bishop. And St. Chrysostom: "Solâ quippe ordinatione superiores illis sunt episcopi, atque hoc tantum plusquam presbyteri habere videntur."[m] Ordination is the proper and peculiar function of a bishop; and, therefore, not given him by positive constitution of the canon.

4. No man was called a heretic for breach of canon, but for denying the power of ordination to be proper to a bishop: Aerius was, by Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St. Austin, condemned and branded for heresy, and by the catholic church, saith Epiphanius. This power, therefore, came from a higher spring than positive and canonical sanction. But now proceed.

The council held in Trullo,[n] complaining of the incursion of the barbarous people upon the church's inheritance, saith that it forced some bishops from their residence, and made that they could not *κατὰ τὸ κρατῆσαν ἔθος τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ πάντα ἃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀνήκει πράττειν τε καὶ μεταχειρίζεσθαι*, "according to the guise of the church, give orders and do such things as did belong to the bishop:" and in the sequel of the canon they are permitted in such cases, "ut et diversorum clericorum ordinationes canonicè faciant," "to make canonical ordinations of clergymen." Giving of orders is proper, it belongs to a bishop. So the council. And, therefore, Theodoret, expounding that place of St. Paul, "by laying on the hands of the presbytery," interprets it of bishops; for this reason, because presbyters did not impose hands. There is an imperfect canon in the Arausican council,[o] that hath an expression very pertinent to this purpose: "Ea quæ non nisi per episcopos geruntur," "those things that are not done but by bishops," they were decreed still to be done by bishops, though he that was to do them regularly, did fall into any infirmity whatsoever, yet "non sub præsentia sua presbyteros agere permittat, sed evocet episcopum." Here are clearly by this canon, some things supposed to be proper to the bishops, to the action of which presbyters must, in no case, be admitted. The particulars, what they are, are not specified in the canon, but are named before, viz. orders and confirmation; for almost the whole council was concerning them, and nothing else is properly the "agendum episcopi," and the canon else is not to be understood. To the same issue is that circumlocutory description or name of a bishop, used by St. Chrysostom, *ὁ μέλλων ἐμᾶς χειροτονήσειν*, "the man that is to ordain clerks."

And all this is but the doctrine of the catholic church, which St. Epiphanius[p] opposed to the doctrine of Aerius, denying episcopacy to be a distinct order. *Ἡ μὲν γὰρ* (speaking of episcopacy) *ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις, πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν*, speaking of presbytery: "The order of bishops begets fathers to the church of God, but the order of presbyters begets sons in baptism, but no fathers or doctors by ordination." It is a very remarkable passage related by Eusebius, in the ordination of Novatus to be presbyter, the bishop did it *διακωλυόμενος ἀπὸ πάντος τοῦ κλήρου*, "all the whole clergy was against it," yet the bishop did ordain him, and then certainly scarce any conjunction of the other clergy can be imagined; I am sure none is either expressed or intimated.[q] For it was a ruled case, and attested by the uniform practice of the church, which was set down in the third council of Carthage: "Episcopus unus esse potest, per quem dignatione Divina presbyteri multi constitui possunt."[r] This case I instance the more particularly, because it is an exact determination of a bishop's sole power of ordination. Aurelius made a motion, that if a church wanted a presbyter to become her bishop, they might demand one from any bishop. It was granted; but Posthumianus, the bishop, put this case: "Deinde qui unum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?" "How, if the bishop have but one priest, must his bishop part with him to supply the necessity of the neighbour widow-church?" Yea, that he must. But how then shall he keep ordinations, when he hath never a presbyter to assist him? That indeed would have been the objection now, but it was none then; for Aurelius told them plainly, there was no inconvenience in it; for though a bishop have never a presbyter, no great matter, he can himself ordain many, and then I am sure there is a sole ordination; but if a bishop be wanting to a church, he is not so easily found.

Thus it went ordinarily in the style of the church, ordinations were made by the bishop, and the ordainer spoken of as a single person. So it is in the Nicene council,[s] the council of Antioch,[t] the council of Chalcedon,[u] and St. Jerome, who, writing to Pammachius against the errors of John of Jerusalem, "If thou speak," saith he, "of Paulinianus, he comes now and then to visit us, not as any of your clergy, but 'ejus à quo ordinatus est,' that bishop's who ordained him."

So that the issue of this argument is this. The canons of the apostles and the rules of the ancient councils appropriate the ordination of bishops to bishops, of presbyters to one bishop, (for I never find a presbyter ordained by two bishops together, but only Origen, by the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea,) presbyters are never mentioned in conjunction with bishops at their ordinations, and if

[l] Ad Evagrium. [m] Homil. 2. in 1 Tim. ii.
[n] Can. 37. [o] Can. 20. [p] Hæres. 75.
[q] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 33. [r] Can. 45.
[s] Cap. 19. [t] Cap. 9. [u] Cap. 2. et 6.

alone they did it, their ordination was pronounced invalid and void "ad initio."

To these particulars add this, that bishops alone were punished if ordinations were uncanonical; which were most unreasonable, if presbyters did join in them, and were causes in conjunction. But unless they did it alone, we never read that they were punishable; indeed bishops were "pro toto, et integro," as is reported by Sozomen in the case of Elpidius, Eustathius, Basilius of Ancyra, and Eleusius. Thus also it was decreed in the second and sixth chapters of the council of Chalcedon, and in the imperial constitutions.[x] Since, therefore, we never find presbyters joined with bishops in commission, or practice, or penalty, all this while; I may infer, from the premises, the same thing which the council of Hispalis expresses in direct and full sentence: "Episcopus sacerdotibus ac ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest:" "The bishop alone may give the priestly honour, he alone is not suffered to take it away."[y] This council was held in the year 657, and I set it down here for this purpose, to show that the decree of the fourth council of Carthage,[z] which was the first that licensed priests to assist bishops in ordinations, yet was not obligatory in the West; but for almost three hundred years after, ordinations were made by bishops alone. But till this council, no pretence of any such conjunction, and after this council, sole ordination did not expire in the West for above two hundred years together; but for aught I know, ever since then it hath obtained, that although presbyters oin not in the consecration of a bishop, yet of a presbyter they do; but this is only by a positive subintroduced constitution, first made in a provincial of Africa, and in other places received by insinuation and conformity of practice.

I know not what can be said against it. I only find a piece of an objection out of St. Cyprian, who was a man so complying with the subjects of his diocess, that, if any man, he was like to furnish us with an antinomy: "Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, à me, et à collegis qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis."[a] Here either by his "colleagues" he means bishops or presbyters. If bishops, then many bishops will be found in the ordination of one to an inferior order; which, because it was, as I observed before, against the practice of christendom, will not easily be admitted to be the sense of St. Cyprian: but if he means presbyters by "collegæ," then sole ordination is invalidated by this example, for presbyters joined with him in the ordination of Aurelius.

I answer, that it matters not whether by his colleagues he means one or the other; for Aurelius the confessor, who was the man ordained, was ordained but to be a reader; and that was no order of Divine institution, no gift of the Holy Ghost, and, therefore, might be dispensed by one or more, by bishops or presbyters, and no way enters into the consideration of this question, concerning the power of collating those orders which are gifts of the Holy Ghost, and of Divine ordinance; and therefore, this, although I have seen it once pretended, yet hath no validity to impugn the constant practice of primitive antiquity.

But then are all ordinations invalid, which are done by mere presbyters, without a bishop? What think we of the reformed churches?

1. For my part, I know not what to think. The question hath been so often asked, with so much violence and prejudice, and we are so bound, by public interest, to approve all that they do, that we have disabled ourselves to justify our own. For we were glad, at first, of abettors against the errors of the Roman church; we found these men zealous in it; we thanked God for it, as we had cause; and we were willing to make them recompence, by endeavouring to justify their ordinations; not thinking what would follow upon ourselves. But now it is come to that issue, that our own episcopacy is thought not necessary, because we did not condemn the ordinations of their presbytery.

2. Why is not the question rather, what we think of the primitive church, than what we think of the reformed churches? Did the primitive councils and fathers do well in condemning the ordinations made by mere presbyters? If they did well, what was a virtue in them, is no sin in us. If they did ill, from what principle shall we judge of the right of ordinations? since there is no example in Scripture of any ordination made but by apostles and bishops; and the presbytery that imposed hands on Timothy, is, by all antiquity, expounded either of the office or of a college of presbyters; and St. Paul expounds it to be an ordination made by his own hands, as appears by comparing the two epistles to St. Timothy together; and may be so meant by the principles of all sides; for if the names be confounded, then presbyter may signify a bishop; and that they of this presbytery were not bishops, they can never prove from Scripture, where all men grant that the names are confounded.

So that whence will men take their estimate for the rites of ordinations? From Scripture? That gives it always to apostles and bishops, as I have proved; and that a priest did ever impose hands for ordination, can never be shown from thence. From whence then? From antiquity? That was so far from licensing ordinations made by presbyters alone, that presbyters, in the primitive church, did never join with bishops in collating holy orders of presbyter and deacon, till the fourth council of Carthage; much less do it alone, rightly, and with effect. So that as, in Scripture, there is nothing for presbyters' ordaining, so in antiquity there is much against it; and either in this particular we must have strange thoughts of Scripture and antiquity, or not so fair interpretation of the ordinations of reformed presbyteries. But for my part, I had rather speak a truth in sincerity, than err with a glorious correspondence.

But will not necessity excuse them, who could not have orders from orthodox bishops? Shall we either sin against our consciences, by subscribing to heretical and false resolutions "in materiâ fidei,"

[x] Novell. Constit. 6. et. 123. c. 16. [y] Cap. 6. [z] Can. 2. et 3. [a] Epist. 33.

or else lose the being of a church, for want of episcopal ordinations? Indeed if the case were just thus, it was very hard with good people of the transmarine churches; but I have here two things to consider.

1. I am very willing to believe, that they would not have done any thing, either of error or suspicion, but in cases of necessity. But then I consider that M. Du Plessis, a man of honour and great learning, does attest,[b] that at the first reformation, there were many archbishops and cardinals in Germany, England, France, and Italy, that joined in the reformation, whom they might, but did not, employ in their ordinations; and what necessity then can be pretended in this case, I would fain learn, that I might make their defence. But, which is of more and deeper consideration, for this might have been done by inconsideration and irresolution, as often happens in the beginning of great changes; but it is their constant and resolved practice, at least in France, that if any returns to them, they will reordain him by their presbytery, though he had, before, episcopal ordination, as both their friends and their enemies bear witness.[c]

2. I consider that necessity may excuse a personal delinquency; but I never heard that necessity did build a church. Indeed no man is forced, for his own particular, to commit a sin; for if it be absolutely a case of necessity, the action ceaseth to be a sin; but indeed if God means to build a church in any place, he will do it by means proportionable to that end; that is, by putting them into a possibility of doing and acquiring those things, which himself hath required, of necessity, to the constitution of a church. So that, supposing that ordination by a bishop is necessary for the vocation of priests and deacons, as I have proved it is, and, therefore, for the founding or perpetuating of a church, either God hath given to all churches opportunity and possibility of such ordinations, and then, necessity of the contrary is but pretence and mockery; or if he hath not given such possibility, then there is no church there to be either built or continued, but the candlestick is presently removed.

There are divers stories in Ruffinus to this purpose.[d] When Ædesius and Frumentius were surprised by the barbarous Indians, they preached christianity, and baptized many; but themselves, being but laymen, could make no ordinations, and so not fix a church. What then was to be done in the case? "Frumentius Alexandriam pergit: et rem omnem, ut gesta est, narrat episcopo, ac monet, ut provideat virum aliquem dignum, quem congregatis jam plurimis christianis in barbarico solo episcopum mittat." "Frumentius comes to Alexandria to get a bishop." Athanasius, being then patriarch, ordained Frumentius their bishop; "et tradito ei sacerdotio, redire cum cum Domini gratiâ unde venerat jubet: ex quo," saith Ruffinus, "in Indiæ partibus, et populi christianorum et ecclesiæ factæ sunt, et sacerdotium cœpit."[e]

The same happened in the case of the Iberians converted by a captive woman: "Posteà verò quàm ecclesia magnificè constructa est, et populi fidem Dei majore ardore sitiebant, captivæ monitis ad imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur: res gesta exponitur: sacerdotes mittere oratur, qui cœptum erga se Dei munus implerent." The work of christianity could not be completed, nor a church founded, without the ministry of bishops. Thus the case is evident, that the want of a bishop will not excuse us from our endeavours of acquiring one; and where God means to found a church, there he will supply them with those means and ministers, which himself hath made of ordinary and absolute necessity. And, therefore, if it happens that those bishops, which are of ordinary ministration amongst us, prove heretical, still God's church is catholic; and though with trouble, yet orthodox bishops may be acquired. For just so it happened when Mauvia, queen of the Saracens, was so earnest to have Moses, the hermit, made the bishop of her nation, and offered peace to the catholics upon that condition; Lucius, an Arian, troubled the affair by his interposing and offering to ordain Moses: the hermit discovered his vileness, "et ita majore decore deformatus compulsus est acquiescere."[f] Moses refused to be ordained by him that was an Arian. So did the reformed churches refuse ordinations by the bishops of the Roman communion. But what then might they have done? Even the same that Moses did in that necessity: "Compulsus est ab episcopis, quos in exilium truserat, (Lucius,) sacerdotium sumere." Those good people might have had order from the bishops of England or the Lutheran churches, if at least they thought our churches catholic and christian.

If an ordinary necessity will not excuse this, will not an extraordinary calling justify it? yea, most certainly, could we but see an ordinary proof for an extraordinary calling, viz. an evident prophecy, demonstration of miracles, certainty of reason, clarity of sense, or any thing that might make faith of an extraordinary mission.

But shall we then condemn those few of the reformed churches, whose ordinations always have been without bishops? No, indeed; that must not be: they stand or fall to their own master. And though I cannot justify their ordinations, yet what degree their necessity is of, what their desire of episcopal ordinations may do for their personal excuse, and how far a good life and a catholic belief may lead a man in the way to heaven, although the forms of external communion be not observed, I cannot determine. For aught I know, their condition is the same with that of the church of Pergamus: "I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is; and thou holdest fast my faith, and hast not denied my name:" "Nihilominus habeo adversus te pauca;" "some few things I have against thee;" and yet of them, the want of canonical ordinations is a defect, which,

[b] De Eccles. c. 11.
[c] Danæus, part 2. Isagog. lib. ii. c. 22. Perron. Repl. fol. 92. impres. 1605.
[d] Eccles. Hist. lib. x. c. 9. per Ruffinum.
[e] Ibid. c. 10. et apud Theodoret. lib. i.
[f] Eccles. Hist. lib. xi. c. 6. per Ruffinum.

I trust, themselves desire to be remedied; but if it cannot be done, their sin indeed is the less, but their misery the greater. I am sure I have said sooth, but whether or no it will be thought so, I cannot tell; and yet why it may not, I cannot guess, unless they only be impeccable; which, I suppose, will not so easily be thought of them, who themselves think, that all the church possibly may fail. But this I would not have declared so freely, had not the necessity of our own churches required it, and the first pretence of the legality and validity of their ordinations been buoyed up to the height of an absolute necessity; for else why shall it be called tyranny in us, to call on them to conform to us, and to the practice of the catholic church, and yet in them be called a good and a holy zeal to exact our conformity to them; but I hope it will so happen to us, that it will be verified here, what was once said of the catholics, under the fury of Justina: "Sed tanta fuit perseverantia fidelium populorum, ut animas prius amittere, quàm episcopum mallent;" if it were put to our choice, rather to die, (to wit, the death of martyrs, not rebels,) than lose the sacred order and offices of episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite, or sacrament, legitimately can be performed, in order to eternity.

The sum is this. If the canons and sanctions apostolical; if the decrees of eight famous councils in christendom, of Ancyra, of Antioch, of Sardis, of Alexandria, two of Constantinople, the Arausican council, and that of Hispalis; if the constant successive acts of the famous martyr-bishops of Rome making ordinations; if the testimony of the whole pontifical book; if the dogmatical resolution of so many fathers, St. Denis, St. Cornelius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Epiphanius, St. Austin, and divers others, all appropriating ordinations to the bishop's hand; if the constant voice of christendom, declaring ordinations made by presbyters to be null and void in the nature of the thing; and never any act of ordination by a non-bishop approved by any council, decretal, or single suffrage of any famous man in christendom; if that ordinations of bishops were always made, and they ever done by bishops, and no pretence of priests joining with them in their consecrations, and after all this it was declared heresy to communicate the power of giving orders to presbyters, either alone or in conjunction with bishops, as it was in the case of Aerius; if all this, that is, if whatsoever can be imagined, be sufficient to make faith in this particular,—then it is evident that the power and order of bishops is greater than the power and order of presbyters, to wit, in this great particular of ordination, and that by this loud voice and united vote of christendom.

[a] Epist. de Chorepisc.
[b] Epist. ad Jubaian.

SECTION XXXIII.

And Confirmation.

But this was but the first part of the power, which catholic antiquity affixed to the order of episcopacy. The next is of confirmation of baptized people. And here the rule was this, which was thus expressed by Damascen: "Apostolorum et successorum eorum est, per manûs impositionem donum Spiritûs Sancti tradere;" "It belongs to the apostles and their successors, to give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands."[a] But see this in particular instance.

The council of Eliberis, giving permission to faithful people of the laity to baptize catechumens in the cases of necessity, and exigence of journey: "Ita tamen ut si supervixerit baptizatus, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manûs impositionem proficere possit:" "Let him be carried to the bishop, to be improved by imposition of the bishop's hands." This was law.

It was also a custom, saith St. Cyprian, "Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesiâ baptizantur, per præpositos ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem, et manûs impositionem, Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, et signaculo Dominico consummentur;"[b] and this custom was catholic too, and the law was of universal concernment. "Omnes fideles, per manuum impositionem episcoporum, Spiritum Sanctum post baptismum accipere debent, ut pleni christiani accipere debent." So St. Urban, in his decretal epistle;[c] and, "Omnibus festinandum est sine morâ renasci, et demùm consignari ab episcopo, et septiformem Spiritûs Sancti gratiam recipere;" so saith the old author of the fourth epistle under the name of St. Clement: "All faithful baptized people must go to the bishop to be consigned, and so by imposition of the bishop's hands, to obtain the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost."

Meltiades, in his epistle to the bishops of Spain, affirms confirmation in this to have a special excellency besides baptism: "Quòd solùm à summis sacerdotibus confertur;" "because bishops only can give confirmation;" and the same is said and proved by St. Eusebius, in his third epistle, enjoining great veneration to this holy mystery: "Quòd ab aliis perfici non potest nisi à summis sacerdotibus:" "It cannot, it may not, be performed by any but by the bishops."

Thus St. Chrysostom, speaking of St. Philip converting the Samaritans,[d] διὸ καὶ βαπτίζων, Πνεῦμα τοις βαπτιζομένοις οὐκ ἐδίδου. Οὐδε γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἦν. "Philip, baptizing the men of Samaria, gave not the Holy Ghost to them whom he had baptized. For he had not power. For this gift was only of the twelve apostles." And a little after, τοῦτο ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. "This was peculiar to the apostles." Ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους, οὐκ ἄλ-

[c] Apud Sev. Binium, in 1 tom. Concil.
[d] Homil. 18. in Act.

λους τινάς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τοῦτο ποιοῦντας· "whence it comes to pass, that the principal and chief of the church do it, and none else." And George Pachymeres,[e] the paraphrast of St. Dionysius, Χρεία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔσται εἰς τὸ χρῖσαι τῷ μύρῳ τὸν βαπτισθέντα· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἀρχαῖα συνήθεια· "It is required that a bishop should consign faithful people baptized: for this was the ancient practice."

I shall not need to instance in too many particulars; for that the ministry of confirmation was, by catholic custom, appropriate to bishops in all ages of the primitive church, is to be seen by the concurrent testimony of councils and fathers, particularly of St. Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius,[f] Tertullian,[g] St. Innocentius the First,[h] Damasus,[i] St. Leo,[k] in John the Third,[l] in St. Gregory,[m] Amphilochius, in the life of St. Basil, telling the story of Bishop Maximinus confirming Basilius and Eubulus, the council of Orleans,[n] and of Melda,[o] and, lastly, of Sevill,[p] which affirms, "Non licere presbyteris, per impositionem manûs fidelibus baptizandis Paracletum Spiritum tradere:" "It is not lawful for presbyters to give confirmation, for it is properly an act of episcopal power:"—"Chrismate Spiritus Sanctus super infunditur. Utraque verò ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus." These are enough for authority and dogmatical resolution, from antiquity. For truth is, the first that ever did communicate the power of confirming to presbyters, was Photius, the first author of that unhappy and long-lasting schism between the Latin and Greek churches, and it was upon this occasion too. For when the Bulgarians were first converted, the Greeks sent presbyters to baptize and to confirm them. But the Latins sent again to have them re-confirmed; both because (as they pretended) the Greeks had no jurisdiction in Bulgaria, nor the presbyters a capacity of order to give confirmation.[q]

The matters of fact and acts episcopal, of confirmation, are innumerable; but most famous are those confirmations made by St. Rembert, bishop of Brema, and of St. Malchus, attested by St. Bernard, because they were ratified by a miracle, saith the ancient story.[r] I end this with the saying of St. Jerome; "Exigis ubi scriptum sit? In Actibus Apostolorum. Sed etiamsi scripturæ auctoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hanc partem consensus instar præcepti obtineret:" "If you ask where it is written," (viz. that bishops alone should confirm,) "it is written in the Acts of the Apostles;" (meaning, by precedent, though not express precept;) "but if there were no authority of Scripture for it, yet the consent of all the world upon this particular is instead of a command." It was fortunate that St. Jerome hath expressed himself so confidently in this affair, for by this we are armed against an objection from his own words; for in the same dialogue, speaking of some acts of episcopal privilege and peculiar ministration, particularly of confirmation, he says, it was "ad honorem potius sacerdotii quàm ad legis necessitatem:" "for the honour of the priesthood, rather than for the necessity of a law."

To this the answer is evident from his own words: "That bishops should give the Holy Ghost in confirmation, is written in the Acts of the Apostles;" and now that this is reserved, rather "for the honour of episcopacy, than a simple necessity in the nature of the thing," makes no matter. For the question here, that is only of concernment, is not to what end this power is reserved to the bishop, but by whom it was reserved? Now St. Jerome says it was done "apud acta," "in the Scripture;" therefore, by God's Holy Spirit; and the end he also specifies, viz. "for the honour of that sacred order," "non propter legis necessitatem," "not that there is any necessity of law," that confirmation should be administered by the bishop. Not that a priest may do it, but that, as St. Jerome himself there argues, the Holy Ghost being already given in baptism, if it happens that bishops may not be had, (for he puts the case concerning persons in bondage, and places remote and destitute of bishops,) then, in that case, there is not the absolute necessity of a law, that confirmation should be had at all: a man does not perish if he have it not; for that this thing was reserved to a bishop's peculiar ministration, was indeed an honour to the function, but it was not for the necessity of a law tying people, in all cases, actually to acquire it. So that this "non necessarium" is not to be referred to the bishop's ministration, as if it were not necessary for him to do it when it is to be done, nor that a priest may do it if a bishop may not be had; but this non-necessity is to be referred to confirmation itself; so that if a bishop cannot be had, confirmation, though with much loss, yet with no danger, may be omitted. This is the sum of St. Jerome's discourse, this reconciles him to himself, this makes him speak conformably to his first assertions, and, consequently, to his arguments; and to be sure, no exposition can make these words to intend, that this reservation of the power of confirmation to bishops is not done by the Spirit of God, and then let the sense of the words be what they will, they can do no hurt to the cause; and as easily may we escape from those words of his, to Rusticus, bishop of Narbona: "Sed quia scriptum est, presbyteri duplici honore honorentur; prædicare eos decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare," &c. It is quoted by Gratian, dist. 95. can. "Ecce Ego." But the gloss upon the place expounds him thus, i. e. "in fide," "the presbyters may preach, they may confirm their auditors, not by consignation of chrism, but by confirmation of faith;" and for this quotes a parallel place for the use of the word "confirmare," by authority of St. Gregory, who sent Zachary, his legate, into Germany, from the see of Rome, "Ut orthodoxos episcopos, pres-

[e] In c. 5. de Eccles. Hierarch.
[f] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 17.
[g] De Baptism.
[h] Epist. 1. c. 3. Ad Decent.
[i] Epist. 4.
[k] Epist. 88.
[l] Epist. ad Episc. German.
[m] Lib. iii. Ep. 9.
[n] Apud. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 5. can. ut Jejuni.
[o] Ibid. can. ut. Episcopi.
[p] Concil. Hespal. can. 7.
[q] Vide Anast. l. Biblioth. Præfat. in can. 8. Synodi.
[r] Vide Optatum, lib. ii. S. Bernard. in Vitâ S. Malachiæ Surium. tom. i. in Febr. Dial. adv. Lucifer.

byteros, vel quoscunque reperire potuisset in verbo exhortationis perfectos, ampliùs confirmaret."[s] Certainly St. Gregory did not intend that his legate, Zachary, should confirm bishops and priests in any other sense but this of St. Jerome in the present, to wit, in faith and doctrine, not in rite and mystery; and neither could St. Jerome himself intend, that presbyters should do it all but in this sense of St. Gregory; for else he becomes an antistrephon, and his own opposite.

Yea, but there is a worse matter than this. St. Ambrose tells of the Egyptian priests, "that they, in the absence of the bishop, do confirm." "Denique apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus."[t] But,

1. The passage is suspicious, for it interrupts a discourse of St. Ambrose concerning the primitive order of election to the bishopric, and is no way pertinent to the discourse, but is encircled with a story of a far different consequence, which is not easily thought to have been done by any considering and intelligent author.

2. But suppose the clause be not surreptitious, but natural to the discourse, and born with it, yet it is matter of fact, not of right, for St. Ambrose neither approves nor disproves it, and so it must go for a singular act against the catholic practice and laws of christendom.

3. If the whole clause be not surreptitious, yet the word "consignant" is; for St. Austin, who hath the same discourse of the same thing, viz. of the dignity of presbyters, tells this story of the act and honour of presbyters in Alexandria and all Egypt, almost in the other words of his master, St. Ambrose; but he tells it thus: "Nam et in Alexandriâ et per totam Ægyptum si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter."[u] So that it should not be "consignat," but "consecrat;" for no story tells of any confirmations done in Egypt by presbyters, but of consecrating the eucharist in cases of episcopal absence or commission. I shall give account, in the question of jurisdiction, that that was indeed permitted in Egypt and some other places, but confirmation never, that we can find elsewhere; and this is too improbable to bear weight against evidence and practice apostolical, and four councils, and sixteen ancient catholic fathers, testifying that it was a practice and a law of christendom, that bishops only should confirm, and not priests; so that if there be no other scruple, this question is quickly at an end.

But St. Gregory is also pretended in objection; for he gave dispensation to the priests of Sardinia, "ut baptizatos unguant," "to aneal baptized people."[x] Now anointing the forehead of the baptized person was one of the solemnities of confirmation, so that this indulgence does arise to a power of confirming; for "unctio" and "chrismatio," in the first Arausican council, and since that time "sacramentum chrismatis," hath been the usual word for confirmation. But this will not much trouble the business.

Because it is evident that he means it not of confirmation, but of the chrism in those times by the rites of the church used in baptism. For, in his ninth epistle, he forbids priests to anoint baptized people; now here is precept against precept; therefore, it must be understood of several anointings, and so St. Gregory expounds himself in this ninth epistle: "Presbyteri baptizatos infantes signare bis in fronte chrismate non præsumant:" "Presbyters may not anoint baptized people twice," once they might; now that this permission of anointing was that which was a ceremony of baptism, not an act of confirmation,—we shall see by comparing it with other canons. In the collection of the oriental canons, by Martinus Bracarensis, it is decreed thus: "Presbyter præsente episcopo, non signet infantes nisi forte ab episcopo fuerit illi præceptum:"[y] "A priest must not sign infants without leave of the bishop, if he be present."—"Must not sign them;" that is, with chrism in their foreheads, and that in baptism; for the circumstant canons do expressly explicate and determine it; for they are concerning the rites of baptism, and this in the midst of them. And by the way, this may answer St. Ambrose's "presbyteri consignant, absente episcopo," in case it be so to be read; for here we see a consignation permitted to the presbyters in the Eastern churches to be used in baptism, in the absence of the bishop, and this an act of indulgence and favour, and, therefore, extraordinary, and of use to St. Ambrose's purpose of advancing the presbyters, but yet of no objection in case of confirmation. And indeed "consignari" is used in antiquity for any signing with the cross, and annealing. Thus it is used in the first Arausican council for extreme unction,[z] which is there, in case of extreme necessity, permitted to presbyters: "Hæreticos in mortis discrimine positos, si catholici esse desiderent, si desit episcopus, à presbyteris cum chrismate et benedictione *consignari* placet." "Consigned" is the word, and it was clearly in extreme unction; for that rite was not then ceased, and it was in annealing a dying body, and a part of reconciliation, and so limited by the sequent canon, and not to be fancied of any other consignation.—But I return. The first council of Toledo prohibits any from making chrism but bishops only,[a] and takes order, "ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum, ante diem paschæ diaconi destinentur, ut confectum chrisma ab episcopo destinatum ad diem paschæ possit occurrere:" "that the chrism be fetched by the deacons from the bishop, to be used in all churches." But for what use? Why, it was "destinatum ad diem paschæ," says the canon, "against the holy time of Easter;" and then, at Easter, was the solemnity of public baptisms, so that it was to be used in baptism. And this sense being premised, the canon permits to presbyters to sign with chrism, the same thing that St. Gregory did to the priests of Sardinia. "Statutum verò est, diaconum non chrismare, sed presbyterum, absente episcopo; præsente

[s] Caus. 11. q. 3. can. Quod Prædecessor.
[t] In Ephes. iv.
[u] Quæst. 101. Vet. et N. Testam. Basilcæ.
[x] Lib. iii. Epist. 26.
[y] Can. 52.
[z] Can. 2.
[a] Can. 20.

verò, si ab ipso fuerit præceptum." Now although this be evident enough, yet it is something clearer in the first Arausican council:[c] "Nullus ministrorum, qui baptizandi recipit officium, sine chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismate chrismari." The case is evident, that chrismation or consigning with ointment was used in baptism; and it is as evident that this chrismation was it which St. Gregory permitted to the presbyters; not the other, for he expressly forbade the other; and the exigence of the canons, and practice of the church, expound it so; and it is the same which St. Innocent the First decreed in more express and distinctive terms:[d] "Presbyteris chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum;" there is a clear permission of consigning with chrism in baptism; but he subjoins a prohibition to priests, for doing it in confirmation: "Non tamen frontem eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cùm tradunt Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum."

By the way; some, that they might the more clearly determine St. Gregory's dispensation to be only in baptismal chrism, read it, "Ut *baptizandos* ungant," not "*baptizatos*;" so Gratian, so St. Thomas; but it is needless to be troubled with that; for Innocentius, in the decretal now quoted, useth the word "baptizatos," and yet clearly distinguishes this power from the giving the chrism in confirmation.

I know no other objection, and these, we see, hinder not, but that having such evidence of fact in Scripture, of confirmations done only by apostles, and this evidence urged by the fathers for the practice of the church, and the power of confirmation, by many councils and fathers, appropriated to bishops, and denied to presbyters, and in this they are not only doctors, teaching their own opinion, but witnesses of a catholic practice, and do actually attest it as done by a catholic consent; and no one example, in all antiquity, ever produced of any priest, that did, no law that a priest might, impose hands for confirmation;—we may conclude it to be a power apostolical in the original, episcopal in the succession, and that, in this power, the order of a bishop is higher than that of a presbyter, and so declared by this instance of catholic practice.

SECTION XXXIV.

And Jurisdiction. Which they expressed in Attributes of Authority and great Power.

THUS far I hope we are right. But I call to mind, that in the nosotrophium of the old philosopher, that undertook to cure all calentures by bathing his patients in water; some were up to the chin, some to the middle, some to the knees; so it is amongst the enemies of the sacred order of episcopacy; some endure not the name, and they, indeed, deserve to be over head and ears; some will have them all one in office with presbyters, as at first they were in name; and they had need bathe up to the chin; but some stand shallower, and grant a little distinction, a precedency perhaps for order's sake, but no pre-eminence in reglement, no superiority of jurisdiction: others by all means would be thought to be quite through in behalf of bishops' order and power, such as it is, but call for a reduction to the primitive state, and would have all bishops like the primitive; but because by this means they think to impair their power, they may well endure to be up to the ancles; their error indeed is less, and their pretence fairer, but the use they make of it of very ill consequence. But curing the mistake will quickly cure this distemper. That then shall be the present issue, that in the primitive church bishops had more power, and greater exercise of absolute jurisdiction, than now men will endure to be granted, or than themselves are very forward to challenge.

1. Then: the primitive church expressing the calling and offices of a bishop, did it in terms of presidency and authority. "Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit," saith St. Ignatius:[a] "the bishop carries the representment of God the Father," that is, in power and authority to be sure, (for how else?) so as to be the supreme "in suo ordine," in offices ecclesiastical. And again, "Quid enim aliud est episcopus quàm is, qui omni principatu et potestate superior est?" Here his superiority and advantage is expressed to be in his "power:" a bishop is greater and higher than all other in power, viz. "in materiâ," or "gradu religionis." And in his epistle to the Magnesians: "Hortor ut hoc sit omnibus studium in Dei concordiâ, omnia agere, episcopo præsidente loco Dei:" "Do all things in unity, the bishop being president in the place of God." "President" in all things. And with a fuller tide yet, in his epistle to the church of Smyrna: "Honora episcopum, ut principem sacerdotum imaginem Dei referentem, Dei quidem propter principatum, Christi verò propter sacerdotum." It is full of fine expression both for eminency of order and jurisdiction. The bishop is "the prince of the priests, bearing the image of God for his principality," that is his jurisdiction and power: but "of Christ himself for his priesthood;" that is his order. St. Ignatius hath spoken fairly; and if we consider that he was so primitive a man that himself saw Christ in the flesh, and lived a man of exemplary sanctity, and died a martyr, and hath been honoured as a holy catholic by all posterity,—certainly these testimonies must needs be of great pressure, being "sententiæ repetiti dogmatis," not casually slipped from him, and by incogitancy, but resolutely and frequently.

But this is attested by the general expressions of after-ages. "Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui," saith St. Cyprian to Bishop Rogatianus:[b] "Execute the power of thy dignity" upon the refractory deacon; and "vigor episcopalis," and "auctoritas cathedræ" are the words expressive of that power, whatsoever it be, which St. Cyprian calls

[c] Can. 1. [d] Epist. 1. ad Decent. c. 3.

[a] Epist. ad Trall. [b] Lib. iii. Epist. 9.

upon him to assert in the same epistle. This is high enough. So is that which he presently subjoins, calling the bishop's power "ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimem ac divinam potestatem," "a high and a divine power and authority in regiment of the church." "Locus magisterii traditus ab apostolis," so St. Irenæus calls episcopacy;[c] "a place of mastership or authority delivered by the apostles to the bishops their successors." Eusebius speaking of Dionysius, who succeeded Heraclas, he received, (saith he,) τῆς προστασίας τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν,[d] "the bishopric of the presidency over the churches of Alexandria:" εἰς τὴν ἀψίδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, saith the council of Sardis; "to the top or height of episcopacy." "Apices et principes omnium," so Optatus calls bishops; "the chief and head of all;"—and St. Denis, of Alexandria,[e] "scribit ad Fabianum, urbis Romæ episcopum, et ad alios quam plurimos ecclesiarum principes de fide catholicâ suâ," saith Eusebius. And Origen calls the bishop, "eum qui totius ecclesiæ arcem obtinet;" "he that hath obtained the tower or height of the church."[f]

The fathers of the council of Constantinople in Trullo, ordained that the bishops,—dispossessed of their churches by encroachments of barbarous people upon the churches' pale, so as the bishop had in effect no diocess,—yet they should enjoy τῇ τῆς προεδρίας εὐθεντίᾳ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον ὅρον, "the authority of their presidency according to their proper state;" their appropriate presidency. And the same council calls the bishop τὸν τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρον, "the prelate or prefect of the church;" I know not how to expound it better. But it is something more full in the Greeks' council of Carthage,[g] commanding that the convert Donatists should be received according to the will and pleasure of the bishop, τοῦ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ κυβερνῶντος ἐκκλησίαν, "that governs the church in that place." And in the council of Antioch, ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν,[h] "the bishop hath power over the affairs of the church." "Hoc quidem tempore Romanæ ecclesiæ Sylvester retinacula gubernabat:" "St. Sylvester (the bishop) held the reins or the stern of the Roman church;" saith Theodoret.[i]

But the instances of this kind are infinite; two may be as good as twenty, and these they are. The first is of St. Ambrose:[k] "Honor et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari:" "The honour and sublimity of episcopal order is beyond all comparison great." And their commission he specifies to be in "pasce oves meas;" "unde regendæ sacerdotibus contraduntur, meritò rectoribus suis subdi dicuntur," &c.: "The sheep are delivered to bishops as to rulers, and are made their subjects:" and in the next chapter:[l] "Hæc verò cuncta, fratres, ideò nos præmisisse cognoscere debetis, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius episcopis reperiri: ut cùm dignitatem episcopatûs episcoporum oraculis demonstramus, et dignè nos camus quid sumus, actione potius quàm nomine demonstremus:" "These things I have said, that you may know nothing is higher, nothing more excellent than the dignity and eminence of a bishop," &c. The other is of St. Jerome: "Cura totius ecclesiæ ad episcopum pertinet:" "The care of the whole church appertains to the bishop." But more confidently spoken is that in his dialogue "adversus Luciferianos:" "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes:" "The safety of the church consists in the dignity of a bishop, to whom unless an eminent and unparalleled power be given by all, there will be as many schisms as priests."[m]

Here is dignity, and authority, and power enough expressed; and if words be expressive of things, (and there is no other use of them,) then the bishop is superior in a peerless and incomparable authority; and all the whole diocess are his subjects, viz. "in regimine spirituali."

[c] Lib. 4. cap. 63. [d] Lib. vi. Hist. c. 26. can. 10.
[e] Lib. ii. adv. Parmen.
[f] Lib. vi. Hist. c. 26. Homil. 7. in Jerem.

[g] Can. 69. [h] Can. 25.
[i] Hist. Tripart. lib. i. cap. 12.
[k] De Dignit. Sacerdot. c. 2. [l] Cap. 3. [m] Cap. 4.

SECTION XXXV.

Requiring Universal Obedience to be given to Bishops by Clergy and Laity.

BUT from words let us pass to things. For the faith and practice of christendom require obedience, universal obedience, to be given to bishops. I will begin again with Ignatius, that these men, who call for reduction of episcopacy to primitive consistence, may see what they gain by it; for the more primitive the testimonies are, the greater exaction of obedience to bishops; for it happened in this, as in all other things: at first, christians were more devout, more pursuing of their duties, more zealous in attestation of every particle of their faith; and that episcopacy is now come to so low an ebb, it is nothing; but that, it being a great part of christianity to honour and obey them, it hath the fate of all other parts of our religion, and particularly of charity, come to so low a declension, as it can scarce stand alone; and faith, which shall scarce be found upon earth at the coming of the Son of man.

But to our business.

St. Ignatius, in his epistle to the church of Trallis, "Necesse itaque est," saith he, "quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil tentetis." So the Latin of Vedelius, which I the rather choose, because I am willing to give all the advantage I can. "It is necessary," saith the good martyr, "that whatsoever ye do, you should attempt nothing without your bishop." And to the Magnesians, "Decet itaque vos obedire episcopo, et in nullo illi refragari:" "It is fitting that ye should obey your

bishop, and in nothing to be refractory to him." Here is both a "decet" and a "necesse est," already. "It is very fitting, it is necessary." But if it be possible, we have a fuller expression yet, in the same epistle: "Quemadmodum enim Dominus sine Patre nihil facit, 'Nec enim possum facere à meipso quicquam:' sic et vos sine episcopo, nec diaconus, nec laiconus, nec laicus; nec quicquam videatur vobis consentaneum quod sit præter illius judicium; quod enim tale est, et Deo inimicum." Here is obedience universal, both in respect of things and persons; and all this no less than absolutely necessary. "For as Christ obeyed his Father in all things, saying, 'Of myself I can do nothing;' so nor you without your bishop, whoever you be, whether priest, or deacon, or layman: let nothing please you, which the bishop dislikes; for all such things are wicked, and in enmity with God." But it seems St. Ignatius was mightily in love with this precept, for he gives it to almost all the churches he writes to. We have already reckoned the Trallians and the Magnesians. But the same he gives to the priests of Tarsus, *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτασσέτωσαν ἐπισκόπῳ.* "Ye presbyters, be subject to your bishop." The same to the Philadelphians: "Sine episcopo nihil facite:" "Do nothing without your bishop." But this is better explicated in his epistle to the church of Smyrna: "Sine episcopo nemo quicquam faciat eorum, quæ ad ecclesiam spectant:" "No man may do any thing without the bishop," viz. "of those things which belong to the church." So that this saying expounds all the rest; for this universal obedience is to be understood according to the sense of the church, viz. to be in all things of ecclesiastical cognizance, all church-affairs. And, therefore, he gives a charge to St. Polycarp, their bishop, that he also look to it, that nothing be done without his leave. "Nihil sine tuo arbitrio agatur, nec item tu quicquam præter Dei facies voluntatem:" "As thou must do nothing against God's will, so let nothing (in the church) be done without thine." By the way, observe, he says not, that as the presbytery must do nothing without the bishop, so the bishop nothing without them;—but, so the bishop nothing without God. But so it is. "Nothing must be done without the bishop;" and therefore, although he encourages them that can, to remain in virginity; yet this, if it be either done with pride or without the bishop, it is spoiled. For, "Si gloriatus fuerit, periit, et si id ipsum statuatur sine episcopo, corruptum est." His last dictate in this epistle to St. Polycarp, is with an "Episcopo attendite, sicut et Deus vobis:" "The way to have God to take care of us, is to observe our bishop." "Hinc et vos decet accedere sententiæ episcopi, qui secundum Deum vos pascit; quemadmodum et facitis, edocti à Spiritu:" "You must, therefore, conform to the sentence of the bishop; as indeed ye do already, being taught so to do by God's Holy Spirit."[a]

There needs no more to be said in this cause, if the authority of so great a man will bear so great a burden. What the man was, I said before; what these epistles are, and of what authority, let it rest upon Vedelius,[b] a man who is nowise to be suspected as a party for episcopacy; or rather upon the credit of Eusebius,[c] St. Jerome,[d] and Ruffinus,[e] who reckon the first seven, out of which I have taken these excerpta, for natural and genuine. And now I will make this use of it; Those men that call for reduction of episcopacy to the primitive state, should do well to stand close to their principles, and count that the best episcopacy which is first; and then consider but what St. Ignatius hath told us for direction in this affair, and see what is gotten in the bargain. For my part, since they that call for such a reduction, hope to gain by it, and then would most certainly have abidden by it, I think it not reasonable to abate any thing of Ignatius's height, but expect such subordination and conformity to the bishop, as he then knew to be a law of christianity. But let this be remembered all along, in the specification of the parts of their jurisdiction. But, as yet, I am in the general demonstration of obedience.

The council of Laodicea,[f] having specified some particular instances of subordination and dependence to the bishop, sums them up thus: *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου·* "So likewise the presbyters, let them do nothing without the precept and counsel of the bishop;"[g] so is the translation of Isidore, "ad verbum."[h] This council is ancient enough, for it was before the first Nicene. So also was that of Arles, commanding the same thing exactly: "Ut presbyteri, sine conscientiâ episcoporum, nihil faciant. Sed nec presbyteris civitatis sine episcopi præcepto amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus in unâquâque parochiâ aliquid agere," says the thirteenth canon of the Anzyran council, according to the Latin of Isidore.[i] The same thing is in the first council of Toledo, the very same words for which I cited the first council of Arles; viz. "That presbyters do nothing without the knowledge or permission of the bishop. "Esto subjectus pontifici tuo, et quasi animæ parentem suscipe." It is the council of St. Jerome: "Be subject to thy bishop, and receive him as the father of thy soul."[k]

I shall not need to derive hither any more particular instances of the duty and obedience owing from the laity to the bishop; for this account will certainly be admitted by all considering men. God hath intrusted the souls of the laity to the care of the ecclesiastical orders; they, therefore, are to submit to the government of the clergy, in matters spiritual, with which they are intrusted. For either there is no government at all, or the laity must govern the church, or else the clergy must. To say there is no government, is to leave the church in worse condition than a tyranny. To say that the laity should govern the church, when all ecclesiastical ministries are committed to the clergy, is to

[a] Ep. ad Ephes. [b] Apologia pro Ignatio.
[c] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 30. [d] De Script. Eccles.
[e] Apud Euseb. quem Latinè reddidit.

[f] Can. 56.
[g] Idem videre est apud Damasum, Ep. de Chorepiscopis.
[h] Can. 19. [i] Can. 20. [k] Epist. ad Nepotian.

say, Scripture means not what it says; for it is to say, that the clergy must be "præpositi," and προεστῶτες, and "prælati;" and yet the prelation, and presidency, and rule, is in them who are not ever, by God's Spirit, called presidents or prelates, and that it is not in them who are so called. In the mean time, if the laity, in matters spiritual, are inferior to the clergy, and must, in things pertaining to the soul, be ruled by them, with whom their souls are intrusted; then also, much rather they must obey those of the clergy, to whom all the other clergy themselves are bound to be obedient. Now since, by the frequent precept of so many councils and fathers, the deacons and presbyters must submit, in all things, to the bishop, much more must the laity; and since the bishop must rule in chief, and the presbyters, at the most, can but rule in conjunction and assistance, but ever in subordination to the bishop, the laity must obey "de integro." For that is to keep them in that state, in which God hath placed them.

But for the main: St. Clement, in his epistle to St. James, translated by Ruffinus, saith it was the doctrine of Peter, according to the institution of Christ, "That presbyters should be obedient to their bishop in all things;" and in his third epistle, "That presbyters and deacons, and others of the clergy, must take heed, that they do nothing without the license of the bishop." And to make this business up complete, all these authorities of great antiquity were not the prime constitutions in those several churches respectively, but mere derivations from tradition apostolical; for not only the thing, but the words so often mentioned, are in the fortieth canon of the apostles. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν, (the same is repeated in the twenty-fourth canon of the council of Antioch,) αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος· "Presbyters and deacons must do nothing without leave of the bishop; for to him the Lord's people is committed, and he must give an account for their souls." And if a presbyter shall contemn his own bishop, making conventions apart, and erecting another altar, he is to be deposed, ὡς φίλαρχος, saith the thirty-second canon, "as a lover of principality;" intimating, that he arrogates episcopal dignity, and so is ambitious of a principality, The issue then is this. The presbyters, and clergy, and laity must obey; therefore, the bishop must govern and give them laws. It was particularly instanced in the case of St. Chrysostom, καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν τούτοις κατεκόσμει τοῖς νόμοις, saith Theodoret: "He adorned and instructed Pontus with these laws;" so he, reckoning up the extent of his jurisdiction.[1]

But now descend we to a specification of the power and jurisdiction of bishops.

SECTION XXXVI.

Appointing them to be Judges of the Clergy, and Spiritual Causes of the Laity.

The bishops were ecclesiastical judges over th presbyters, the inferior clergy, and the laity. Wha they were in Scripture who were constituted i presidency over causes spiritual, I have alread twice explicated; and from hence it descended, b a close succession, that they who watched for souls they had the rule over them, and because no regi ment can be without coercion, therefore there wa inherent in them a power of cognition of causes and coercion of persons. The canons of the apos tles, appointing censures to be inflicted on delin quent persons, make the bishop's hand to do it Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφωρισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ἑτέρου δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ ἀφορίσαντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγκυρίαν τελευτήσει ὁ ἀφορίσας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος. "If any presbyter or deacon be excommunicated by the bishop, he must not be received by any else, but by him that did so censure him, unless the bishop that censured him be dead."[a] The same is repeated in the Nicene council; only it is permitted that any one may appeal to a synod of bishops: "Si fortè aliquâ indignatione, aut contentione, aut quâlibet commotione episcopi sui, excommunicati sint," if he thinks himself wronged by prejudice or passion; and when the synod is met, "hujusmodi examinent quæstiones."[b] But by the way, it must be "synodus episcoporum;" so the canon: "Ut ita demum hi, qui, ob culpas suas, episcoporum suorum offensas meritò contraxerunt, dignè etiam à cæteris excommunicati habeantur, quousque in communi, vel ipsi episcopo suo visum fuerit humaniorem circà eos ferre sententiam:" "The synod of bishops must ratify the excommunication of all those, who, for their delinquencies, have justly incurred the displeasure of their bishop, and this censure to stick upon them, till either the synod or their own bishop shall give a more gentle sentence." This canon, we see, relates to the canon of the apostles, and affixes the judicature of priests and deacons to the bishops; commanding their censures to be held as firm and valid; only as the apostles' canon names presbyters and deacons particularly; so the Nicene canon speaks indefinitely, and so comprehends all of the diocess and jurisdiction.

The fourth council of Carthage gives, in express terms, the cognizance of clergy-causes to the bishop, calling aid from a synod in case a clergyman prove refractory and disobedient. "Discordantes clericos episcopus vel ratione vel potestate ad concordiam trahat, inobedientes synodus per audientiam damnet:" "If the bishop's reason will not end the controversies of clergymen, his power must;"[c] but if any man list to be contentious, intimating (as I suppose, out of the Nicene council) with frivolous appeals, and impertinent protraction, "the synod (of bishops)

[1] Lib. v. c. 28.

[a] Can. 33.

[b] Can. 5.

[c] Can. 59.

must condemn him," viz. for his disobeying his bishop's sentence. The council of Antioch is yet more particular in its sanction for this affair, intimating a clear distinction of proceeding in the cause of a bishop, and the other of the priests and deacons. Εἰ τὶς ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθεὶς, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, &c. "If a bishop shall be deposed by a synod," (viz. of bishops, according to the exigence of the Nicene canon,[d]) "or a priest, or deacon by his own bishop, if he meddles with any sacred offices, he shall be hopeless of absolution." But here we see that the ordinary judge of a bishop is a synod of bishops; but of priests and deacons the bishop alone: and the sentence of the bishop is made firm "omni modo" in the next canon: "Si quis presbyter vel diaconus, proprio contempto episcopo, privatim congregationem effecerit, et altare erexerit, et episcopo accersenti non obedierit, nec velit ei parere, nec morem gerere primò et secundò vocanti, hic damnetur omni modo. Quòd si ecclesiam conturbare, et solicitare persistat tanquam seditiosus, per potestates exteras opprimatur:" "What presbyter soever refuses to obey his bishop, and will not appear at his first or second summons, let him be deposed, and if he shall persist to disturb the church, let him be given over to the secular powers." Add to this the first canon of the same council, Εἰ τὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, &c. "If any one be excommunicate by his own bishop," &c., as it is in the foregoing canons of Nice and the apostles. The result of these sanctions is this. The bishop is the judge; the bishop is to inflict censures; the presbyters and deacons are either to obey, or to be deposed: no greater evidence in the world of a superior jurisdiction, and this established by all the power they had; and this did extend, not only to the clergy, but to the laity; for that is the close of the canon, Ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι· "This constitution is concerning the laity, and the presbyters, and the deacons, and all that are within the rule, viz. that if their bishop have sequestered them from the holy communion, they must not be suffered to communicate elsewhere."

But the "audientia episcopalis," "the bishops' audience-court," is of larger power in the council of Chalcedon: Εἰ τὶς κληρικὸς πρὸς κληρικὸν πράγμα ἔχοι, μὴ καταλιμπανέτω τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἐπὶ κοσμικὰ δικαστήρια κατατρεχέτω. "If any clergyman have any cause against a clergyman, let him by no means leave his own bishop, and run to secular courts:" ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν γυμναζέτω παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ γοῦν γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου παρ' οἷς ἂν τὰ αμφότερα μέρη βούλεται, τὰ τῆς δίκης συγκροτείσθω. "But first let the cause be examined before their own bishop, or, by the bishop's leave, before such persons as the contesting parties shall desire." Εἰ δέ τὶς παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσει, κανονικοῖς ὑποκείσθω ἐπιτιμίοις. "Whosoever does otherwise, let him suffer under the censures of the church."[e] Here is not only a subordination of the clergy in matters criminal, but also the civil causes of the clergy must be submitted to the bishop, under pain of the canon. I end this with the attestation of the council of Sardis, exactly of the same spirit, the same injunction, and almost the same words, with the former canons. Hosius, the president, said: "If any deacon, or priest, or of the inferior clergy, being excommunicated, shall go to another bishop," γινώσκοντα ἀποκεκινῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς κοινωνίας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, "knowing him to be excommunicated by his own bishop, that other bishop must by no means receive him into his communion."[f]

Thus far we have matter of public right and authority, declaring the bishop to be the ordinary judge of the causes and persons of clergymen, and have power of inflicting censures, both upon the clergy and the laity. And if there be any weight in the concurrent testimony of the apostolical canons, of the general councils of Nice, and of Chalcedon, of the councils of Antioch, of Sardis, of Carthage; then it is evident, that the bishop is the ordinary judge in all matters of spiritual cognizance, and hath power of censures, and, therefore, a superiority of jurisdiction.

This thing only by the way: in all these canons there is no mention made of any presbyters assistant with the bishop in his courts. For though I doubt not but the presbyters were in some churches, and in some times συνέδρευται and σύμβουλοι τῶν ἐπισκόπων, as St. Ignatius calls them, "counsellors and assessors with the bishop;" yet the power and the right of inflicting censures is only expressed to be in the bishop, and no concurrent jurisdiction mentioned in the presbytery: but of this hereafter more particularly.

Now, we may see these canons attested by practice and dogmatical resolution. St. Cyprian is the man whom I would choose, in all the world, to depose in this cause; because he, if any man, hath given all dues to the college of presbyters; and yet if he reserves the superiority of jurisdiction to the bishop, and that absolutely, and independently of conjunction with the presbytery, we are all well enough, and without suspicion. "Diù patientiam meam tenui, fratres carissimi," saith he, writing to the presbyters and deacons of his church.[g] He was angry with them for admitting the "lapsi" without his consent; and though he was as willing as any man to comply, both with the clergy and people of his diocess, yet he also must assert his own privileges and peculiar. "Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensâ Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc præpositum sibi episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ et contemptu præpositi totum sibi vindicent." The matter was, that certain presbyters had reconciled them that fell in persecution, without the performance of penance, according to the severity of the canon; and this was done without the bishop's leave, by the presbyters, "forgetting their own place, and the gospel, and their

[d] Can. 4. [e] Can. 9. [f] Can. 13 et 14. [g] Epist. 10.

bishop set over them, a thing that was never heard of till that time," "totum sibi vindicabant," "they that might do nothing without the bishop's leave, yet did this whole affair of their own heads." Well! Upon this St. Cyprian himself, by his own authority alone, suspends them till his return, and so shows that his authority was independent, theirs was not, and then promises "they shall have a fair hearing before him, in the presence of the confessors and all the people." "Utar eâ admonitione quâ me uti Dominus jubet, ut interim prohibeantur offerre, acturi et apud nos, et apud confessores ipsos, et apud plebem universam, causam suam." Here it is plain that St. Cyprian suspended these presbyters by his own authority, in absence from his church, and reserved the further hearing of the cause, till it should please God to restore him to his see.

But this fault of the presbyters, St. Cyprian, in the two next epistles, does still more exaggerate; saying, they ought to have asked the bishop's leave, "Sicut in præteritum semper sub antecessoribus factum est," for so was the catholic custom ever, that nothing should be done without the bishop's leave; but now, by doing otherwise, they did prevaricate the Divine commandment, and dishonour the bishop.[h] Yea, but the confessors interceded for the "lapsi," and they seldom were discountenanced in their requests. What should the presbyters do in this case? St. Cyprian tells them, writing to the confessors: "Petitiones itaque et desideria vestra episcopo servent:" "Let them keep your petitions for the bishop to consider of."[i] But they did not; therefore he suspended them, because they did not "reservare episcopo honorem sacerdotii sui et cathedræ:" "preserve the honour of the bishop's chair, and the episcopal authority," in presuming to reconcile the penitents without the bishop's leave.

The same St. Cyprian, in his epistle to Rogatianus, resolves this affair; for when a contemptuous bold deacon had abused his bishop, he complained to St. Cyprian, who was an archbishop, and indeed St. Cyprian tells him, he did honour him in the business that he would complain to him, "Cùm pro episcopatûs vigore, et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, quâ posses de illo statim vindicari:" "When as he had power episcopal and sufficient authority himself, to have punished the deacon for his petulancy."[k] The whole epistle is very pertinent to this question, and is clear evidence for the great authority of episcopal jurisdiction, the sum whereof is, in this encouragement, given to Rogatianus by St. Cyprian: "Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas;" "Exercise the power of your honour upon him, and either suspend him or depose him." And, therefore, he commends Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, for driving Felicissimus, the schismatic, from the church, "vigore pleno, quo episcopum agere oportet," "with full authority, as becomes a bishop."[l]

Socrates, telling of the promotion and qualities of St. John Chrysostom, says, "That in reforming the lives of the clergy, he was too fastuous and severe." "Mox igitur in ipso initio quum clericis asper videretur ecclesiæ, erat plurimis exosus, et veluti furiosum universi declinabant: "He was so rigid in animadversions against the clergy, that he was hated by them;"[m] which clearly shows that the bishop had jurisdiction and authority over them; for tyranny is the excess of power, and authority is the subject matter of rigour and austerity. But this power was intimated in that bold speech of his deacon, Serapio: "Nunquam poteris, ô episcope, hos corrigere, nisi uno baculo percusseris universos:" "Thou canst not amend the clergy, unless thou strikest them all with thy pastoral rod." St. John Chrysostom did not indeed do so; but "non multum post temporis plurimos clericorum pro diversis exemit causis," "he deprived and suspended most of the clergymen for divers causes;" and for this his severity he wanted no slanders against him; for the delinquent ministers set the people on work against him. But here we see that the power of censures was clearly and only in the bishop, for he was incited to have punished all his clergy, "universos;" and he did actually suspend most of them, "plurimos;" and I think it will not be believed the presbytery of his church should join with their bishop to suspend themselves. Add to this, that Theodoret also affirms that Chrysostom entreated the priests to live canonically, according to the sanctions of the church: "Quas quicunque prævaricari præsumerent, eos ad templum prohibebat accedere; "All them that transgressed the canons, he forbade them entrance into the church."[n]

Thus St. Jerome to Riparius: "Miror sanctum episcopum, in cujus parochiâ esse presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus, et non virgâ apostolicâ, virgâque ferreâ confringere vas inutile, et tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fiat:" "I wonder," saith he, "that the holy bishop is not moved at the fury of Vigilantius, and does not break him with his apostolical rod, that, by this temporary punishment, his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord."[o] Hitherto the bishop's pastoral staff is of fair power and coercion.

The council of Aquileia, convoked against the Arians, is full and mighty in asserting the bishop's power over the laity, and did actually exercise censures upon the clergy, where St. Ambrose was the man, that gave sentence against Palladius, the Arian. Palladius would have declined the judgment of the bishops, for he saw he should certainly be condemned, and would fain have been judged by some honourable personages of the laity. But St. Ambrose said "Sacerdotes de laicis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus:" "Bishops must judge of the laity, not the laity of the bishops." That is for the "jus;" and for the "factum," it was the shutting up of the council; St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, gave sentence, "Pronuncio illum indignum sacerdotio, et cavendum, et in loco ejus catholicus ordinetur." The same also was the case of Marcellus.

[h] Epist. 11.
[i] Epist. 12.
[k] Epist. 65.
[l] Epist. 55.
[m] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 3.
[n] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 4.
[o] Advers. Vigilant. Epist. 53.

bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, whom, for heresy, the bishops at Constantinople deposed, Eusebius giving sentence, and chose Basilius in his room.[p]

But their grandfather was served no better. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, served him neither better nor worse. So Theodoret. "Alexander autem, apostolicorum dogmatum prædicator, prius quidem revocare eum admonitionibus et consiliis nitebatur. Cum vero eum superbire vidisset, et apertè impietatis facinora prædicare, ex ordine sacerdotali removit:" "The bishop first admonished the heretic; but when to his false doctrine he added pertinacy, he deprived him of the execution of his priestly function."[q]

This crime, indeed, deserved it highly. It was for a less matter that Triferius, the bishop, excommunicated Exuperantius, a presbyter, viz. for a personal misdemeanour; and yet this censure was ratified by the council of Taurinum, and his restitution was left "arbitrio episcopi," "to the good will and pleasure of the bishop," who had censured him. "Statuit quoque de Exuperantio presbytero sancta synodus, qui ad injuriam sancti episcopi sui Triferii gravia et multa congesserat, et frequentibus eum contumeliis provocaverat; propter quam causam ab eo fuerat Dominicâ communione privatus, ut in ejus sit arbitrio restitutio ipsius, in cujus potestate ejus fuit abjectio."[r] His restitution was, therefore, left in his power, because originally his censure was. The like was in the case of Palladius, a laic in the same council: "Qui à Triferio sacerdote fuerat mulctatus:" "Who was punished by Triferius the bishop;" "Hoc ei humanitate concilii reservato, ut ipse Triferius in potestate habeat, quando voluerit ei relaxare."

Here is the bishop censuring Palladius the laic, and excommunicating Exuperantius the priest, and this having been done by his own sole authority, was ratified by the council, and the absolution reserved to the bishop too, which indeed was an act of favour; for they having complained to the council, by the council might have been absolved; but they were pleased to reserve to the bishop his own power.

These are particular instances, and made public by acts conciliary intervening.

But it was the general canon and law of Holy Church.

Thus we have it expressed in the council of Agatho: "Contumaces vero clerici, prout dignitatis ordo promiserit, ab episcopis corrigantur:" "Refractory clerks must be punished by their bishops, according as the order of their dignity allows."[s] I end this particular with some canons, commanding clerks to submit to the judgment and censures of their bishop, under a canonical penalty; and so go on "ad alia."

In the second council of Carthage: "Alypius episcopus dixit, nec illud prætermittendum est, ut si quis fortè presbyter, ab episcopo suo correptus, aut excommunicatus, rumore vel superbiâ inflatus putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare contra ecclesiasticam fidem disciplinamque crediderit, non exeat impunitus."[t] And the same is repeated in the Greek code of the African canons: "If any presbyter, being excommunicated, or otherwise punished by his bishop, shall not desist, but contest with his bishop, let him by no means go unpunished."[u] The like is in the council of Chalcedon;[x] the words are the same that I before cited out of the canons of the council of Antioch, and of the apostles. But Carosus, the archimandrite, spake home in that action: Κάρωσος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἀρχιμανδρίτης εἶπε· Τὴν τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενομένων πατέρων πίστιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐβαπτίσθην, οἶδα. Ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ ἄλλην πίστιν οὐκ οἶδα. Ἐπίσκοποί εἰσι, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἀφορίσαι, καὶ καθαιρῆσαι. Καὶ εἴ τι θέλωσιν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι. Πλείω ταύτης ἐγὼ ἄλλην οὐκ οἶδα. "The faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers of the council of Nice, into which I was baptized, I know; other faith I know not. They are bishops; they have power to excommunicate and condemn, and they have power to do what they please: other faith than this I know none."[y] This is to purpose, and it was in one of the four great councils of christendom, which all ages since have received, with all veneration and devout estimate.

Another of them was that of Ephesus, convened against Nestorius, and this ratifies those acts of condemnation, which the bishops had passed upon delinquent clerks. Ὅσοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀτόποις πράξεσι κατεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων, &c. "They who are, for their unworthy practices, condemned by the synod, or by their own bishops;"[z] although Nestorius did endeavour to restore them, yet their condemnation should still remain vigorous and confirmed. Upon which canon Balsamon makes this observation, which indeed, of itself, is clear enough in the canon. Ἐμαθες ὅτι μητροπολίται καὶ ἐπίσκοποι δύνανται κρίνειν τοὺς κληρικοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφορισμῷ ἢ καὶ καθαιρέσει ἐστὶν ὅτε καθυποβάλλειν· "Hence you have learned that metropolitans and bishops can judge their clergy, and suspend them, and sometimes depose them." Nay, they are bound to it: "Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet (ne per plures serpant dira contagia) separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam:" "It is necessary that the bishop should separate the scabbed sheep from the sound, lest their infection scatter;" So St. Austin. And, therefore, the fourth council of Carthage commands,[a] "Ut episcopus accusatores fratrum excommunicet;" "That the bishop excommunicate the accuser of their brethren;"[b] (viz. such as bring clergy-causes and catholic doctrine to be punished in secular tribunals;) for excommunication is called, by the fathers, "mucro episcopalis," the "bishop's sword," to cut offenders off from the catholic communion. I add no more but that excellent saying of St.

[p] Tripart. Hist. lib. iii. c. 9.
[q] Tripart. Hist. lib. i. c. 12.
[r] Can. 4. Ann. Dom. 397.
[s] Cap. 2.
[t] Can. 8.
[u] Can. 10.
[x] Act. iv. can. 83.
[y] Post Epist. Archimandritarum ad Concilium pro Dioscori Rehabilitatione.
[z] Concil. Ephes. c. 5.
[a] Cap. 15. de Correpț. et Gratiâ.
[b] Can. 55

Austin, which doth freely attest both the preceptive and vindictive power of the bishop over his whole diocess: "Ergo præcipiant tantummodò nobis quid facere debeamus, qui nobis præsunt, et faciamus orent pro nobis, non autem nos corripiant, et arguant, si non fecerimus. Imò omnia fiant, quoniam doctores ecclesiarum apostoli omnia faciebant, et præcipiebant quæ fierent, et corripiebant si non fierent," &c.[c] And again: "Corripiantur itaque à præpositis suis subditi correptionibus de caritate venientibus, pro culparum diversitate diversis, vel minoribus, vel amplioribus, quia et ipsa, quæ damnatio nominatur, quam facit episcopale judicium, quâ pœnâ in ecclesiâ nulla major est, potest, si Deus voluerit, in correptionem saluberrimam cedere, atque proficere."[d] Here the bishops have a power acknowledged in them, to command their diocess, and to punish the disobedient, and of excommunication by way of proper ministry, "damnatio quam facit episcopale judicium," "a condemnation of the bishop's infliction."

Thus it is evident, by the constant practice of primitive christendom, by the canons of three general councils, and divers other provincial, which are made catholic by adoption, and in inserting them into the code of the catholic church, that the bishop was judge of his clergy, and of the laypeople of his diocess; that he had power to inflict censures upon them, in case of delinquency; that his censures were firm and valid; and as yet, we find no presbyters joining either in commission or fact, in power or exercise; but excommunication and censures to be appropriated to bishops, and to be only despatched by them, either in full council, if it was a bishop's cause, or in his own consistory, if it was the cause of a priest, or the inferior clergy, or a laic, unless in cases of appeal, and then it was "in pleno concilio episcoporum," "in a synod of bishops;" and all this was confirmed by secular authority, as appears in the imperial constitutions.

For the making up this paragraph complete, I must insert two considerations.

First, concerning universality of causes within the bishop's cognizance. And, secondly, of persons.[e]

The ancient canons, asserting the bishop's power, "in cognitione causarum," speak in most large and comprehensive terms. Καὶ εἴ τι θέλωσιν, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι· "They have power to do what they list." Their power is as large as their will. So the council of Chalcedon, before cited. It was no larger, though, than St. Paul's expression: "For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things."[f] A large extent of power, when the apostles expected a universal obedience. Ἐν πᾶσι. And so the style of the church runs in descension, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· so Ignatius; "Ye must do nothing without your bishop:" καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν, "to contradict him in nothing."[g] The expression is frequent in him, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν, "to comprehend all things in his judgment or cognizance;" so the council of Antioch.[h]

But these universal expressions must be understood, "secundùm materiam subjectam;" so St. Ignatius expresses himself. Ye must without your bishop do nothing; nothing τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, "of things pertaining to the church." So also the council of Antioch, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, "the things of the church," are τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ πεπιστευμένου πάντα τὸν λαὸν, "committed to the bishop to whom all the people is intrusted." They are ecclesiastical persons, it is an ecclesiastical power they are endowed with, it is for a spiritual end, viz. the regiment of the church, and the good of souls, and, therefore, only those things which are in this order are of episcopal cognizance. And what are those things?

1. Then it is certain, that since Christ hath professed his kingdom is not of this world, that government which he hath constituted "de novo," does no way in the world, make any entrenchment upon the royalty.

> Hostis Herodes impie,
> Christum venire quid times?
> Non eripit mortalia,
> Qui regna dat cœlestia.

So the church used to sing. Whatsoever, therefore the secular tribunal did take cognizance of before it was christian, the same it takes notice of after it is christened. And these are all actions civil, all public violations of justice, all breach of municipal laws. These the church hath nothing to do with unless, by the favour of princes and commonwealths it be indulged to them "in honorem Dei et S. Matris ecclesiæ;" but then when it is once indulged, that act which does annul such pious vows, is just contrary to that religion which first gave them; and then unless there was sin in the donative, the ablation of it is "contra honorem Dei et S. Matris ecclesiæ." But this, it may be, is impertinent.

2. The "bishop's all" comes in after this; and he is judge of all those causes which christianity hath brought in upon a new stock, by its new distinctive principles. I say by its "new principles;" for there where it extends justice, and pursues the laws of nature, there the secular tribunal is also extended, if it be christian; the bishop gets nothing of that: but those things which christianity, as it prescinds from the interest of the republic, hath introduced, all them, and all the causes emergent from them, the bishop is judge of. Such are causes of faith, ministration of sacraments, and sacramentals, subordination of inferior clergy to their superior, censures, irregularities, orders hierarchical, rites and ceremonies, liturgies, and public forms of prayer, (as is famous in the ancient story of Ignatius teaching his church the first use of antiphonas and doxologies, and thence was derived to all churches of christendom,[i]) and all such things as are in immediate dependence of these, as dispensation of church-vessels, and ornaments, and goods, receiving and disposing the patrimony of the church, and what-

[c] Ubi suprà, c. 3.
[d] Cap. 15. ibid.
[e] Novel. Constit. 123. c. 11.
[f] 2 Cor. ii. 9.
[g] Ubi suprà.
[h] Can. 9.
[i] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 9.

soever is of the same consideration, according to the forty-first canon of the apostles; "Præcipimus ut in potestate suâ episcopus ecclesiæ res habeat: "Let the bishop have the disposing the goods of the church;" adding this reason: "Si enim animæ hominum pretiosæ illi sint creditæ, multò magis eum oportet curam pecuniarum gerere:" "He that is intrusted with our precious souls, may, much more, be intrusted with the offertories of faithful people."

3. There are some things of a mixed nature, and something of the secular interest and something of the ecclesiastical concur to their constitution, and these are of double cognizance; the secular power and the ecclesiastical do both, in their several capacities, take knowledge of them. Such are the delinquencies of clergymen, who are both clergy and subjects too; "clerus Domini," and "regis subditi;" and for their delinquencies, which are "in materiâ justitiæ," the secular tribunal punishes, as being a violation of that right which the state must defend, but because done by a person who is a member of the sacred hierarchy, and hath also an obligation of special duty to his bishop, therefore the bishop also may punish him; and when the commonwealth hath inflicted a penalty, the bishop also may impose a censure, for every sin of a clergyman is two. But of this nature also are the convening of synods, the power whereof is in the king, and in the bishop severally, insomuch as both the church and the commonwealth in their several respects have peculiar interest; the commonwealth for preservation of peace and charity, in which religion hath the deepest interest; and the church, for the maintenance of faith. And therefore both prince and bishop have indicted synods in several ages, upon the exigence of several occasions, and have several powers for the engagement of clerical obedience, and attendance upon such solemnities.

4. Because christianity is after the commonwealth, and is a capacity superadded to it, therefore those things which are of mixed cognizance, are chiefly in the king; the supremacy here is his, and so it is in all things of this nature, which are called ecclesiastical; because they are "in materiâ ecclesiæ, ad finem religionis:" but they are of a different nature and use from things spiritual, because they are not issues of those things which christianity hath introduced "de integro," and are separate from the interest of the commonwealth in its particular capacity, for such things only are properly spiritual.

5. The bishop's jurisdiction hath a compulsory derived from Christ only, viz. infliction of censures by excommunications, or other "minores plagæ," which are in order to it. But yet this internal compulsory, through the duty of good princes to God, and their favour to the church, is assisted by the secular arm, either superadding a temporal penalty in case of contumacy, or some other way abetting the censures of the church, and it ever was so since commonwealths were christian. So that ever since then episcopal jurisdiction hath a double part; an external, and an internal; this is derived from Christ, that from the king; which because it is concurrent in all acts of jurisdiction, therefore it is that the king is supreme of the jurisdiction, viz. that part of it which is the external compulsory.

And for this cause we shall sometimes see the emperor, or his prefect, or any man of consular dignity, sit judge when the question is of faith; not that the prefect was to judge of that, or that the bishops were not; but in case of the pervicacy of a peevish heretic, who would not submit to the power of the church, but flew to the secular power for assistance, hoping, by taking sanctuary there, to engage the favour of the prince. In this case the bishops also appealed thither, not for resolution, but assistance and sustentation of the church's power. It was so in the case of Ætius the Arian, and Honoratus the prefect, Constantius being emperor.[k] For all that the prefect did, or the emperor in this case, was by the prevalency of his intervening authority to reconcile the disagreeing parties, and to encourage the catholics; but the precise act of judicature, even in this case, was in the bishops; for they deposed Ætius for his heresy, for all his confident appeal; and Macedonius, Eleusius, Basilius, Ortasius, and Dracontius, for personal delinquencies. And all this is but to reconcile this act to the resolution and assertion of St. Ambrose, who refused to be tried in a cause of faith by lay judges, though delegates of the emperor. "Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causâ fidei laicos de episcopo judicâsse? "When was it ever known that laymen, in a cause of faith, did judge a bishop?"[l] To be sure, it was not in the case of Honoratus the prefect; for if they had appealed to him, or to his master Constantius, for judgment of the article, and not for encouragement and secular assistance, St. Ambrose in his confident question of "Quando audisti?" had quickly been answered, even with saying, "Presently after the council of Ariminum, in the case of Ætius and Honoratus." Nay, it was one of the causes why St. Ambrose deposed Palladius in the council of Aquileia, because he refused to answer, except it were before some honourable personages of the laity. And it is observable that the Arians were the first (and indeed they offered at it often) that did desire princes to judge matters of faith; for they, despairing of their cause in a conciliary trial, hoped to engage the emperor on their party, by making him umpire. But the catholic bishops made humble and fair remonstrance of the distinction of powers and jurisdictions; and as they might not intrench upon the royalty, so neither betray that right, which Christ concredited to them, to the encroachment of an exterior jurisdiction and power. It is a good story that Suidas tells of Leontius,[m] bishop of Tripolis, in Lydia, a man so famous and exemplary, that he was called ὁ κάνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, "the rule of the church,"—that when Constantius the emperor did preside amongst the bishops, and undertook to determine causes of mere spiritual cognizance, instead of a "placet," he gave

[k] Tripart. Hist. lib. v. c. 35.
[l] St. Ambrose, Epist. lib. ii. epist. 13.
[m] In verbo Λεόντιος.

this answer, "Θαυμάζω (ἔφη) ὅπως ἕτερα διέπειν ταχθεὶς, ἑτέροις ἐπιχειρεῖς· στρατιωτικῶν μὲν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων προεστηκὼς, ἐπισκόποις δὲ περὶ τῶν εἰς μόνους ἐπισκόπους ἡκόντων διαταττόμενος." Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα καταιδεσθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἤδη διακελεύσεως. "I wonder that thou, being set over things of a different nature, meddlest with those things that only appertain to bishops: the militia and the politia are thine, but matters of faith and spirit are of episcopal cognizance." Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Λεόντιος ἐλευθέριος· "Such was the freedom of the ingenuous Leontius." Answerable to which was that christian and fair acknowledgment of Valentinian, when the Arian bishops of Bithynia and the Hellespont sent Hypatianus, their legate, to desire him, "Ut dignaretur ad emendationem dogmatis interesse," "That he would be pleased to mend the article." "Respondens Valentinianus, ait, 'Mihi quidem, quum unus de populo sim, fas non est talia perscrutari: verùm sacerdotes apud seipsos congregentur ubi voluerint.' Cùmque hæc respondisset princeps, in Lampsacum convenerunt episcopi." So Sozomen reports the story.[n] The emperor would not meddle with matters of faith, but referred the deliberation and decision of them to the bishops, to whom by God's law they did appertain; upon which intimation given, the bishops convened in Lampsacum. And thus a double power met in the bishops. A divine right to decide the article. "Mihi fas non est," saith the emperor; "It is not lawful for me to meddle." And then a right from the emperor to assemble, for he gave them leave to call a council. These are two distinct powers, one from Christ, the other from the prince.

And now, upon this occasion, I have fair opportunity to insert a consideration. The bishops have power over all causes emergent in their diocesses; all I mean in the sense above explicated; they have power to inflict censures; excommunication is the highest, the rest are parts of it, and in order to it. Whether or no must church-censures be used in all such causes as they take cognizance of, or may not the secular power find out some external compulsory instead of it, and forbid the church to use excommunication in certain cases?

1. To this I answer, that if they be such cases in which by the law of Christ they may, or such in which they must use excommunication, then in these cases no power can forbid them. For what power Christ hath given them, no man can take away.

2. As no human power can disrobe the church of the power of excommunication, so no human power can invest the church with a lay-compulsory. For if the church be not capable of a "jus gladii," as most certainly she is not, the church cannot receive power to put men to death, or to inflict lesser pains in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance, I mean in the formality of a church-tribunal, then they give the church what she must not, cannot take. I deny not but clergymen are as capable of the power of life and death as any men; but not in the formality of clergymen. A court of life and death cannot be an ecclesiastical tribunal; and then if any man, or company of men, should persuade the church not to inflict her censures upon delinquents, in some cases in which she might lawfully inflict them, and pretend to give her another compulsory; they take away the church-consistory, and erect a very secular court, dependent on themselves, and by consequence to be appealed to from themselves, and so also to be prohibited as the lay-superior shall see cause for. Whoever, therefore, should be consenting to any such permutation of power, is "Traditor potestatis quam S. Mater ecclesia a Sponso suo acceperat;" "He betrays the individual and inseparable right of Holy Church." For her censure she may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave. Christ is her αὐθεντία for that, he is her "warrant and security." The other is begged or borrowed, none of her own, nor of a fit edge to be used in her abscissions and coercions. I end this consideration with that memorable canon of the apostles, of so frequent use in this question. Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα· "Let the bishop have the care of provision for all affairs of the church, and let him dispense them "velut Deo contemplante," "as in the sight of God," to whom he must be responsive for all his diocess.[o]

The next consideration concerning the bishop's jurisdiction, is of what persons he is judge? and because our scene lies here in church-practice, I shall only set down the doctrine of the primitive church in this affair, and leave it under that representation.

Presbyters, and deacons, and inferior clerks, and the laity, are already involved in the precedent canons; no man there was exempted, of whose soul any bishop had charge. And all Christ's sheep hear his voice, and the call of his shepherd-ministers. Theodoret tells a story, that when the bishops of the province were assembled by the command of Valentinian, the emperor, for the choice of a successor to Auxentius, in the see of Milan,—the emperor wished them to be careful in the choice of a bishop in these words: Τοιοῦτον δὲ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐγκαθιδρύσατε θώκοις, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλάς· "Set such an one in the archiepiscopal throne, that we, who rule the kingdom, may sincerely submit our head unto him,"[p] viz. in matters of spiritual import. And since all power is derived from Christ, who is a King, and a Priest, and a Prophet, christian kings are "Christi domini," and vicars in his regal power, but bishops in his sacerdotal and prophetical. So that the king hath a supreme regal power in causes of the church, ever since his kingdom became christian, and it consists in all things, in which the priestly office is not precisely by God's law, employed for regiment, and cure of souls, and in these, also, all the external compulsory and jurisdiction is his own. For when his subjects became christian subjects, himself also, upon the same terms, becomes a christian ruler, and in both capacities he is

[n] Tripart. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 12.

[o] Can. 39.

[p] Theodoret. lib. iv. c. 5.

to rule, viz. both as subjects and as christian subjects, except only in the precise issues of sacerdotal authority. And, therefore, the kingdom and the priesthood are excelled by each other in their several capacities. For superiority is usually expressed in three words, *ὑπεροχὴ*, *ἀρχὴ*, and *ἐξουσία*, "excellency, impery, and power." The king is supreme to the bishop in impery; the bishop hath an excellency, viz. of spiritual ministration, which Christ hath not concredited to the king; but in power, both king and bishop have it distinctly in several capacities; the king "in potentiâ gladii," the bishop "in potestate clavium." The sword and the keys are the emblems of their distinct power. Something like this is in the third epistle of St. Clement, translated by Ruffinus: "Quid enim in præsenti sæculo prophetâ gloriosius, pontifice clarius, rege sublimius?" "king, and priest, and prophet, are, in their several excellencies, the highest powers under Heaven." In this sense, it is easy to understand those expressions often used in antiquity, which might seem to make entrenchment upon the sacredness of royal prerogatives; were not both the piety and sense of the church sufficiently clear in the issues of her humblest obedience. And this is the sense of St. Ignatius, that holy martyr and disciple of the apostles: "Diaconi, et reliquus clerus, unà cum populo universo, militibus, principibus, et Cæsare, ipsi episcopo pareant:" "Let the deacons, and all the clergy, and all the people, the soldiers, the princes, and Cæsar himself, obey the bishop."[q] This is it which St. Ambrose said: "Sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. Si regum fulgori compares, et principum diademati, erit inferius," &c.[r] This also was acknowledged by the great Constantine, that most blessed prince: "Deus vos constituit sacerdotes, et potestatem vobis dedit, de nobis quoque judicandi, et ideo nos à vobis rectè judicamur. Vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari," viz. "sæcularibus," and "in causis simplicis religionis." So that good emperor, in his oration to the Nicene fathers.

It was a famous contestation that St. Ambrose had with Auxentius, the Arian, pretending the emperor's command to him, to deliver up some certain churches in his diocess to the Arians. His answer was, that palaces belonged to the emperor, but churches to the bishop;[s] and so they did by all the laws of christendom. The like was in the case of St. Athanasius and Constantius the emperor, exactly the same "per omnia," as it is related by Ruffinus.[t] St. Ambrose, sending his deacon to the emperor, to desire him to go forth of the cancelli, in his church at Milan,—shows that then the powers were so distinct, that they made no entrenchment upon each other. It was no greater power, but a more considerable act, and higher exercise, the forbidding the communion to Theodosius, till he had, by repentance, washed out the blood that stuck upon him ever since the massacre at Thessalonica.[u] It was a wonderful concurrence of piety in the emperor, and resolution and authority in the bishop. But he was not the first that did it; for Philip, the emperor, was also guided by the pastoral rod, and the severity of the bishop. "De hoc traditum est nobis, quòd Christianus fuerit, et in die paschæ, *i. e.* in ipsis vigiliis, cùm interesse voluerit, et communicare mysteriis, ab episcopo loci non priùs esse permissum, nisi confiteretur peccata, et inter pœnitentes staret, nec ullo modo sibi copiam mysteriorum futuram nisi, priùs per pœnitentiam culpas, quæ de eo ferebantur plurimæ, deluisset:" "The bishop of the place would not let him communicate, till he had washed away his sins by repentance." And the emperor did so. "Ferunt igitur libenter eum quod a sacerdote imperatum fuerat, suscepisse:" "He did it willingly, undertaking the impositions laid upon him by the bishop."[x]

I doubt not but all the world believes the dispensation of the sacraments entirely to belong to ecclesiastical ministry.

It was St. Chrysostom's command to his presbyters, to reject all wicked persons from the holy communion. "If he be a captain, a consul, or a crowned king, that cometh unworthily, forbid him, and keep him off; thy power is greater than his. If thou darest not remove him, tell it me, I will not suffer it," &c.[y] And had there never been more error in the managing church-censures than in the foregoing instances, the church might have exercised censures, and all the parts of power that Christ gave her, without either scandal or danger to herself or her penitents. But when in the very censure of excommunication, there is a new ingredient put, a great proportion of secular inconveniences and human interest, when excommunications, as in the apostle's times they were deliverings over to Satan, so now shall be deliverings over to a foreign enemy or the people's rage; as then to be buffeted, so now to be deposed, or disinterested in the allegiance of subjects; in these cases, excommunication being nothing like that which Christ authorized, and no way co-operating toward the end of its institution, but to an end of private designs and rebellious interest, bishops have no power of such censures, nor is it lawful to inflict them, things remaining in that consistence and capacity. And thus is that famous saying to be understood, reported by St. Thomas to be St. Austin's, but is indeed found in the ordinary gloss upon Matt. xiii. "Princeps et multitudo non est excommunicanda:" "A prince or a commonwealth are not to be excommunicate."[z]

Thus I have given a short account of the persons and causes, of which bishops, according to catholic practice, did and might take cognizance. This use only I make of it. Although Christ hath given great authority to his church, in order to the regiment of souls, such a power, "quæ nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari," yet it hath its limits, and a proper cognizance, viz. things spiritual, and the

[q] Epist. ad Philadelph.
[r] Lib. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 2.
[s] Lib. x. Eccles. Hist. c. 2.
[t] Ibid. c. 19.
[u] Theodor. lib. v. c. 18
[x] Euseb. lib. vi. c. 25.
[y] Homil. 83. in Matt. xxvi.
[z] In 3. Partis Supplemen. q. 22. a. 5. Vide Aug. Ep. 75. et Gratian. Dist. 21. q. 2. c. Si habet, sed ibi "princeps" non inseritur, sed tantùm in glossâ ordinariâ.

emergencies, and consequents from those things which christianity hath introduced "de novo," and superadded, as things totally disparate from the precise interest of the commonwealth; and this I the rather noted, to show how those men would mend themselves that cry down the tyranny, as they list to call it, of episcopacy, and yet call for the presbytery. "For the presbytery does challenge cognizance of all causes whatsoever, which are either sins directly or by reduction: all crimes which, by the law of God, deserve death."[z] There they bring in murders, treasons, witchcrafts, felonies. Then the minor faults they bring in under the title of "scandalous and offensive." Nay, "quodvis peccatum," saith Snecanus, to which if we add this consideration, that they believe "every action of any man to have in it the malignity of a damnable sin," there is nothing in the world, good or bad, vicious or suspicious, scandalous or criminal, true or imaginary, real actions or personal; in all which, and in all contestations and complaints, one party is delinquent, either by false accusation or real injury: but they comprehend in their vast gripe, and then they have power to nullify, all courts and judicatories, besides their own; and being, for this their cognizance they pretend Divine institution, there shall be no causes imperfect in their consistory, no appeal from them, but they shall hear and determine with final resolution, and it will be sin, and therefore punishable, to complain of injustice and illegality. If this be confronted but with the pretences of episcopacy, and the modesty of their several demands, and the reasonableness and divinity of each vindication examined, I suppose were there nothing but prudential motives to be put into the balance, to weigh down this question, the cause would soon be determined; and the little finger of presbytery, not only in its exemplary and tried practices, but in its dogmatical pretensions, is heavier than the loins, nay, than the whole body of episcopacy; but it seldom happens otherwise, but that they who usurp a power prove tyrants in the execution, whereas the issues of a lawful power are fair and moderate.

SECTION XXXVII.

Forbidding Presbyters to officiate without Episcopal License.

But I must proceed to the more particular instances of episcopal jurisdiction. The whole power of ministration, both of the word and sacraments, was in the bishop by prime authority, and in the presbyters by commission and delegation, insomuch that they might not exercise any ordinary ministration without license from the bishop. They had power and capacity by their order to preach, to minister, to offer, to reconcile, and to baptize. They were, indeed, acts of order, but that they might not, by the law of the church, exercise any of these acts without license from the bishop, that is an act or issue of jurisdiction, and shows the superiority of the bishop over his presbyters, by the practice of christendom.

St. Ignatius hath done very good offices in all the parts of this question, and here also he brings in succour. Οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· "It is not lawful without the bishop," viz. without his leave, "either to baptize, or to offer sacrifice, or to make oblation, or to keep feasts of charity:"[a] and a little before, speaking of the blessed eucharist, and its ministration, and having premised a general interdict for doing any thing without the bishop's consent, Ἐκείνη δὲ βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· "But let that eucharist," saith he, "be held valid, which is celebrated under the bishop, or under him to whom the bishop shall permit."

I do not here dispute the matter of right, and whether or no the presbyters might "de jure" do any offices without episcopal license, but whether or no "de facto," it was permitted them in the primitive church? This is sufficient to show to what issue the reduction of episcopacy to a primitive consistence will drive; and if I mistake not, it is at least a very probable determination of the question of right too. For who will imagine that bishops should at the first, in the calenture of their infant devotion, in the new spring of christianity, in the times of persecution, in all the public disadvantages of state and fortune, when they anchored only upon the shore of a holy conscience, that then they should have thoughts ambitious, encroaching, of usurpation and advantages, of purpose to divest their brethren of an authority intrusted them by Christ; and then, too, when all the advantage of their honour did only set them upon a hill, to feel a stronger blast of persecution, and was not, as since it hath been, attested with secular assistance and fair arguments of honour, but was only in a mere spiritual estimate, and ten thousand real disadvantages. This will not be supposed either of wise or holy men. But however, "valeat quantum valere potest." The question is now of matter of fact; and if the church of martyrs, and the church of saints, and doctors, and confessors, now regnant in heaven, be fair precedents for practices of christianity, we build upon a rock, though we had digged no deeper than this foundation of catholic practice.

Upon the hopes of these advantages, I proceed. Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγωγὴν καὶ θυσιαστήριον πήξει, καθαιρείσθω· "If any presbyter, disrespecting his own bishop, shall make conventions apart, or erect an altar," (viz. without the bishop's license,) "let him be deposed;"[b] clearly intimating that "potestas faciendi concionem," "the power of making of

[z] Vide the book of Order of Excommun. in Scotland, and the Hist. of Scotland. Admonit. 2. p. 46. Knox's Exhortation to England.

[a] Epist. ad Smyrn.

[b] Can. Apost. 32.

church-meetings, and assemblies," for preaching or other offices, is derived from the bishop; and therefore the canon adds, *καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος· Τύραννος γάρ ἐστι·* "He is a lover of rule, he is a tyrant;" that is, a usurper of that power and government which belongs to the bishop. The same thing is also decreed in the council of Antioch, and in the council of Chalcedon: *Πάντες οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, οὗτος δίκαιος κάνων, οὗτος ὁ κάνων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων·* "All the most reverend bishops cried out, This is a righteous law, this is the canon of the holy fathers."[c] "This," viz. the canon apostolical, now cited. Tertullian is something more particular, and instances in baptism: "Dandi baptismum jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter honorem ecclesiæ quo salvo salva pax est; alioquin etiam laicis jus est."[d] The place is of great consideration, and carries in it its own objection and its answer. "The bishop hath the right of giving baptism. Then after him, presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop;" (so far the testimony is clear;) "and this is for the honour of the church." But does not this intimate it was only by positive constitution, and neither by Divine nor apostolical ordinance? No, indeed, it does not. For it might be so ordained by Christ or his apostles, "propter honorem ecclesiæ;" and no harm done. For it is honourable for the church, that her ministrations should be most ordinate; and so they are when they descend from the superior to the subordinate. But the next words do of themselves make answer, "otherwise laymen have right to baptize;" that is "without the consent of the bishop, laymen can do it as much as presbyters and deacons." For, indeed, baptism conferred by laymen is valid, and not to be repeated; but yet they ought not to administer it, so neither ought presbyters without the bishop's license; so says Tertullian; let him answer it. Only the difference is this, laymen cannot "jure ordinario" receive a leave or commission, to make it lawful in them to baptize any; presbyters and deacons may; for their order is a capacity of possibility. But besides the sacrament of baptism, Tertullian affirms the same of the venerable eucharist: "Eucharistiæ sacramentum non de aliorum manu quàm præsidentium sumimus."[e] The former place will expound this, if there be any scruple in "præsidentium;" for clearly the christians receive the sacrament of the eucharist from none but bishops. I suppose he means "without episcopal license." Whatsoever his meaning is, these are his words.

The council of Gangra, forbidding conventicles, expresses it with this intimation of episcopal authority: "If any man shall make assemblies privately, and out of the church, so despising the church, or shall do any church offices," *μὴ συνίοντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω·* "without the presence of a priest, by the decree of a bishop, let him be anathema."[f] The priest is not to be assistant at any meeting for private offices, without the bishop's license. If they will celebrate synaxes privately, it must be by a priest; and he must be there by leave of the bishop; and then the assembly is lawful. And this thing was so known, that the fathers of the second council of Carthage call it ignorance or hypocrisy in priests, to do their offices without a license from the bishop. "Numidius episcopus Massilytanus dixit, In quibusdam locis sunt presbyteri qui, aut ignorantes simpliciter, aut dissimulantes audacter, præsente et inconsulto episcopo, complurimis in domiciliis agunt agenda, quod disciplinæ incongruum cognoscit esse sanctitas vestra:" "In some places there are priests that in private houses do offices," (houseling of people is the office meant, communicating them at home,) "without the consent or leave of the bishop, being either simply ignorant or boldly dissembling;"[g] implying that they could not else but know their duties to be, to procure episcopal license for their ministrations. "Ab universis episcopis dictum est, Quisquis presbyter inconsulto episcopo agenda in quolibet loco voluerit celebrare, ipse honori suo contrarius existit: "All the bishops said, If any priest, without leave of his bishop, shall celebrate the mysteries, be the place what it will be, he is an enemy to the bishop's dignity."

After this in time, but before in authority, is the great council of Chalcedon: *Οἱ κληρικοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παράδοσιν, διαμενέτωσαν·* "Let the clergy, according to the tradition of the fathers, remain under the power of the bishops of the city."[h] So that they are, for their offices, in dependence of the authority of the bishop. The canon instances particularly to priests officiating in monasteries and hospitals, but extends itself to an indefinite expression, *καὶ μὴ καταυθαδιάρεσθαι, ἢ ἀφηνιᾶν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου·* "They must not dissent or differ from their bishop;" *οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τοιαύτην διατύπωσιν καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον*, &c. "All they that transgress this constitution, in any way, not submitting to their bishop, let them be punished canonically." So that now these general expressions of obedience and subordination to the bishop, being to be understood according to the exigence of the matter, to wit, the ministries of the clergy in their several offices,—the canon extends its prohibition to all ministrations, without the bishop's authority.

But it was more clearly and evidently law and practice in the Roman church; we have good witness for it; St. Leo, the bishop of that church, is my author: "Sed neque coram episcopo licet presbyteris in baptisterium introire, nec præsente antistite infantem tingere, aut signare, nec pœnitentem sine præceptione episcopi sui reconciliare, nec eo præsente, nisi illo jubente, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, nec eo coràm posito populum docere, vel benedicere," &c. "It is not lawful for the presbyters to enter into the baptis-

[c] Can. 5. Acts iv.
[d] De Baptism.
[e] De Coronâ Milit. c. 3. Vide S. Chrysost. Hom. 11. in 1 Tim. et S. Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucif.
[f] Can. 6.
[g] Can. 9.
[h] Can. 8. part 2. Act. xiv.

tery, nor to baptize any catechumens, nor to consecrate the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, in the presence of the bishop, without his command."[i] From this place of St. Leo, if it be set in conjunction with the precedent, we have fair evidence of this whole particular. It is not lawful to do any offices without the bishop's leave; so St. Ignatius; so the canons of the apostles; so Tertullian; so the councils of Antioch and Chalcedon. It is not lawful to do any offices in the bishop's presence without leave; so St. Leo. The council of Carthage joins them both together, "neither in his presence, nor without his leave in any place."

Now, against this practice of the church, if any man should discourse as St. Jerome is pretended to do by Gratian, "Qui non vult presbyteros facere quæ jubentur à Deo, dicat quis major est Christo:" "He that will not let presbyters do what they are commanded to do by God, let him tell us if any man be greater than Christ;"[k] viz. whose command it is that presbyters should preach. Why then did the church require the bishop's leave? Might not presbyters do their duty without a license? This is it which the practice of the church is abundantly sufficient to answer. For to the bishop is committed the care of the whole diocess; he it is that must give the highest account for the whole charge; he it is who is appointed, by peculiar designation, to feed the flock; so the canon of the apostles;[l] so Ignatius;[m] so the council of Antioch;[n] so every where, the presbyters are admitted "in partem solicitudinis;" but still the jurisdiction of the whole diocess is in the bishop; and without the bishop's admission to a part of it "per traditionem subditorum," although the presbyter by his ordination have a capacity of preaching and administering sacraments, yet he cannot exercise this without designation of a particular charge, either temporary or fixed. And, therefore, it is that a presbyter may not do these acts without the bishop's leave, because they are actions of relation, and suppose a congregation to whom they must be administered, or some particular person; for a priest must not preach to the stones, as some say venerable Bede did; nor communicate alone: the word is destructive of the thing; nor baptize, unless he have a chrysome child, or a catechumen. So that all of the diocess being the bishop's charge, the bishop must either authorize the priest, or the priest must not meddle, lest he be (what St. Peter blamed) ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, "a bishop in another's diocess:" not that the bishop did license the acts precisely of baptizing, of consecrating, &c.; for these he had by his ordination: but that in giving license, he did give him a subject to whom he might apply these relative actions, and did "quoad hoc" take him "in partem solicitudinis," and concredit some part of his diocess to his administration "cum curâ animarum."

But then on the other side, because the whole cure of the diocess is in the bishop, he cannot exonerate himself of it, for it is a burden of Christ's imposing, or it is not imposed at all; therefore, this taking of presbyters into part of the regiment and care does not divest him of his own power, or any part of it, nor yet ease him of his care; but that as he must still ἐπισκοπεῖν, "visit" and "see to his diocess," so he hath authority still in all parts of his diocess; and this appears in these places now quoted; insomuch as when the bishop came to any place, there the "vicaria" of the presbyters did cease: "In præsentiâ majoris cessat potestas minoris." And though, because the bishop could not do all the minor and daily offices of the priesthood, in every congregation of his diocess, therefore he appointed priests, severally to officiate, himself looking to the metropolis, and the daughter-churches, by a general supravision; yet when the bishop came into any place of his diocess, there he, being present, might do any office, because it was in his own charge; which he might concredit to another, but not exonerate himself of it; and, therefore, "præsente episcopo," (say the council of Carthage and St. Leo,) "if the bishop be present," the presbyter, without leave, might not officiate; for he had no subjects of his own, but by trust and delegation; and this delegation was given him to supply the bishop's absence, who could not "simul omnibus interesse;" but then, where he was present, the cause of delegation ceasing, the jurisdiction also ceased, or was at least absorbed in the greater, and so, without leave, might not be exercised; like the stars, which in the noon-day have their own natural light, as much as in the night, but appear not, shine not, in the presence of the sun.

This, perhaps, will seem uncouth in those presbyters, who, (as the council of Carthage's expression is,) are "contrarii honori episcopali;" but yet, if we keep ourselves in our own form, where God hath placed us, and where we were in the primitive church, we shall find all this to be sooth, and full of order. For consider: the elder the prohibition was, the more absolute and indefinite it runs: "Without the bishop it is not lawful to baptize, to consecrate," &c. So Ignatius. The prohibition is without limit: but in descent of the church it runs, "præsente episcopo," "the bishop being present," they must not without leave. The thing is all one, and a derivation from the same original, to wit, the "universality of the bishop's jurisdiction;" but the reason of the difference of expression is this; at first presbyters were in cities with the bishop, and no parishes at all concredited to them. The bishops lived in cities; the presbyters preached, and offered κατ' οἶκον, "from house to house," according as the bishop directed them. Here they had no ordinary charge, and, therefore, the first prohibitions run indefinitely; they must not do any clerical offices "sine episcopo," "unless the bishop sends them." But then afterwards, when the parishes were distinct, and the presbyters fixed upon ordinary charges, then it was only "præsente episcopo," "if the bishop was present," they might not officiate without leave. For, in his absence, they might do it, I do not say without leave, but I say they had leave given them, when the bishop

[i] Epist. 86. [k] Dist. 95. cap. Ecce ego. [l] Can. 40. [m] Epist. ad. Ephes. [n] C. 21.

sent them to officiate in a village with ordinary or temporary residence, as it is to this day; when the bishop institutes to a particular charge, he also gives power "hoc ipso," of officiating in that place. So that at first, when they did officiate in places by temporary missions, then they were to have leave, but this license was also temporary; but when they were fixed upon ordinary charges, they might not officiate without leave, but then they had an ordinary leave given them, "in traditione subditorum," and that was done "in subsidium muneris episcopalis," because it was that part of the bishop's charge which he could not personally attend, for execution of the minor offices, and, therefore, concredited it to a presbyter; but if he was present, a new leave was necessary; because as the power always was in the bishop, so now the execution also did return to him when he was there in person; himself, if he listed, might officiate.

All this is excellently attested in the example of St. Austin, of whom Possidonius, in his life, reports, that being but a presbyter, Valerius, the bishop, being a Greek born, and not well spoken in the Latin tongue, and so unfit for public orations: "Eidem presbytero," (viz. to Austin,) "potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesiâ evangelium prædicandi ac frequentissimè tractandi, contra usum quidem, et consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum:" "He gave leave to Austin, then but presbyter, to preach in the church, even while himself was present; indeed against the use and custom of the African churches." And for this act of his he suffered soundly in his report, for the case was thus: in all Africa, ever since the first spring of the Arian heresy, the church had then suffered so much by the preaching of Arius, the presbyter, that they made a law not to suffer any presbyter to preach at all, at least in the mother church, and in the bishop's presence: Τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἐφ' οὗ Ἄρειος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτάραξε, saith Socrates; "Thence came this custom in the African churches." [o] But because Valerius saw St. Austin so able, and himself, for want of Latin, so unfit,—he gave leave to Austin to preach before him, against the custom of the African churches; but he adds this reason for his excuse too; it was not, indeed, the custom of Africa, but it was of the Oriental churches. For so Possidonius proceeds: "Sed et ille vir venerabilis, ac providus in Orientalibus ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens;" in the Levant it was usual for bishops to give presbyters leave to preach; "Dummodo factitaretur à presbytero quod à se episcopo impleri minime posse cernebat," which determines us fully in the business. For this leave to do offices was but there to be given "where the bishop himself could not fulfil the offices;" which shows the presbyters, in their several charges, whether of temporary mission, or fixed residence, to be but delegates and vicars of the bishop, admitted "in partem solicitudinis;" to assist the bishop in his great charge of the whole diocess.

Against this it is objected, out of St. Jerome, and it is recorded by Gratian, "Ecce ego dico præsentibus episcopis suis, atque adstantibus in altari, presbyteros posse sacramenta conficere;" "Behold, I say that presbyters may minister sacraments in presence of the bishop:" so Gratian quotes it, indeed; [p] but St. Jerome says the express contrary, unless we all have false copies. For in St. Jerome it is not "*ecce* ego dico," but "*nec* ego dico." He does not say it is lawful for presbyters to officiate in the presence of their bishop. Indeed St. Jerome is angry at Rusticus, bishop of Narbona, because he would not give leave to presbyters to preach, nor to bless, &c. This, perhaps it was not well done, but this makes not against the former discourse; for though it may be fit for the bishop to give leave, the church requiring it still more and more in descent of ages, and multiplication of christians and parishes,—yet it is clear that this is not to be done without the bishop's leave; for it is for this very thing that St. Jerome disputes against Rusticus, to show he did amiss, because he would not give his presbyters license. And this he also reprehends in his epistle, "ad Nepotianum:" "Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui:" "That presbyters might not be suffered to preach in presence of the bishop, that was an ill custom;" to wit, as things then stood; and it was mended presently after, for presbyters did preach in the bishop's presence, but it was by license from their ordinary. For so Possidonius relates, that upon this act of Valerius, before mentioned, "Postea currente et volante hujusmodi famâ, bono præcedente exemplo, acceptâ ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli, coram episcopis, populis tractare cœperunt verbum Dei:" "By occasion of this precedent it came to pass, that some presbyters did preach to the people in the bishop's presence, having first obtained faculty from the bishop so to do." And a little after it became a custom, from a general faculty and dispensation indulged to them in the second council of Vase. [q] Now, if this evidence of church-practice be not sufficient to reconcile us to St. Jerome, let him then first be reconciled to himself, and then we are sure to be helped: for, in his dialogue against the Luciferians, his words are these: "Cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot efficientur schismata quot sunt sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine episcopi missione neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeat baptizandi:" "Because the bishop hath an eminent power, and this power is necessary; thence it comes that neither presbyter nor deacon may so much as baptize without the bishop's leave."

This whole discourse shows clearly, not only the bishops to be superior in jurisdiction, but that they have sole jurisdiction, and the presbyters only in substitution and vicarage.

[o] Lib. v. c. 22.

[p] Ad Rustic. Narbon. dist. 95. can. Ecce ego. [q] Can. 12.

SECTION XXXVIII.

Reserving Church-Goods to Episcopal Dispensation.

Divers other acts there are to attest the superiority of the bishop's jurisdiction over priests and deacons, as that all the goods of the church were in the bishop's sole disposing; and as at first they were laid at the apostles' feet, so afterwards at the bishops'. So it is in the forty-first canon of the apostles; so it is in the council of Gangra: and all the world are excluded from intervening in the dispensation, without express delegation from the bishop, as appears in the seventh and eighth canons, and that under pain of an anathema by the holy council. And, therefore, when, in success of time, some patrons, that had founded churches and endowed them, thought that the dispensation of those lands did not belong to the bishop; of this the third council of Toledo complains, and makes remedy, commanding, "ut omnia, secundum constitutionem antiquam, ad episcopi ordinationem et potestatem pertineant."[a] The same is renewed in the fourth council of Toledo: "Noverint autem conditores basilicarum, in rebus quas eisdem ecclesiis conferunt, nullam se potestatem habere, sed juxta canonum instituta, sicut ecclesiam, ita et dotem ejus ad ordinationem episcopi pertinere."[b] These councils I produce, not as judges, but as witnesses in the business; for they give concurrent testimony that "as the church itself, so the dowry of it too, did belong to the bishop's disposition by the ancient canons."[c] For so the third council of Toledo calls it, "antiquam constitutionem," and itself is almost 1100 years old; so that still I am precisely within the bounds of the primitive church, though it be taken in a narrow sense. For so it was determined in the great council of Chalcedon, commanding that the goods of the church should be dispensed by a clergy steward, *κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου*, "according to the pleasure or sentence of the bishop."

SECTION XXXIX.

Forbidding Presbyters to leave their own Diocess, or to travel, without Leave of the Bishop.

Add to this, that without the bishop's dimissory letters, presbyters might not go to another diocess. So it is decreed in the fifteenth canon of the apostles, under pain of "suspension or deposition;" *μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν* is the censure; and that especially, *εἰ, προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου αὐτοῦ, ἐπανελθεῖν οὐκ ὑπήκουσεν*, "if he would not return, when his bishop calls him." The same is renewed in the council of Antioch, cap. 3. and in the council of Constantinople in Trullo, cap. 17.; the censure there is, *καθαιρεῖσθω καὶ αὐτὸς*, "Let him be deposed that shall, without dimissory letters from the bishop," *ἐν ἑτέρᾳ κατατάττεσθαι ἐκκλησίᾳ*, "fix himself in the diocess of another bishop;" but with license of his bishop he may: "Sacerdotes, vel alii clerici, concessione suorum episcoporum, possunt ad alias ecclesias transmigrare."[d] But this is frequently renewed in many other synodal decrees; these may suffice for this instance.

But this not leaving the diocess, is not only meant of promotion in another church; but clergymen might not travel from city to city without the bishop's license; which is not only an argument of his regiment, "in genere politico," but extends it almost to a despotic; but so strict was the primitive church in preserving the strict tie of duty and clerical subordination to their bishop. The council of Laodicea commands a priest or clergyman, *ἄνευ κανονικῶν γραμμάτων μὴ ὁδεύειν*, "not to travel without canonical or dimissory letters."[e] And who are to grant these letters is expressed in the next canon, which repeats the same prohibition, *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κελεύσεως ἐπισκόπου ὁδεύειν*, "a priest or a clerk must not travel without the command of his bishop;"[f] and this prohibition is inserted into the body of the law, "De Consecrat. dist. 5. can. Non oportet," which puts in the clause of "Neque etiam laicum;" but this was beyond the council. The same is in the council of Agatho.[g] The council of Venice adds a censure,[h] that those clerks should be like persons excommunicate in all those places whither they went without letters of license from their bishop. The same penalty is inflicted by the council of Epaunum, "Presbytero, vel diacono, sine antistitis sui epistolis ambulanti, communionem nullus impendat."[i] The first council of Touraine, in France, and the third council of Orleans, attest the self-same power in the bishop, and duty in all his clergy.

SECTION XL.

And the Bishop had Power to prefer which of his Clerks he pleased.

But a coercitive authority makes not a complete jurisdiction, unless it be also remunerative; and "the princes of the nations are called *εὐεργέται*, benefactors;" for it is but half a tie to endear obedience, when the subject only fears "quod prodesse non poterit," "that which cannot profit." And, therefore, the primitive church, to make the episcopal jurisdiction up entire, gave power to the bishop to present the clerks of his diocess to the higher orders and nearer degrees of approximation to himself; and the clerks might not refuse to be so promoted. "Item placuit, ut quicunque clerici vel

[a] An Dom. 589. [b] Cap. 32.
[c] Can. 26. Vide Zonaram in hunc canonem. Videatur Concil. Carthag. Græc. can. 36, 38, et 41. et Balsam. ibid. et Apologia 2. Justini Martyris.

[d] Vide Concil. Epaun. c. 5. et Venet. c. 10.
[e] Can. 41. [f] Can. 42. [g] Can. 38.
[h] Can. 5. [i] Can. 6.

diaconi, pro necessitatibus ecclesiarum, non obtemperaverint episcopis suis, volentibus eos ad honorem ampliorem in sua ecclesia promovere, nec illic ministrent in gradu suo, unde recedere noluerunt." So it is decreed in the African code: "They that will not, by their bishop, be promoted to a greater honour in the church, must not enjoy what they have already."[a]

But it is a question of great consideration, and worth a strict inquiry, in whom the right and power of electing clerks was resident in the primitive church: for the right and the power did not always go together, and also several orders had several manners of election; presbyters and inferior clergy were chosen by the bishop alone; the bishop by a synod of bishops, or by their chapter; and lastly, because, of late, strong outcries are made upon several pretensions, amongst which the people make the biggest noise, though of all, their title to election of clerks be most empty; therefore let us consider it upon all its grounds.

1. In the Acts of the Apostles, which are most certainly the best precedents for all acts of Holy Church, we find that "Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church," and "they passed through Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and Derbe," *χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους*, "appointing them elders." St. Paul chose Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and he says of himself and Titus, "For this cause I sent thee to Crete," *ἵνα καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους*, "that thou shouldst appoint presbyters or bishops" (be they which they will) "in every city." The word *καταστήσῃς* signifies that the whole action was his. For that he ordained them, no man questions; but he also appointed them, and that was, saith St. Paul, *ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην*, "as I commanded thee."[b] It was, therefore, an apostolical ordinance, that the bishop should appoint presbyters. Let there be half so much shown for the people, and I will also endeavour to promote their interest. There is only one pretence of a popular election in Scripture; it is of the seven that were set over the widows. But first, this was no part of the hierarchy: this was no cure of souls: this was no Divine institution: it was in the dispensation of monies: it was by command of the apostles the election was made, and they might recede from their own right: it was to satisfy the multitude: it was to avoid scandal, which, in the dispensation of monies, might easily arise: it was in a temporary office: it was with such limitations and conditions as the apostles prescribed them: it was out of the number of the seventy that the election was made, if we may believe St. Epiphanius, so that they were presbyters before this choice: and lastly, it was only a nomination of seven men; the determination of the business, and the authority of rejection, was still in the apostles, and indeed the whole power "whom we may appoint over this business:" and after all this, there can be no hurt done by the objection, especially since clearly and indubiously the election of bishops and presbyters was in the apostles' own persons: *ὁ πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν*, saith St. Ignatius of Evodias: "Evodias was first appointed to be your governor or bishop by the apostles;"[c] and themselves did commit it to others that were bishops, as in the instances before reckoned. Thus the case stood in Scripture.

2. In the practice of the church it went according to the same law and practice apostolical. The people did not, might not, choose the ministers of Holy Church. So the council of Laodicea: *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.* "The people must not choose those that are to be promoted to the priesthood."[d] The prohibition extends to their non-election of all the superior clergy, bishops, and presbyters. But who then must elect them? The council of Nice determines that; for in the sixteenth and seventeenth canons, the council forbids any promotion of clerks to be made, but by the bishop of that church where they are first ordained: which clearly reserves to the bishop the power of retaining or promoting all his clergy.

3. All ordinations were made by bishops alone, as I have already proved. Now let this be confronted with the practice of primitive christendom, that no presbyter might be ordained "sine titulo," without a particular charge, which was always custom, and at last grew to be a law in the council of Chalcedon: and we shall perceive that the ordainer was the only chooser; for then to ordain a presbyter was also to give him a charge; and the patronage of a church was not a lay inheritance, but part of the bishop's cure, for he had *φροντίδα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν πόλει, καὶ χώρᾳ*, "the care of the churches in all the diocess;" as I have already shown. And, therefore, when St. Jerome, according to the custom of christendom, had specified some particular ordinations or election of presbyters by bishops, as how himself was made priest by Paulinus, and Paulinus by Epiphanius of Cyprus, "Gaudeat episcopus judicio suo, cùm tales Christo elegerit sacerdotes:" "Let the bishop rejoice in his own act, having chosen such worthy priests for the service of Christ."[e]

Thus St. Ambrose gives intimation, that the dispensing all the offices in the clergy was solely in the bishop: "Hæc spectet sacerdos, et quod cuique congruat, id officii deputet:" "Let the bishop observe these rules, and appoint every one his office, as is best answerable to his condition and capacity."[f] And Theodoret reports of Leontius, the bishop of Antioch, how, being an Arian, "Adversarios recti dogmatis suscipiens, licet turpem habentes vitam, ad presbyteratûs tamen ordinem et diaconatûs evexit. Eos autem qui universis virtutibus ornabantur et apostolica dogmata defendebant absque honore deseruit."[g] "He advanced his own faction, but would not promote any man that was catholic and pious." So he did. The power, therefore, of clerical promotion was in his own hands. This thing is evident and notorious; and

[a] Can. 31. [b] 1 Tit. v. 5.
[c] Epist. ad Antioch. [d] Can. 13.
[e] Epist. 61, et 62. Hieron. ad Nepotian.
[f] Lib. i. Offic. c. 44. [g] Tripart. Hist. lib. v. c. 32.

there is scarce any example in antiquity of either presbyters or people choosing any priest, but only in the case of St. Austin, whom the people's haste snatched, and carried him to their bishop, Valerius, entreating him to ordain him priest. This, indeed, is true, that the testimony of the people, for the life of them that were to be ordained, was by St. Cyprian ordinarily required: "In ordinandis clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare." "It was his custom to advise with his people concerning the public fame of clerks to be ordained;" it was usual, I say, with him, but not perpetual; for it was otherwise in the case of Celerinus, and divers others, as I showed elsewhere.

4. In election of bishops, though not of priests, the clergy and the people had a greater actual interest, and did often intervene with their silent consenting suffrages or public acclamations. But first; this was not necessary. It was otherwise amongst the apostles, and in the case of Timothy, of Titus, of St. James, of St. Mark, and all the successors, whom they did constitute in the several charges. 2. This was not by law, or right, but in fact only. It was against the canon of the Laodicean council, and the thirty-first canon of the apostles, which, under pain of deposition, commands that a bishop be not promoted to his church by the intervening of any lay power.[h]

Against this discourse St. Cyprian is strongly pretended: "Quando ipsa [plebs] maximè habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi: quod et ipsum videmus de Divinâ auctoritate descendere," &c. Thus he is usually cited: "The people have power to choose or to refuse their bishops, and this comes to them from Divine authority." No such matter. The following words expound him better: "Quod et ipsum videmus de Divinâ auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos, plebe præsente, sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur:" "That the bishop is chosen publicly, in the presence of the people, and he only be thought fit who is approved by public judgment and testimony;" or, as St. Paul's phrase is, "He must have a good report of all men:" that is indeed a Divine institution: and that to this purpose, and for the public attestation of the act of election and ordination, the people's presence was required, appears clearly by St. Cyprian's discourse in this epistle. For what is the Divine authority that he mentions? It is only the example of Moses, whom God commanded to take the son of Eleazar, and clothe him with his father's robes, "coram omni synagogâ," "before all the congregation." The people chose not; God chose Eleazar, and Moses consecrated him, and the people stood and looked on: that is all that this argument can supply. Just thus bishops are and ever were ordained: "Non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientiâ: "In the sight of the people standing by:" but to what end? "Ut, plebe præsente, detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur." All this while the election is not in the people, nothing but the public testimony and examination; for so it follows, "Et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata."

But St. Cyprian hath two more proofs whence we may learn either the sense or the truth of his assertion. The one is of the apostle's ordaining the seven deacons; but this we have already examined; the other of St. Peter choosing St. Matthias into apostolate; it was indeed done in the presence of the people. But here it is considerable, that at this surrogation of St. Matthias, the number of the persons present was but one hundred and twenty, of which eleven were apostles, and seventy-two were disciples and presbyters; they make up eighty-three, and then there remains but thirty-seven of the laity, of which many were women, which I know not yet whether any man would admit to the election of an apostle, and whether they do or do not, the laity is a very inconsiderable number, if the matter had been to be carried by plurality of voices; so that let the worst come that is imaginable, the whole business was, in effect, carried by the clergy, whom in this case we have no reason to suspect to be divided, and of a distinct or disagreeing interest. Let this discourse be of what validity it will, yet all this whole business was miraculous and extraordinary; for though the apostles named two candidates, yet the Holy Ghost chose them by particular revelation. And yet for all this, it was lawful for St. Peter alone to have done it without casting lots. "An non licebat ipsi [Petro] eligere? Licebat, et quidem maxime; verum id non facit, ne cui videretur gratificari. Quanquam alioqui non erat particeps Spiritûs." For all "he had not as yet received the Holy Ghost, yet he had power himself to have completed the election." So St. Chrysostom.[i]

So that now, if St. Cyprian means more than the presence of the people for suffrage of public testimony, and extends it to a suffrage of formal choice, his proofs of the Divine authority are invalid; there is no such thing can be deduced from thence; and then this his complying so much with the people, which hath been the fault of many a good man, may be reckoned together with his rebaptization. But truth is, he means no more than suffrage of testimony, viz. that he who is to be chosen bishop be, for his good life, a man of good fame, and approved of before God and all the people; and this is all the share they have in their election. And so indeed himself sums up the whole business, and tells of another "jus Divinum" too: "Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divinâ, et apostolicâ observatione, observandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, et ferè apud provincias universas, tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quinque conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit:" "It is most diligently to be observed, for there is a Divine tradition and an apostolical ordinance for it, and it is used by us, and almost by all churches, that all the bishops of the province assem-

[h] Epist. 68.

[i] Homil. 3. in Act.

bled to the making of right ordinations, and that a bishop be chosen in the face of the people, who best know their life and conversation." So that the bishops were to make the formal election, the people to give their judgment of approbation in this particular, and so much as concerned the exemplary piety and good life of him that was to be their bishop. Here we see in St. Cyprian is a "jus Divinum" for the bishop's choosing a colleague or a brother-bishop, as much as for the presence of the people, and yet the presence was all. And howsoever the people were present to give this testimony, yet the election was clearly in the bishops, and that by Divine tradition and apostolical observation, saith St. Cyprian; and thus it was in all churches almost.

In Africa this was, and so it continued till after St. Austin's time, particularly in the choice of Eradius, his successor. It was so in the Greek church, as St. Chrysostom tells us.[k] It was so in Spain, as St. Isidore tells us;[l] and in many other places, that the people should be present, and give acclamation and tumultuary approbation; but to the formal election of the clergy, made by enumeration of votes and subscription, the people never were admitted.

5. Although that in times of persecution, at first, and to comply with the people, who were, in all respects, to be sweetened, to make them, with easier appetite, swallow the bitter pill of persecution, and also to make them more obedient to their bishop, if they did, though but in a tumult and noise, cry him up in his ordination: "Ne plebs in vitâ episcopum non optatum, aut contemnat, aut oderit, et fiat minùs religiosa quàm convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit," for so St. Leo expresses the cause:[m] yet the formality and right of proper election was in the clergy, and often so practised without any consent at all, or intervening act of the people. The right, I say, was in the bishops; so it was decreed in the Nicene council: Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· "The bishop must be appointed or constituted by all the bishops of the province:" Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ· "It must be confirmed and established by the metropolitan."[n] No presbyters here all this while, no people. But the excise of this power is more clearly seen in the acts of some councils, where the fathers degraded some bishops, and themselves appointed others in their rooms. The bishops in the council of Constantinople deposed Marcellus: "In cujus locum Basilium in Ancyram miserunt:" "They sent Basilius bishop in his room," saith Sozomen.[o] "Ostendat Bassianus si per synodum reverendissimorum episcoporum, et consuetâ lege episcopus Ephesiorum metropolis est constitutus," said the fathers of the council of Chalcedon:[p] "Let Bassianus show that he was made bishop of Ephesus by a synod of bishops, and according to the accustomed law." The law I showed before, even the Nicene canon: the fathers of which council sent a synodal epistle to the church of Alexandria, to tell them they had deposed Melitius from the office of a bishop, only left him the name, but "took from him all power:" "Nullam verò omnimodò habere potestatem, neque eligendi, neque ordinandi," &c.[q] Neither suffering him to "choose" nor "to ordain clerks." It seems, then, that was part of the episcopal office in ordinary, "placitos sibi eligere," as the epistle expresses it in the sequel, "to choose whom they listed." But the council deposed Melitius and sent Alexander, their bishop and patriarch, to rule the church again. And particularly to come home to the case of the present question, when Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was dead, and the bishops of the province, and the clergy of the church, and the people of the city, were assembled at the choosing of another,—the emperor makes a speech to the bishops only, that they should be careful in their choice. So that although the people were present, "quibus pro fide et religione etiam honor deferendus est," as St. Cyprian's phrase is;[r] "to whom respect is to be had, and fair complyings to be used, so long as they are pious, catholic, and obedient;" yet both the right of electing and solemnity of ordaining was in the bishops; the people's interest did not arrive to one half of this.

6. There are, in antiquity, divers precedents of bishops who choose their own successors; it will not be imagined the people will choose a bishop over his head, and proclaim that they were weary of him. In those days they had more piety. Agelius did so, he chose Sisinnius; and that it may appear it was without the people, they came about him, and entreated him to choose Marcian, to whom they had been beholden in the time of Valens the emperor; he complied with them and appointed Marcian to be his successor, and Sisinnius, whom he had first chosen, to succeed Marcian.[s] Thus did Valerius choose his successor, St. Austin; for though the people named him for their priest, and carried him to Valerius to take orders, yet Valerius chose him bishop. And this was usual; ὡς καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, as Epiphanius expresses this case; it was ordinary to do so in many churches.

7. The manner of election in many churches was various; for although indeed the church had commanded it, and given power to the bishops to make the election, yet in some times and in some churches, the presbyters or the chapter chose one out of themselves. St. Jerome says they always did so in Alexandria, from St. Mark's time to Heraclas and Dionysius. St. Ambrose says, that at the first the bishop was not, by a formal new election, promoted, but "recedente uno, sequens ei succedebat:" "as one died, so the next senior did succeed him."[t] In both these cases no mixture of the people's votes.

8. In the church of England, the people were never admitted to the choice of a bishop, from its first becoming christian to this very day: and, therefore, to take it from the clergy, in whom it always

[k] Epist. 120. lib. iii. de Sacerd. [l] Lib. ii. de Offic.
[m] Epist. 84. c. 5. [n] Can. 4.
[o] Tripart. Hist. lib iii. c. 9.
[p] Act. 11. [q] Tripart. Hist. lib. ii. c. 12.
[r] Theodor. lib. iv. c. 5. [s] Socrat. lib. v. c. 21.
[t] In Ephes. iv.

was by permission of princes, and to interest the people in it, is to recede "à traditionibus majorum," "from the religion of our forefathers," and to innovate in a high proportion.

9. In those churches where the people's suffrage (by way of testimony, I mean, and approbation) did concur with the synod of bishops in the choice of a bishop, the people at last, according to their usual guise, grew hot, angry, and tumultuous; and then were engaged, by divisions in religion, to name a bishop of their own sect, and to disgrace one another by public scandal and contestation, and often grew up to sedition and murder; and, therefore, although they were never admitted (unless where themselves usurped) farther than I have declared, yet even this was taken from them; especially since in tumultuary assemblies they were apt to carry all before them, they knew not how to distinguish between power and right, they had not well learned to take denial; but began to obtrude whom they listed,—to swell higher, like a torrent, when they were checked; and the soleship of election, which, by the ancient canons, was in the bishops, they would have asserted wholly to themselves, both in right and execution.

I end this with the annotation of Zonoras upon the twelfth canon of the Laodicean council: "Populi suffragiis olim episcopi eligebantur," (understand him in the senses above explicated;) "sed cùm multæ inde seditiones existerent, hinc factum est ut episcoporum uniuscujusque provinciæ auctoritate eligi episcopum quemque oportere decreverint patres:" "Of old time, bishops were chosen, not without the suffrage of the people," (for they concurred by way of testimony and acclamation,) "but when this occasioned many seditions and tumults, the fathers decreed that a bishop should be chosen by the authority of the bishops of the province." And he adds, that in the election of Damascus, one hundred and thirty-seven men were slain, and that six hundred examples more of that nature were producible.

Truth is, the nomination of bishops in Scripture was in the apostles alone; and though the kindred of our blessed Saviour were admitted to the choice of Simeon Cleophæ, the successor of St. James, to the bishopric of Jerusalem, as Eusebius witnesses;[u] it was "propter singularem honorem," "an honorary and extraordinary privilege," indulged to them for their vicinity and relation to our blessed Lord, the Fountain of all benison to us; and for that very reason Simeon himself was chosen bishop too. Yet this was "præter regulam apostolicam." The rule of the apostles and their precedents were for the sole right of the bishops, to choose their colleagues in that sacred order. And then in descent, even before the Nicene council, the people were forbidden to meddle in election, for they had no authority by Scripture to choose; by the necessity of times, and for the reasons before asserted, they were admitted to such a share of the choice as is now folded up in a piece of paper, even to a testimonial; and yet I deny not but they did often take more, as in the case of Nilammon, "quem cives elegerunt," saith the story out of Sozomen;[x] they chose him alone (though God took away his life, before himself would accept of their choice); and then they behaved themselves oftentimes with so much insolence, partiality, faction, sedition, cruelty, and pagan baseness, that they were quite interdicted it, above one thousand two hundred years ago. So that they had their little in possession but a little while, and never had any due; and therefore, now their request for it is no petition of right, but a popular ambition, and a snatching at a sword to hew the church in pieces.[y]

But I think I need not have troubled myself half so far; for they that strive to introduce a popular election, would as fain have episcopacy out as popularity of election let in. So that all this of popular election of bishops may seem superfluous. For I consider, that if the people's power of choosing bishops be founded upon God's law, as some men pretend from St. Cyprian, (not proving the thing from God's law, but God's law from St. Cyprian,) then bishops themselves must be by God's law; for surely God never gave them power to choose any man into that office, which himself hath no way instituted. And, therefore, I suppose these men will desist from their pretence of Divine right of popular election, if the church will recede from her Divine right of episcopacy. But for all their blundering and confounding, their bold pretences have made this discourse necessary.

SECTION XLI.

Bishops only did vote in Councils, and neither Presbyters nor People.

IF we add to all these foregoing particulars the power of making laws to be in bishops, nothing else can be required to the making up of a spiritual principality. Now, as I have shown that the bishop of every diocess did give laws to his own church for particulars, so it is evident that the laws of provinces, and of the catholic church, were made by conventions of bishops, without the intervening or concurrence of presbyters, or any else, for sentence and decision.

The instances of this are just so many as there are councils. St. Athanasius, reprehending Constantius the Arian, for interposing in the conciliary determinations of faith, "Si judicium episcoporum est," saith he, "quid cum eo commune habet imperator?" "It is a judgment to be passed by bishops," (meaning the determination of the article,) "and not proper for the emperor."[a] And when Hosius of Corduba reproved him for sitting president in a council, "Quis enim videns eum in decernendo principem se facere episcoporum, non meritò dicat illum eam ipsam abominationem desolationis?"

[u] Lib. iii. Hist. c. 11.
[x] Tripart. Hist. lib. x. c. 14.
[y] Vide Dist. 63. per tot. Gratian.
[a] Epist. ad Solitar.

"He that sits president, makes himself chief of the bishops," &c., intimating bishops only to preside in councils, and to make decision. And, therefore, "conventus episcoporum" and "concilium episcoporum" are the words for general and provincial councils. "Bis in anno episcoporum concilia celebrentur," said the thirty-eighth canon of the apostles; and "congregatio episcopalis," the council of Sardis is called by Theodoret.[b] And when the question was started, in the time of Pope Victor, about the celebration of Easter, "Ob quam causam," saith Eusebius, "conventus episcoporum, et concilia per singulas quasque provincias convocantur."[c] Where, by the way, it is observable, that at first, even provincial synods were only held by bishops, and presbyters had no interest in the decision; however, we have of late sat so near bishops in provincial assemblies, that we have sat upon the bishop's skirts. But my lords the bishops have a concerning interest in this. To them I leave it; and because the four general councils are the precedents and chief of all the rest, I shall only instance in them for this particular.

1. The title of the Nicene council runs thus: *Κανόνες τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων*· "The canons of the three hundred and eighteen fathers met in Nice." These fathers were all that gave suffrage to the canons; for if they had been more, the title could not have appropriated the sanction to three hundred and eighteen. And that there were no more St. Ambrose gives testimony, in that he makes it to be a mystical number; "Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum: de conciliis id potissimùm sequor, quod trecenti decem et octo sacerdotes velut tropæum extulerunt, ut mihi videatur hoc esse Divinum, quod eodem numero, in conciliis, fidei habemus oraculum, quo, in historiâ, pietatis exemplum."[d] Well! three hundred and eighteen was the number of the judges, the Nicene fathers; and they were all bishops, for so is the title of the subscriptions. "Subscripserunt trecenti decem et octo episcopi, qui in eodem concilio convenerunt;" thirteen whereof were chorepiscopi, but not one presbyter; save only that Vitus and Vincentius subscribed as legates of the bishop of Rome, but not by their own authority.

2. The great council of Constantinople was celebrated by one hundred and fifty bishops: *Κανόνες τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθόντων*· that is the title of the canons. "The canons of one hundred and fifty holy fathers who met in Constantinople:" and that these were all bishops appears by the title of St. Gregory Nazianzen's oration in the beginning of the council. *Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζήνου συντακτήριος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπισκόπων παρουσίαν*· "The oration of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the presence of one hundred and fifty bishops." And of this council it was that Socrates speaking, "Imperator," saith he, "nullâ morâ interpositâ, concilium episcoporum convocat."[e] Here, indeed, some few bishops appeared by proxy, as Montanus, bishop of Claudiopolis, by Paulus, a presbyter,—and Atarbius, bishop of Pontus, by Cylus, a reader,—and about some four or five more. This only, amongst the subscriptions I find Tyrannus, Auxanon, Helladius, and Elpidius, calling themselves presbyters. But their modesty hinders not the truth of the former testimonies; they were bishops, saith the title of the council, and the oration, and the canons, and Socrates; and lest there be scruple concerning Auxanon, "presbyter Apameæ," because, before Johannes, Apameensis subscribed, which seems to intimate that one of them was the bishop, and the other but a presbyter indeed, without a subterfuge of modesty, the titles distinguish them. For John was bishop in the province of Cœlo-Syria,—and Auxanon, of Apamea in Pisidia.

3. The third was the council of Ephesus, "episcoporum plurium quàm ducentorum," as it is often said in the acts of the council; "of above two hundred bishops," but no presbyters; for, "Cùm episcopi supra ducentos extiterint qui Nestorium deposuerunt, horum subscriptionibus contenti fuimus:" "We were content with the subscription of the two hundred and odd bishops," saith the council:[f] and Theodosius junior, in his epistle to the synod, "Illicitum est," saith he, "eum, qui non sit in ordine sanctissimorum episcoporum, ecclesiasticis immisceri tractatibus:" "It is unlawful for any but them who are in the order of the most holy bishops, to be interested in ecclesiastical assemblies."

4. The last of the four great conventions of christendom was "sexcentorum triginta episcoporum," "of six hundred and thirty bishops, at Chalcedon, in Bithynia." But in all these assemblies, no mere presbyter gave suffrage, except by legation from his bishop and delegation of authority. And, therefore, when in this council some laics, and some monks, and some clergymen, not bishops, would interest themselves, Pulcheria, the empress, sent letters to Consularius, to repel them by force, "Si præter nostram evocationem, aut permissionem suorum episcoporum, ibidem commorantur:" "Who come without command of the empress, or the bishops' permission." Where it is observable that the bishops might bring clerks with them to assist, to dispute, and to be present in all the action; and thus they often did suffer abbots or archimandrites to be there, and to subscribe too; but that was "præter regulam," and by indulgence only and condescension; for when Martinus, the abbot, was requested to subscribe, he answered, "Non suum esse sed episcoporum tantùm subscribere:" "It belonged only to bishops to subscribe to councils."[g] For this reason, the fathers themselves often called out in the council, "Mitte foras superfluos; concilium episcoporum est."

But I need not more particular arguments; for till the council of Basil the church never admitted presbyters, as in their own right, to voice in coun-

[b] Lib. ii. c. 7.
[c] Lib. v. c. 23.
[d] Procm. in lib. de Fide.
[e] Lib. v. c. 8.
[f] Epist. Synod. ad Clerum. C. Ptanum. part. 2. act. 3. part. 1. c. 32. Vide sect. 36. de Simil. fere Quæstione, in fine.
[g] Action. 1. Concil. Chalced.

cils; and that council we know, savoured too much of the schismatic; but before this council, no example, no precedent of subscriptions of the presbyters, either to œcumenical or provincial synods. Indeed, to a diocesan synod, viz. that of Auxerre, in Burgundy, I find thirty-two presbyters subscribing. This synod was neither œcumenical nor provincial, but merely the convocation of a diocess: for here was but one bishop, and some few abbots, and thirty-two presbyters. It was, indeed, no more than a visitation, or the calling of a chapter; for of this we receive intimation in the seventh canon of that assembly: "Ut, in medio Maio, omnes presbyteri ad synodum venirent;" that was their summons; "et, in Novembri, omnes abbates ad concilium:"[h] so that here is intimation of a yearly synod besides the first convention, the greatest of them but diocesan, and, therefore, the lesser but "conventus capitularis;" or, however, not enough to give evidence of a subscription of presbyters to so much as a provincial council; for the guise of christendom was always otherwise, and therefore, it was the best argument that the bishops, in the Arian hurry, used to acquit themselves from the suspicion of heresy: "Neque nos sumus Arii sectatores; quî namque fieri potest, ut cùm simus episcopi, Ario presbytero auscultemus?"[i] Bishops never receive determination of any article from priests, but priests do from bishops: "Nam vestrum est eos instruere," saith St. Clement, speaking of the bishop's office and power over priests and all the clergy, and all the diocess; "eorum est vobis obedire, ut Deo, cujus legatione fungimini."[k] And, a little after: "Audire ergo eum attentius oportet, et ab ipso suscipere doctrinam fidei, monita autem vitæ à presbyteris inquirere:" "Of the priests we must inquire for rules of good life; but of the bishop receive positions and determinations of faith."

Against this if it be objected, "Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet;" "That which is of general concernment, must also be of general scrutiny:" I answer, it is true, unless where God himself hath intrusted the care of others in a body, as he hath in the bishops, and will require the souls of his diocess at his hand, and commanded us to require the law at their mouths, and to follow their faith,[l] whom he hath set over us. And, therefore, the determination of councils pertains to all, and is handled by all, not in diffusion, but in representation. For, "Ecclesia est in episcopo, et episcopus in ecclesiâ," saith St. Cyprian: "The church is in the bishop," viz. by representment, "and the bishop is in the church,"[m] viz. as a pilot in a ship, or a master in a family, or rather as a steward and guardian, to rule in his master's absence; and for this reason the synod of the Nicene bishops is called, in Eusebius, "conventus orbis terrarum,"[n] and, by St. Austin, "consensus totius ecclesiæ;" not that the whole church was there present, in their several persons, but was there represented by the catholic bishops; and, if this representment be not sufficient for obligation to all, I see no reason but the ladies, too, may vote in councils; for I doubt not but they have soul too.

But, however, if this argument were concluding in itself, yet it loses its force in England, where the clergy are bound by laws of parliament, and yet, in the capacity of clergymen, are allowed to choose neither procurators, to represent us as clergy, no knights of the shire, to represent us as commons. In conclusion of this, I say to the presbyters, as St. Ambrose said of the lay-judges, whom the Arians would have brought to judge in council (it was an old heretical trick): "Veniant planè, si qui sunt, ad ecclesiam, audiant cum populo, non ut quisquam judex resideat, sed unusquisque de suo affectu habeat examen, et eligat quem sequatur;" "So may presbyters be present; so they may judge, not for others, but for themselves."[o] And so may the people be present, and anciently were so; and, therefore councils were always kept in open churches "ubi populus judicat," not for others, but for themselves: not by external sentence, but internal conviction; so St. Ambrose expounds himself in the forecited allegation.

There is no considerable objection against this discourse, but that of the first council of Jerusalem where the apostles and elders did meet together, to determine of the question of circumcision; for, although in the story of celebration of it, we find no man giving sentence but Peter and James, yet in Acts xvi. they are called *δόγματα κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, "decrees judged by the apostles and elders." But first, in this the difficulty is the less, because "presbyter" was a general word for all that were not of the number of the twelve, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. And then, secondly, it is none at all, because Paul and Barnabas are signally and by name reckoned as present in the synod, and one of them protocutor, or else both: so that such presbyters may well define in such conventual assemblies. 3. If yet there were any difficulty latent in the story, yet the catholic practice of God's church is certainly the best expositor of such places, where there either is any difficulty, or where any is pretended; and of this I have already given account.

I remember also, that this place is pretended for the people's power of voicing in councils. It is a pretty pageant, only that it is against the catholic practice of the church, against the exigence of Scripture, which bids us require the law at the mouth of our spiritual rulers, against the gravity of such assemblies, for it would force them to be tumultuous, and at the best, are the worst of sanctions as being issues of popularity; and, to sum up all, it is no way authorized by this first copy of christian councils. The pretence is in the synodal letter, written in the name of "the apostles, and elders and brethren;" that is, says Geta, the apostles and presbyters, and people. But why not brethren that is, all the deacons, and evangelists, and helpers

[h] Concil. Antisiodor. can. 7. [i] Socrat. lib. ii. c. 7.
[k] Epist. 3. per Ruffinum.
[l] Heb. xiii. 7. and 17. 1 Pet. v. 2. Acts xx.
[m] Epist. 69.
[n] Lib. iii. de Vitâ Constant. lib. de Baptis. cap. 18.
[o] Epist. 32. [p] Acts xv. 25.

in government, and ministers of the churches? There is nothing, either in words or circumstances, to contradict this. If it be asked, who then are meant by elders, if by "brethren" St. Luke understands these church officers? I answer, that here is such variety, that although I am not certain which officers he precisely comprehends under the distinct titles of elders and brethren, yet here are enough to furnish both with variety; and yet neither to admit mere presbyters, in the present acceptation of the word, nor yet the laity, to a decision of the question, nor authorizing the decretal; for besides the twelve apostles, there were apostolical men which were presbyters, and something more, as Paul, and Barnabas, and Silas, and evangelists, and pastors besides, which might furnish out the last appellative sufficiently. But, however, without any further trouble, it is evident that this word "brethren" does not distinguish the laity from the clergy: "Now, when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Judas and Silas, who were apostolical men, are called in Scripture, chief men among the brethren: but this is too known to need a contestation.

I only insert the saying of Basilius, the emperor, in the eighth synod: "De vobis autem laicis, tam qui in dignitatibus, quàm qui absolutè versamini, quid amplius dicam non habeo, quàm quòd nullo modo vobis licet de ecclesiasticis causis sermonem movere, neque penitùs resistere integritati ecclesiæ, et universali synodo adversari:" Laymen," says the emperor, "must by no means meddle with causes ecclesiastical, nor oppose themselves to the catholic church, or councils œcumenical." They must not meddle, for these things appertain to the cognizance of bishops and their decision. And now, after all this, what authority is equal to this legislative of the bishops? Μάλιστα δὲ, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀρχὰς λεκτέον ταύτας, ὅσαις ἀποδίδοται βουλεύσασθαί τε περί τινων, καὶ κρῖναι καὶ ἐπιταξαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν ἀρχικώτερον, saith Aristotle:[q] "They are all evidences of power and authority, to deliberate, to determine, or judge, to make laws: but to make laws is the greatest power that is imaginable." The first may belong fairly enough to presbyters; but I have proved the two latter to be appropriate to bishops.

SECTION XLII.

And the Bishop had a Propriety in the Persons of his Clerks.

LASTLY, as if all the acts of jurisdiction, and every imaginable part of power, were in the bishop, over the presbyters and subordinate clergy, the presbyters are said to be "episcoporum presbyteri," the "bishops' presbyters," as having a propriety in them, and therefore a superiority over them; and as the bishop was a dispenser of those things which were "in bonis ecclesiæ," so he was of the persons too, a ruler in propriety. St. Hilary, in the book which himself delivered to Constantine, "Ecclesiæ adhuc," saith he, "per presbyteros meos communionem distribuens:" "I still give the holy communion to the faithful people by my presbyters." And, therefore, in the third council of Carthage, a great deliberation was had about requiring a clerk of his bishop to be promoted in another church: "Denique qui unum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?" saith Posthumianus:[a] "If the bishop have but one presbyter, must one be taken from him?" "Id sequor," saith Aurelius, "ut conveniam episcopum ejus, atque ei inculcem quod ejus clericus à quâlibet ecclesiâ postuletur." And it was resolved, "ut clericum alienum, nisi concedente ejus episcopo;" "No man shall retain another's clerk, without the consent of the bishop, whose clerk he is."

When Athanasius was abused by the calumny of the heretics, his adversaries, and entered to purge himself, "Athanasius ingreditur cum Timotheo presbytero suo;" "He comes in with Timothy his presbyter;"[b] and Arsenius, "cujus brachium dicebatur excisum, lector aliquando fuerat Athanasii;" "Arsenius was Athanasius's reader." "Ubi autem ventum est ad rumores de poculo fracto à Macario presbytero Athanasii,"[c] &c.; "Macarius was another of Athanasius's priests." So Theodoret: Peter and Irenæus were two more of his presbyters, as himself witnesses. "Paulinianus sometimes to visit us," saith St. Jerome to Pammachius, "but not as your clerk:" "sed ejus à quo ordinatur;" "*his* clerk, who did ordain."[d] But these things are too known to need a multiplication of instances.

The sum is this; the question was, Whether or no, and how far, the bishops had superiority over presbyters in the primitive church? Their doctrine and practice have furnished us with these particulars: the power of church-goods, and the sole dispensation of them, and a propriety of persons, was reserved to the bishop; for the clergy and church-possessions were in his power, in his administration; the clergy might not travel without the bishop's leave; they might not be preferred in another diocess, without license of their own bishop: in their own churches the bishop had sole power to prefer them; and they must undertake the burden of any promotion, if he calls them to it; without him they might not baptize, not consecrate the eucharist, not communicate, not reconcile penitents, not preach; not only not without his ordination, but not without a special faculty, besides the capacity of their order. The presbyters were bound to obey their bishops in their sanctions and canonical impositions, even by the decree of the apostles themselves, and the doctrine of Ignatius, and the constitution of St. Clement, of the fathers in the council of Arles, Ancyra,

[q] Lib. iv. Polit. c. 15.
[a] Can. 45. Concil. Carthag. 3.
[b] Eccles. Hist. lib. x. cap. 17. [c] Lib. ii. cap. 8.
[d] Athanas. Episc. ad Vitam Solitar. agentes.

and Toledo, and many others: the bishops were declared to be judges in ordinary of the clergy and people of their diocess, by the concurrent suffrages of almost two thousand holy fathers, assembled in Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, in Carthage, Antioch, Sardis, Aquileia, Taurinum, Agatho, and by the emperor, and by the apostles; and all this attested by the constant practice of the bishops of the primitive church inflicting censures upon delinquents, and absolving them as they saw cause, and by the dogmatical resolution of the old catholics, declaring in their attributes and appellatives of the episcopal function, that they have supreme and universal spiritual power, (viz. in the sense above explicated,) over all the clergy and laity of the diocess; as, "That they are higher than all power, the image of God, the figure of Christ, Christ's vicar, president of the church, prince of priests, of authority incomparable, unparalleled power," and many more. If all this be witness enough of the superiority of episcopal jurisdiction, we have their depositions, we may proceed as we see cause for, and reduce our episcopacy to the primitive state, for that is truly a reformation, "Id Dominicum quod primum, id hæreticum quod posterius;" and then we shall be sure episcopacy will lose nothing by these unfortunate contestations.

SECTION XLIII.

Their Jurisdiction was over many Congregations, or Parishes.

BUT against the cause it is objected "super totam materiam;" that bishops were not diocesan, but parochial; and therefore of so confined a jurisdiction, that perhaps our village or city-priests shall advance their pulpit as high as the bishop's throne.

Well! Put case they were not diocesan but parish bishops, what then? yet they were such bishops as had presbyters and deacons in subordination to them, in all the particular advantages of the former instances.

2. If the bishops had the parishes, what cure had the priests? so that this will debase the priests as much as the bishops; and if it will confine a bishop to a parish, it will make that no presbyter can be so much as a parish-priest. If it brings a bishop lower than a diocess, it will bring the priest lower than a parish. For set a bishop where you will, either in a diocess or a parish, a presbyter shall still keep the same duty and subordination, the same distance still. So that this objection upon supposition of the former discourse, will no way mend the matter for any side, but make it far worse; it will not advance the presbytery, but it will depress the whole hierarchy, and all the orders of the Holy Church.

But because this trifle is so much used amongst the enemies of episcopacy, I will consider it in little; and besides that it does no body any good advantage, I will represent it in its fucus, and show the falsehood of it.

1. Then it is evident that there were bishops before there were any distinct parishes: for the first division of parishes in the West was by Evaristus, who lived almost one hundred years after Christ, and divided Rome into seven parishes, assigning to every one a presbyter. So Damasus reports of him in the pontifical book: "Hic titulos in urbe Româ divisit presbyteris, et septem diaconos ordinavit, qui custodirent episcopum prædicantem propter stylum veritatis:" "He divided the parishes or titles in the city of Rome to presbyters." The same also is, by Damasus, reported of Dionysius, in his life: "Hic presbyteris ecclesias divisit, et cœmiteria, parochiasque, et diœceses constituit." Marcellus increased the number in the year 305. "Hic fecit cœmiterium viâ Salariâ, et viginti-quinque titulos in urbe Româ constituit quasi diœceses propter baptismum, et pœnitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum:" "He made a sepulture or cemetery for the burial of martyrs, and appointed twenty-five titles or parishes:" but he adds, "quasi diœceses," "as it had been diocesses," that is, distinct and limited to presbyters, as diocesses were to bishops; and the use of parishes, which he subjoins, clears the business; for he appointed them only "propter baptismum, et pœnitentiam multorum et sepulturas," "for baptism, and penance, and burial;" for as yet there was no preaching in parishes, but in the mother church. Thus it was in the West.

But in Egypt we find parishes divided something sooner than the earliest of these; for Eusebius reports out of Philo, that the christians in St. Mark's time had several churches in Alexandria. "Etiam de ecclesiis quæ apud eos sunt ita dicit. Est autem in singulis locis consecrata orationi domus," &c.[a] But even before this there were bishops; for in Rome there were four bishops, before any division of parishes, though St. Peter be reckoned for none. And before parishes were divided in Alexandria, St. Mark himself, who did it, was the bishop, and before that time St. James was bishop of Jerusalem and in divers other places where bishops were, there were no distinct parishes of a while after Evaristus's time; for when Dionysius had assigned presbyters to several parishes, he writes of it to Severus, bishop of Corduba, and desires him to do so too in his diocess, as appears in his epistle to him.

For indeed necessity required it, when the christians multiplied and grew to be μέγιστος καὶ ἀναρίθμητος λαὸς, as Cornelius called the Roman christians, "a great and an innumerable people;"[b] and did "implere omnia," as Tertullian's phrase is, "filled all places:" and public and great assemblies drew danger upon themselves, and increased jealousies in others, and their public offices could not be performed with so diffused and particular advantage,—then they were forced to divide congregations, and assigned several presbyters to their cure

[a] Lib. ii. Hist. c. 17.

[b] Apud Binium, tom. i. Concil. Euseb. lib. vi. c. 43. Apolog. c. 37.

in subordination to the bishop, and so we see the elder christianity grew, the more parishes there were. At first, in Rome there were none, Evaristus made seven, Dionysius made some more, and Marcellus added twenty-five, and in Optatus's time there were forty.[c]

Well, then! the case is thus: Parishes were not divided at first; therefore, to be sure, they were not of Divine institution. Therefore, it is no Divine institution that a presbyter should be fixed upon a parish; therefore, also, a parish is not, by Christ's ordinance, an independent body; for, by Christ's ordinance, there was no such thing at all, neither absolute nor in dependence neither; and then for the main issue, since bishops were before parishes, in the present sense, the bishops, in that sense, could not be parochial.

But which was first, a private congregation or a diocess? If a private congregation, then a bishop was at first fixed in a private congregation, and so was a parochial bishop. If a diocess was first, then the question will be, how a diocess could be without parishes, for what is a diocess but a jurisdiction over many parishes?

I answer, it is true that diocess and parish are words used now in contradiction; and now a diocess is nothing but the multiplication of many parishes: "Sed non fuit sic ab initio;" for at first, a diocess was "the city and the regio suburbicaria," "the neighbouring towns;" in which there was no distinction of parishes: that which was a diocess in the secular sense, that is, a particular province or division of secular prefecture, that was the assignation of a bishop's charge. Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Laodicea, were κεφαλαὶ διοικήσεως, "heads of the diocess," saith Pliny,[d] meaning in respect of secular jurisdiction; so they were in ecclesiastical regiment. And it was so upon great reason, for when the regiment of the church was extended just so as the regiment of the commonwealth, it was of less suspicion to the secular power, while the church-regiment was just fixed together with the political, as if of purpose to show their mutual consistence, and its own subordination. And besides this, there was in it a necessity; for the subjects of another province or diocess could not, either safely or conveniently, meet where the duty of the commonwealth did not engage them; but being all of one prefecture and diocess, the necessity of public meetings, in order to the commonwealth, would be fair opportunity for the advancement of their christendom. And this, which at first was a necessity in this case, grew to be a law in all, by the sanction of the council of Chalcedon,[e] and of Constantinople in Trullo,[f] Τοῖς πολίτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω· "Let the order of the church follow the order and guise of the commonwealth;" viz. in her regiment and prefecture.

But in the modern sense of this division, a bishop's charge was neither a parish nor a diocess, as they are taken in relation; but a bishop had the supreme care of all the christians, which he by himself or his presbyters had converted, and he also had the charge of endeavouring the conversion of all the country. So that although he had not all the diocess actually in communion and subjection, yet his charge, his diocess, was so much. Just as it was with the apostles, to whom Christ gave all the world for a diocess; yet at first they had but a small congregation that did actually obey them.

And now to the question: Which was first, a particular congregation or a diocess? I answer, that a diocess was first; that is, the apostles had a charge, before they had a congregation of converts; and St. Mark was sent bishop to Alexandria by St. Peter before any were converted. But, ordinarily, the apostles, when they had converted a city or nation, then fixed bishops upon their charge, and there indeed the particular congregation was before the bishop's taking of the diocess; but, then, this city or nation, although it was not the bishop's diocess before it was a particular congregation, yet it was part of the apostles' diocess, and this they concredited to the bishops respectively.

St. Paul was ordained, by the prophets at Antioch, apostle of the uncircumcision; all the gentiles was his diocess, and even of those places he then received power, which, as yet, he had not converted. So that, absolutely, a diocess was before a particular congregation. But if a diocess be taken collectively, as now it is, for a multitude of parishes united under one bishop, then one must needs be before twenty, and a particular congregation before a diocess; but then that particular congregation was not a parish, in the present sense, for it was not a part of a diocess, taking a diocess for a collection of parishes; but that particular congregation was the first-fruits of his diocess, and like a grain of mustard-seed, that in time might, and did, grow up to a considerable height, even to a necessity of distinguishing titles and parts of the diocess, assigning several parts to several priests.

2. We see that the primitive bishops, before the division of parishes, had the city and country; and after the division of parishes, had them all under their jurisdiction, and ever, even before the apostles' times, had several provinces (some of them I mean) within their limits and charges. The thirty-fifth canon of the apostles gives power to the bishop to dispose only of those things ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ αὐτὴν χώραις, "which are under his diocess, and the neighbour-villages;" and the same thing is repeated in the ninth and tenth canons of the council of Antioch, calling it ἀρχαῖον τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, "the ancient canon of our forefathers;" and yet itself is older than three of the general councils; and if then it was an ancient canon of the fathers, that the city and villages should be subject to the bishop, surely a primitive bishop was a diocesan.

But a little before this was the Nicene council.[g]

[c] Lib. ii. contra Parmeniam.
[d] Lib. v. c. 29. et 30. Vide Baron. A. D. 39. n. 10. et B. Rhenan. in Notit. Provinc. Imperial in Descript. Illyrici.
[e] Can. 17.
[f] Can. 38.
[g] Can. 6.

and there I am sure, we have a bishop that is at least a diocesan: Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω· "Let the old customs be kept." What are those? Τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει. Ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν· "Let the bishop of Alexandria have power over all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis:" it was a good large parish; and yet this parish, if we have a mind to call it so, was κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, "according to the old custom of their forefathers," and yet that was so early that St. Anthony was then alive, who was born in St. Irenæus's time, who was himself but second from the apostles.

It was also a good large parish that Ignatius was bishop of, even all Syria, Cœlosyria, Mesopotamia, and both the Ciliciæ. Ἐπίσκοπος Συρίας, "the bishop of Syria," he calls himself in his epistle to the Romans;[h] and τῶν κατ' ἀνατολὴν ἐπισκόπων ἡγούμενος, so Theodoret:[i] and besides all these, his successors, in the council of Chalcedon, had the two Phœniciæ and Arabia yielded to them by composition. These alone would have made two or three reasonably good parishes, and would have taken up time enough to perambulate, had that been then the guise of christendom. But examples of this kind are infinite. Theodorus, bishop of Cyrus, was pastor over eight hundred parishes; Athanasius was bishop of Alexandria, Egypt, Thebais, Mareotis, Libya, Ammoniaca, and Pentapolis, saith St. Epiphanius;[k] and his predecessor, Julinianus, successor of Agrippinus, was bishop τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν, "of the churches about Alexandria."[l] Either it was a diocess, or at least a plurality. St. Chrysostom had Pontus, Asia, and all Thrace, in his parish, even as much as came to sixteen prefectures;[m] a fair bounds surely; and so it was with all the bishops: a greater or a lesser diocess they had; but all were diocesan; for they had several parishes: "Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi habent sub se ecclesias," saith Epiphanius in his epistle to John of Jerusalem,[n] and in his book "contra hæreses: "Quotquot enim in Alexandriâ catholicæ ecclesiæ sunt, sub uno archiepiscopo sunt, privatimque ad has destinati sunt presbyteri propter ecclesiasticas necessitates, ita ut habitatores vicini sint uniuscujusque ecclesiæ." All Italy was the parish of Liberius, saith Socrates.[o] Africa was St. Cyprian's parish, saith St. Gregory Nazianzen;[p] and St. Basil the Great was parish-priest to all Cappadocia;[q] but I rather believe, if we examine their several stories, they will rather prove metropolitans than mere parochians.[r]

Thirdly: The ancient canons forbade a bishop to be ordained in a village, castle, or town. It was so decreed in the council of Laodicea, before the first Nicene, Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους·[s] "In the villages or countries, bishops must not be constituted." And this was renewed in the council of Sardis: Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἁπλῶς καθιστᾷν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ, ἐν βραχείᾳ πόλει, ᾗ τίνι καὶ εἷς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ὑπάρχει· "It is not lawful to ordain bishops in villages or little towns, to which one presbyter is sufficient;" ἀλλ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστᾷν ἐπισκόπους ὀφείλουσι, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι, "but bishops must ordain bishops in those cities where bishops formerly have been."[t] So that this canon does not make a new constitution, but perpetuates the old sanction. Bishops, "ab antiquo," were only ordained in great cities, and presbyters in little villages. Who, then, was the parish-curate? the bishop, or the priest? The case is too apparent.

Only here it is objected, that some bishops were of small towns, and, therefore, these canons were not observed, and bishops might be, and were, parochial, as St. Gregory, of Nazianzum,—Zoticus, of Comana,—Maris, in Dolicha. The one of these is called κώμη, by Eusebius;[u] and another πολίχνη, by Theodoret,[x] "a little town." This is all is pretended for this great scarecrow of parochial bishops.

But, first, suppose these had been parishes, and these three parochial bishops—it follows not that all were; not those to be sure, which I have proved to have been bishops of provinces and kingdoms. Secondly: It is a clear case, that Nazianzum, though a small city, yet was the seat of a bishop's throne; so it is reckoned in the διατύπωσις, made by Leo, the emperor,[y] where it is accounted "inter thronos ecclesiarum patriarchæ Constantinopolitano subjectarum," and is in the same account with Cæsarea, with Ephesus, with Crete, with Philippi, and almost fourscore more. As for Zoticus, he indeed came from Comana, a village-town, for there he was born;[z] but he was "episcopus Otrenus," "bishop of Otrea, in Armenia," saith Nicephorus.[a] And for Maris, the bishop of Dolicha, it was indeed such a small city, as Nazianzum was, but that proves not but his diocess and territory was large enough. Thus was Asclepius "vici non grandis," but yet he was "Vagensis territorii episcopus."[b] His seat might usually be in a little city, if it was one of those towns in which, according to the exigence of the canons, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι, "in which bishops anciently were ordained," and yet the appurtenances of his diocess large, and extended, and too great for a hundred parish priests.

Fourthly: The institution of chorepiscopi proves most evidently that the primitive bishops were diocesan, not parochial; for they were instituted to assist the bishop in part of his country-charge, and were περιοδευταὶ, "visiters," as the council of Laodicea calls them. But what need of such suffragans, such coadjutors, to the managing of a parish? Indeed they might possibly have been needful, for the managing of a city-parish, especially if a whole city was a parish, as these objectors must pretend, or not

[h] Lib. v. c. 23.
[i] Act. 7.
[k] Epist. ad Leon. 1. Episc. Rom. Hæres. 86.
[l] Concil. Chalced. act. 16.
[m] Theodoret. lib. v. c. 28.
[n] Apud S. Hieron. Hæres. 69.
[o] Lib. iv. c. 12.
[p] Encom. Cyprian.
[q] Sozom. lib. v. c. 18.
[r] Vide apud Euseb. lib. v. c. 22.
[s] Can. 56.
[t] Can. 6.
[u] Lib. v. c. 16.
[x] Lib. v. c. 4.
[y] Jus Græco. Rom. p. 89.
[z] Vide Baron. An. Dom. 205. n. 27.
[a] Lib. iv. c. 25.
[b] Gennad. apud Hieron. Johan. de Trittenheim de Script. Eccles.

say primitive bishops were parochial. But being these chorepiscopi were suffragans to the bishop, and did their offices in the country, while the bishop was resident in the city, either the bishop's parish extended itself from city to country, and then it is all one with a diocess, or else we can find no employment for a chorepiscopus, or visiter. The tenth canon of the council of Antioch describes their use and power: "Qui in villis et vicis constituti sunt chorepiscopi, placuit sanctæ synodo, ut modum proprium recognoscant, ut gubernent sibi subjectas ecclesias:" "They were to govern the churches delegated to their charge." It seems they had many churches under their provision, and yet they were but the bishop's vicars, for so it follows in the canon; he must not ordain any presbyters and deacons, "absque urbis episcopo, cui ipse subjicitur et regio:" "without leave of the bishop of the city, to whom both himself and all the country is subordinate."

5. The bishop was one in a city wherein were many presbyters. Ἓν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις, saith St. Ignatius:[c] "There is one altar in every church, and one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons." Either then a whole city, such as Rome or Jerusalem, (which, as Josephus reports, had four hundred synagogues,) must be but one parish, and then they had as good call a bishop's charge a diocess as a parish in that latitude; or if there were many parishes in a city, and the bishop could have but one of them, why, what hindered but that there might in a city be as many bishops as presbyters? for if a bishop can have but one parish, why may not every parish have a bishop? But by the ancient canons, a city, though never so great, could have but one for itself and all the country; therefore, every parish-priest was not a bishop, nor the bishop a mere parish-priest.

"Ne in unâ civitate duo sint episcopi," was the constitution of the Nicene fathers, as saith Ruffinus;[d] and long before this, it was so known a business, that one city should have but one bishop, that Cornelius exprobrates to Novatus his ignorance:[e] "Is ergo qui evangelium vindicabat, nesciebat in ecclesiâ catholicâ unum episcopum esse debere, ubi videbat esse presbyteros quadraginta et sex:" "Novatus (the father of the old puritans) was a goodly gospeller, that did not know, that, in a catholic church, there should be but one bishop, wherein there were forty-six presbyters;" intimating clearly, that a church that had two bishops, is not catholic, but schismatic at least, if both be pretended to be of a fixed residence; what then is he that would make as many bishops in a church as presbyters? He is θεόμαχος, "he fights against God," if St. Ambrose say true,[f] "Deus enim singulis ecclesiis singulos episcopos præesse decrevit:" "God hath decreed that one bishop should rule in one church;" and of what extent this one church was, may easily be guessed by himself, who was the ruler and bishop of the great city and province of Milan. And, therefore, when Valerius, as it was then sometimes used in several churches, had ordained St. Austin to be bishop of Hippo, whereof Valerius was also bishop at the same time, St. Austin was troubled at it, as an act most uncanonical, and yet he was not ordained to rule in common with Valerius, but to rule in succession and after the consummation of Valerius.[g] It was the same case in Angelius, a Novatian bishop, ordaining Marcian to be his successor, and Sisinnius to succeed him: the acts were indeed irregular; but yet there was no harm in it to this cause, they were ordained to succeed, not in conjunction. Διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον, saith Sozomen:[h] "It is a note of schism, and against the rule of Holy Church, to have two bishops in one chair." "Secundus episcopus nullus est," saith St. Cyprian;[i] and as Cornelius reports it, in his epistle to St Cyprian, it was the voice of the confessors that had been the instruments and occasions of the Novatian schism, by erecting another bishop: "Nec non ignoramus unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum, unum episcopum in catholicâ ecclesiâ esse debere." And these very words the people also used in the contestation about Liberius and Felix. For when the emperor was willing that Liberius should return to his see, on condition that Felix, the Arian, might be bishop there too, they derided the suggestion, crying out, "One God, one Christ, one bishop." So Theodoret reports.[k] But who lists to see more of this may be satisfied, if plenty will do it, in St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, St. Jerome, Œcumenius,[l] Optatus,[m] St. Ambrose,[n] and if he please he may read a whole book of it written by St. Cyprian, "de Unitate Ecclesiæ, sive de Singularitate Prælatorum."

6. Suppose the ordinary diocesses had been parishes, yet what were the metropolitans and the primates? were they also parish-bishops? Surely if bishops were parochial, then these were at least diocesan by their own argument, for to be sure they had many bishops under them. But there were none such in the primitive church? Yes, most certainly. The thirty-fifth canon of the apostles tells us so most plainly, and, at the worst, they were a very primitive record. "Episcopos gentium singularum scire convenit, quis inter eos primus habeatur, quem velut caput existiment, et nihil amplius præter ejus conscientiam gerant, quàm ea sola quæ parochiæ propriæ, et villis quæ sub eâ sunt, competunt: "The bishops of every nation must know who is their primate, and esteem him as their head, and do nothing without his consent, but those things that appertain to their own diocess." And from hence the fathers of the council of Antioch derived their sanction:[o] "Per singulas regiones episcopos convenit nosse, metropolitanum episcopum sollicitudinem

[c] Epist. ad Philadelph.
[d] Lib. x. Eccl. Hist.
[e] Apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. 33.
[f] In 1 Cor. xii.
[g] Ὡς καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις. Epiphan. Hæres. 66. n. 6. Possidon. in Vitâ S. Aug. c. 8. Socrat. lib. v. c. 21.
[h] Lib. iv. c. 15.
[i] Lib. iv. Epist. 2.
[k] Lib. ii. c. 11.
[l] In 1 Philip.
[m] Lib. ii. contra Parmen.
[n] In 1 Tim. iii. et in 1 Phil.
[o] Concil. Antioch. c. 9.

totius provinciæ gerere," &c. "The bishops of every province must know, that their metropolitan-bishop does take cure of all the province." For this was an apostolical constitution, saith St. Clement,[p] that in the conversion of gentile cities in place of the archflamines, archbishops, primates, or patriarchs, should be placed, "qui reliquorum episcoporum judicia, et majora (quoties necesse foret) negotia in fide agitarent, et secundùm Dei voluntatem, sicut constituerunt sancti apostoli, definirent." Alexandria was a metropolitical see long before the Nicene council, as appears in the sixth canon, before cited;[q] nay, Dioscorus, the bishop of that church, was required to bring ten of the metropolitans that he had under him, to the council of Ephesus, by Theodosius and Valentinian, emperors; so that it was a patriarchate.

These are enough to show, that in the primitive church there were metropolitan bishops. Now, then, either bishops were parochial or no: if no, then they were diocesan; if yea, then at least many of them were diocesan; for they had, according to this rate, many parochial bishops under them. But I have stood too long upon this impertinent trifle; but as now-a-days it is made, the consideration of it is material to the main question. Only this I add, that if any man should trouble the world with any other fancy of his own, and say that our bishops are nothing like the primitive, because all the bishops of the primitive church had only two towns in their charge, and no more, and each of these towns had in them one hundred and seventy families, and were bound to have no more, how should this man be confuted? It was just such a device as this in them, that first meant to disturb this question, by pretending that the bishops were only parochial, not diocesan, and that there was no other bishop but the parish-priest. Most certainly, themselves could not believe the allegation, only they knew it would raise a dust. But, by God's providence, there is water enough in the primitive fountains to allay it.

SECTION XLIV.

And was aided by Presbyters, but not impaired.

Another consideration must here be interposed, concerning the intervening of presbyters in the regiment of the several churches. For though I have twice already shown, that they could not challenge it of right, either by Divine institution or apostolical ordinance; yet here also it must be considered how it was in the practice of the primitive church; for those men that call the bishop a pope, are themselves desirous to make a conclave of cardinals too, and to make every diocess a Roman consistory.

1. Then the first thing we hear of presbyters, (after Scripture, I mean, for of it I have already given account,) is from the testimony of St. Jerome:[a] "Antequam studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, &c. communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur:" "Before factions arose in the church, the church was governed by the common council of presbyters." Here St. Jerome either means it of the time before bishops were constituted in particular churches, or after bishops were appointed. If "before bishops were appointed," no hurt done, the presbyters might well rule in common, before themselves had a ruler appointed to govern both them and all the diocess beside. For so St. Ignatius,[b] writing to the church of Antioch, exhorts the presbyters to feed the flock until God should declare *τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν*, "whom he would make their ruler." And St. Cyprian, speaking of Etecusa, and some other women that had made defailance in time of persecution, and so were put to penance, "præceperunt eas præpositi tantisper sic esse, donec episcopus constituatur:" The presbyters, whom "sede vacante" he, "præter morem suum," calls "præpositos," they gave order that "they should so remain till the consecration of a bishop." But if St. Jerome means this saying of his "after bishops were fixed," then his expression answers the allegation, for it was but "communi consilio presbyterorum," the judicium might be solely in the bishop; he was the judge, though the presbyters were the counsellors. For so himself adds, that "upon occasion of those first schisms in Corinth, it was decreed in all the world, "ut omnis ecclesiæ cura ad unum pertineret," "all the care of the diocess was in the bishop," and, therefore, all the power; for it was unimaginable that the burden should be laid on the bishop, and the strength put into the hands of the presbyters. And so St. Ignatius styles them *σύμβουλοι, καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, "assessors and counsellors to the bishop." But yet if we take our estimate from Ignatius, "the bishop is the ruler; without him, though all concurred, yet nothing could be done, nothing attempted; the bishop was superior in all power and authority; he was to be obeyed in all things, and contradicted in nothing; the bishop's judgment was to sway, and nothing must seem pleasing to the presbyters that was cross to the bishop's sentence:" this, and a great deal more, which I have formerly made use of, is in Ignatius;[c] and now let their assistance and counsel extend as far as it will, the bishop's authority is invulnerable. But I have already enough discussed this instance of St. Jerome's section; thither I refer the reader.

2. But St. Cyprian must do this business for us, if any man; for of all the bishops, he did acts of the greatest condescension and seeming declination of episcopal authority. But let us see the worst. "Ad id verò, quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri, solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio episcopatûs mei statuerim nihil, sine consilio vestro et sine consensu plebis meæ, privatâ sententiâ

[p] Epist. 1. ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.
[q] Vide Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. in Epist.
[a] In Epist. ad Titum. c. 1.
[b] Epist. ad Antioch. Epist. 21.
[c] Ad Trallian. Ad Magnes.

gerere."[d] And again, "Quamvis mihi videantur debere pacem accipere, tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temerè præsumere."[e] And a third time, "Quæ res cùm omnium nostrûm consilium et sententiam spectat, præjudicare ego et soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo."[f] These are the greatest steps of episcopal humility that I find "in materiâ juridicâ;" the sum whereof is this, that St. Cyprian did consult his presbyters and clergy in matters of consequence, and resolved to do nothing without their advice. But then, consider also it was "statui apud me," "I have resolved with myself," to do nothing without your counsel. It was no necessity "ab extrà," no duty, no sanction of Holy Church, that bound him to such a modesty; it was his own voluntary act. 2. It was as well "diaconorum," as "presbyterorum consilium," that he would have in conjunction, as appears by the titles of the sixth and eighteenth epistles: "Cyprianus presbyteris, ac diaconis fratribus salutem:" so that here the presbyters can no more challenge a power of regiment in common, than the deacons, by any Divine law or catholic practice. 3. St. Cyprian, also, would actually have the consent of the people, too; and that will as well disturb the "jus Divinum" of an independent presbytery, as of an independent episcopacy.

But, indeed, neither of them both need to be much troubled, for all this was voluntary in St. Cyprian, like Moses, "qui cùm in potestate suâ habuit, ut solis possit præesse populo, seniores elegit," (to use St. Jerome's[g] expression,) "who, when it was in his power alone to rule the people, yet chose seventy elders for assistants:" for, as for St. Cyprian, this very epistle clears it, that no part of his episcopal authority was impaired; for he shows what himself alone could do: "Fretus igitur dilectione vestrâ, et religione, quam satis novi, his literis et hortor et mando," &c.; "I entreat and command you:" "Vice meâ fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit;" "Be my substitutes in the administration of church-affairs." He entreats them, "pro dilectione," "because they loved him;" he commands them, "pro religione," "by their religion;" for it was a piece of their religion to obey him, and in him was the government of his church; else how could he have put the presbyters and deacons in substitution?

Add to this, it was the custom of the church, that although the bishop did only impose hands in the ordination of clerks, yet the clergy did approve and examine the persons to be ordained; and it being a thing of public interest, it was then not thought fit to be a personal action, both in preparation and ministration too; and for this St. Chrysostom was accused, "in consilio nefario," as the title of the edition of it expresses it,[h] that he made ordinations ἄνευ συνεδρίου καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ κλήρου· yet when St. Cyprian saw occasion for it, he did ordain without the consent of the clergy of his church; for so he ordained Celerinus; so he ordained Optatus and Saturnus, when himself was from his church, and in great want of clergymen to assist in the ministration of the daily offices. He did as much in jurisdiction, too, and censures; for himself did excommunicate Felicissimus and Augendus, and Repostus, and Irene, and Paula, as appears in his thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth epistles, and tells Rogatianus[i] that he might have done as much to the petulant deacon that abused him, by virtue of his episcopal authority: and the same power, singly and solely, he exercised in his acts of favour and absolution: "Unus atque alius, obnitente plebe et contradicente, meâ tamen facilitate suscepti sunt."[k] Indeed here is no contradiction of the clergy expressed, but yet the absolution, said to be his own act, against the people, and without the clergy; for he alone was the judge, insomuch that he declared that it was the cause of schism and heresy, that the bishop was not obeyed: "Nec unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi, cogitatur," "and that one high priest in a church, and judge, instead of Christ, is not admitted."[l] So that the bishop must be one, and that one must be judge,—and to acknowledge more, in St. Cyprian's Lexicon, is called schism and heresy. Further yet, this judicatory of the bishop is independent, and responsive to none but Christ: "Actum suum disponit, et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus:"[m] and again, "Habet in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus;" "The bishop is lord of his own actions, and may do what seems good in his own eyes, and for his actions he is to account to Christ."[n]

This general account is sufficient to satisfy the allegations out of the sixth and eighth epistles, and indeed, the whole question. But for the eighteenth epistle, there is something of peculiar answer; for first, it was a case of public concernment, and, therefore, he would so comply with the public interest, as to do it by public council. Secondly, "It was a necessity of times," that made this case peculiar: "Necessitas temporum facit, ut non temerè pacem demus:" they are the first words of the next epistle, which is of the same matter, for if the "lapsi" had been easily, and without a public and solemn trial, reconciled, it would have made gentile sacrifices frequent, and martyrdom but seldom. Thirdly, the common council, which St. Cyprian here said he would expect, was the council of the confessors, to whom, for a peculiar honour, it was indulged, that they should be interested in the public assoiling of such penitents, who were overcome with those fears which the confessors had overcome: so that this is evidently an act of positive and temporary discipline; and as it is no disadvantage to the power of the bishop, so, to be sure, no advantage to the presbyter. But the clause of objection, from the nineteenth epistle, is yet unanswered, and that runs something higher, "tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temerè præsumere." It is called "presumption" to reconcile the

[d] Epist. 6. [e] Epist. 19. [f] Epist. 18.
[g] In 1. ad. Titum. [h] Jus Græco-Rom. p. 556.
[i] Epist. 65. [k] Epist. 55. [l] Ibidem.
[m] Epist. 52. [n] Epist. 72.

penitents without the advice of those to whom he writ; but from this we are fairly delivered by the title: "Cypriano, et compresbyteris Carthagine consistentibus; Caldonius salutem." It was not the epistle of Cyprian to his presbyters, but of Caldonius, one of the suffragan bishops of Numidia, to his metropolitan; and now, what wonder if he call it presumption to do an act of so public consequence, without the advice of his metropolitan. He was bound to consult him by the canons apostolical, and so he did, and no harm done to the present question, of the bishop's sole and independent power, and unmixed with the conjunct interest of the presbytery, who had nothing to do beyond ministery, counsel, and assistance.

3. In all churches where a bishop's seat was, there were not always a college of presbyters, but only in the greatest churches; for some time in the lesser cities there were but two: "Esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus;" so St. Ambrose:[o] "sometimes there was but one in a church." Posthumianus, in the third council of Carthage, put the case: "Deinde qui unum presbyterum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus presbyter auferri?" The church of Hippo had but one; Valerius was the bishop, and Austin was the priest; and, after him, Austin was the bishop, and Eradius the priest. Sometimes not one, as in the case Aurelius put in the same council now cited, of a church that hath never a presbyter to be consecrated bishop, in the place of him that died; and once, at Hippo, they had none, even then when the people snatched St. Austin, and carried him to Valerius to be ordained: in these cases I hope it will not be denied but the bishop was judge alone; I am sure he had but little company, sometimes none at all.

4. But suppose it had been always done, that presbyters were consulted in matters of great difficulty and possibility of scandal, for so St. Ambrose[p] intimates, "Ecclesia seniores habuit, sine quorum consilio nihil gerebatur in ecclesiâ," understand in these churches where presbyters were fixed; yet this might be necessary, and was so, indeed, in some degree at first, which in succession, as it proved troublesome to the presbyters, so unnecessary and impertinent to the bishops. At first, I say, it might be necessary, for they were times of persecutions and temptation; and if both the clergy and people, too, were not complied withal in such exigence of time, and agonies of spirit, it was the way to make them relapse to gentilism; for a discontented spirit will hide itself, and take sanctuary in the reeds and mud of Nilus, rather than not take complacence in an imaginary security and revenge. Secondly: As yet there had been scarce any synods to determine cases of public difficulty; and what they could not receive from public decision, it was fitting they should supply by the maturity of a conciliary assistance and deliberation: for although, by the canons of the apostles, bishops were bound twice a year to celebrate synods, yet, persecution intervening, they were rather twice a year a διασπορὰ than συνόδος, "a dispersion than a synod." Thirdly: Although synods had been as frequently convened as was intended by the apostles, yet it must be length of time, and a successive experience, that must give opportunity and ability to give general rules for the emergency of all particulars; and therefore, till the church grew of some considerable age, a fixed standing college of presbyters was more requisite than since it hath been, when the frequency of general councils, and provincial synods, and the peace of the church, and the innumerable volumes of the fathers, and decretals of bishops, and a digest of ecclesiastical constitutions, hath made the personal assistance of presbyters unnecessary. 4. When necessity required not their presence and counsel, their own necessity required that they should attend their several cures. For let it be considered, they that would now have a college of presbyters assist the bishop, whether they think of what follows; for either they must have presbyters ordained without a title, which I am sure they have complained of these threescore years, or else they must be forced to non-residence; for how else can they assist the bishop in the ordinary and daily occurrences of the church, unless either they have no cure of their own, or else neglect it? And as for the extraordinary, either the bishop is to consult his metropolitan, or he may be assisted by a synod, if the canons already constituted do not aid him; but in all these cases the presbyter is impertinent.

5. As this assistance of presbyters was at first for necessity, and after by custom it grew a law; so now, "retrò," first the necessity failed, and then the desuetude abrogated the law, which before custom had established: "Quod quâ negligentiâ obsoleverit nescio," saith St. Ambrose:[q] "he knew not how it came to be obsolete," but so it was; it had expired before his time: not but that presbyters were still in mother churches, (I mean in great ones,) "In ecclesiâ enim habemus senatum nostrum, actum presbyterorum;" "We have still," saith St. Jerome,[r] "in the church, our senate, a college, or chapter of presbyters;" he was then at Rome or Jerusalem: but they were not consulted in church-affairs, and matter of jurisdiction; that was it that St. Ambrose wondered how it came to pass: and thus it is to this day. In our mother churches we have a chapter, too, but the bishop consults them not in matters of ordinary jurisdiction; just so it was in St. Ambrose's time; and, therefore, our bishops have altered no custom in this particular; the alteration was pregnant, even before the end of the four general councils, and, therefore, is no violation of a Divine right; for then, most certainly, a contrary provision would have been made in those conventions, wherein so much sanctity, and authority, and catholicism, and severe discipline, were conjunct; and then, besides, it is no innovation in practice which pretends so fair antiquity; but, however, it was never otherwise than voluntary in the bishops, and positive discipline in the church, and conveniency in the thing for that present, and counsel in the presby-

[o] In 1 Tim. iii. [p] 1 Tim. i. [q] Ubi suprà. [r] In Isa. iii.

ters, and a trouble to the presbyters' persons, and a disturbance of their duties, when they came to be fixed upon a particular charge.

One thing more before I leave: I find a canon of the council of Hispalis[s] objected: "Episcopus presbyteris solus honorem dare potest, solus autem auferre non potest:" "A bishop may alone ordain a priest; a bishop may not alone depose a priest." Therefore, in censures there was in the primitive church a necessity of conjunction of presbyters with the bishop in imposition of censures.

To this I answer, first, it is evident that he that can give an honour, can also take it away, if any body can; for there is in the nature of the thing no greater difficulty in pulling down than in raising up. It was wont always to be accounted easier; therefore this canon, requiring a conjunct power in deposing presbyters, is a positive constitution of the church, founded, indeed, upon good institution, but built upon no deeper foundation, neither of nature or higher institution, than its own present authority.

But that is enough, for we are not now in question of Divine right, but of catholic and primitive practice. To it, therefore, I answer, that the conjunct hand—required to pull down a presbyter—was not the chapter, or college of presbyters; but a company of bishops, a synodal sentence, and determination; for so the canon runs, "qui profecto nec ab uno damnari nec uno judicante poterint honoris sui privilegiis exui: sed præsentati synodali judicio, quod canon de illis præceperit definiri." And the same thing was determined in the Greeks' council of Carthage.[t] "If a presbyter or a deacon be accused, their own bishop shall judge them, not alone, but with the assistance of six bishops more, in the case of a presbyter; three of a deacon; τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κληρικῶν τὰς αἰτίας καὶ μόνος ὁ ἐντόπιος ἐπίσκοπος διαγνῶ καὶ περατώσῃ· but the causes of the other clergy, the bishop of the place must alone "hear and determine them." So that by this canon, in some things, the bishop might not be alone, but then his assistants were bishops, not presbyters: in other things he alone was judge, without either, and yet his sentences must not be clancular, but in open court, in the full chapter, for his presbyters must be present; and so it is determined for Africa, in the fourth council of Carthage:[u] "Ut episcopus nullius causam audiat absque præsentiâ clericorum suorum: alioquin irrita erit sententia episcopi nisi præsentiâ clericorum confirmetur." Here is, indeed, a necessity of the presence of the clergy of his church, where his consistory was kept, lest the sentence should be clandestine, and so illegal; but it is nothing but "præsentia clericorum," for it is "sententia episcopi," "the bishop's sentence," and the clerks' presence only; for μόνος ὁ ἐντόπιος ἐπίσκοπος, "the bishops alone might give sentence," in the causes of the inferior clergy, even by this canon itself, which is used for objection against the bishop's sole jurisdiction.

I know nothing now to hinder our process; for the bishop's jurisdiction is clearly left in his own hand, and the presbyters had no share in it, but by delegation and voluntary assumption. Now I proceed in the main question.

[s] Can. 6. [t] Can. 20. [u] Can. 23.

SECTION XLV.

So that the Government of the Church by Bishops was believed necessary.

WE have seen what episcopacy is in itself; now, from the same principles, let us see what it is to us; and, first, antiquity taught us it was simply necessary, even to the being and constitution of a church: that runs high, but we must follow our leaders. St. Ignatius[a] is express in this question: "Qui intra altare est, mundus est, quare et obtemperat episcopo et sacerdotibus. Qui vero foris est, hic is est, qui sine episcopo, sacerdote, et diacono, quicquam agit, et ejusmodi inquinatam habet conscientiam, et infideli deterior est:" "He that is within the altar, that is, within the communion of the church, he is pure, for he obeys the bishop and the priests. But he that is without, that is, does any thing without his bishop and the clergy, he hath a filthy conscience, and is worse than an infidel." "Necesse itaque est, quicquid facitis, ut sine episcopo nihil faciatis:" "It is necessary, that whatever ye do, ye be sure to do nothing without the bishop." "Quid enim aliud est episcopus," &c. "For what else is a bishop, but he that is greater than all power?" So that the obeying the bishop is the necessary condition of a christian and catholic communion; he that does not is worse than an infidel. The same also he affirms again:[b] "Quotquot enim Christi, sunt partium episcopi; qui vero ab illo declinant, et cum maledictis communionem amplectuntur, hi cum illis excidentur:" "All they that are on Christ's side, are on the bishop's side; but they that communicate with accursed schismatics, shall be cut off with them." If, then, we will be Christ's servants, we must be obedient and subordinate to the bishop. It is the condition of christianity. We are not christians else. So is the intimation of St. Ignatius.[c] As full and pertinent is the peremptory resolution of St. Cyprian, in that admirable epistle of his "ad Lapsos;" where, after he had spoken how Christ instituted the honour of episcopacy, in concrediting the keys to St. Peter and the other apostles, "Inde," saith he, "per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur:" "Hence is it, that by several successions of bishops the church is continued, so that the church hath its being or constitution by bishops, and every act of ecclesiastical regiment is to be disposed by them." "Cùm hoc itaque Divinâ lege fundatum sit, miror," &c. "Since, therefore, this is so established by the law of God, I wonder any

[a] Epist. ad Tral. [b] Epist. ad Philadelph. [c] Epist. 27. et alibi.

man should question it," &c. And, therefore, as in all buildings, the foundation being gone, the fabric falls, so "if ye take away bishops, the church must ask a writing of divorce from God, for it can no longer be called a church." This account we have from St. Cyprian, and he reinforces again upon the same charge, in his epistle "ad Florentium Pupianum,"[d] where he makes a bishop to be ingredient into the definition of a church: "Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens:" "The church is a flock adhering to its pastor, and a people united to their bishop:" for that so he means by "sacerdos," appears in the words subjoined: "Unde et scire debes, episcopum in ecclesiâ esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo, et si qui cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesiâ non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt," &c. "As a bishop is in the church, so the church is in the bishop; and he that does not communicate with the bishop, is not in the church; and therefore, they vainly flatter themselves, that think their case fair and good, if they communicate in conventicles, and forsake their bishop."

And for this cause the holy primitives were so confident and zealous for a bishop, that they would rather expose themselves and all their tribes to a persecution, than to the greater misery, the want of bishops. Fulgentius tells an excellent story to this purpose.[e] When Frasamund, king of Byzac, in Africa, had made an edict that no more bishops should be consecrate, to this purpose, that the catholic faith might expire, (so he was sure it would, if this device were perfected,) "ut arescentibus truncis absque palmitibus omnes ecclesiæ desolarentur," the good bishops of the province met together in a council, and having considered of the command of the tyrant, "Sacra turba pontificum qui remanserant, communicato inter se consilio, definierunt adversus præceptum regis in omnibus locis celebrare ordinationes pontificum, cogitantes aut regis iracundiam, si qua forsan existeret, mitigandam, quo facilius ordinati in suis plebibus viverent, aut si persecutionis violentia nasceretur, coronandos etiam fidei confessione, quos dignos inveniebant promotione." It was full of bravery and christian sprite. "The bishops resolved, for all the edict against new ordination of bishops, to obey God rather than man, and to consecrate bishops in all places, hoping the king would be appeased; or if not, yet those whom they thought worthy of a mitre, were in a fair disposition to receive a crown of martyrdom." They did so. "Fit repente communis assumptio," and they all strove who should be first, and thought a blessing would outstrip the hindmost. They were sure they might go to heaven, though persecuted, under the conduct of a bishop; they knew without him the ordinary passage was obstructed.

Pius the First, bishop of Rome, and martyr, speaking of them that calumniate and disgrace their bishops,[f] endeavouring to make them infamous "They add," saith he, "evil to evil, and grow worse," "non intelligentes quòd ecclesia Dei in sacerdotibus consistit, et crescit in templum Dei:" "not considering that the church of God doth consist or is established in bishops, and grows up to a holy temple." To him I am most willing to add St. Jerome,[g] because he is often obtruded in defiance of the cause: "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdoti dignitate pendet:" "The safety of the church depends upon the bishop's dignity."

SECTION XLVI.

For they are Schismatics that separate from their Bishop.

THE reason which St. Jerome gives, presses this business to a further particular. "For if an eminent dignity, and an unmatchable power, be no given to him," "tot efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes." So that he makes bishops therefore necessary, because without them "the unity of a church cannot be preserved;" and we know that unity and being are of equal extent; and if the unity of the church depends upon the bishop, then where there is no bishop, no pretence to a church and therefore to separate from the bishop makes a man at least a schismatic. For unity, which the fathers press so often, they make to be dependent on the bishop. "Nihil sit in vobis quod possit vos dirimere, sed unimini episcopo, subjecti Deo per illum in Christo," saith St. Ignatius:[a] "Let nothing divide you, but be united to your bishop being subject to God in Christ through your bishop." And it is his congé to the people of Smyrna, to whom he writ in his epistle to Polycarpus,[b] "Optet vos semper valere in Deo nostro Jesu Christo, in quo manete per unitatem Dei et episcopi:" "Fare well in Christ Jesus, in whom remain by the unity of God and of the bishop." "Quantò vos beatiores judico, qui dependetis ab illo, (episcopo,) ut ecclesia à Domino Jesu et Dominus à Patre suo, ut omnia per unitatem consentiant:" "Blessed people are ye that depend upon your bishop, as the church on Christ, and Christ on God, that all things may consent in unity."

"Neque enim aliundè hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm inde quòd sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur:" "Hence come schisms, hence spring heresies, that the bishop is not obeyed, and admitted alone to be the high priest, alone to be the judge."[c] The same St. Cyprian repeats again;[d] and by it we may see his meaning clearer: "Qui vos audit, me audit," &c. "Inde enim hæreses et schismata obortæ sunt

[d] Epist. 69.
[e] Vide Concil. Byzacenum, An. Dom. 504. et Suriam, die 1 Januar. et Baron. in A. D. 504.

[f] Epist. 2.
[a] Epist. ad Magnes.
[c] St. Cyprian. Ep. 55.
[g] Advers. Lucif. cap. 4.
[b] Ad Ephes.
[d] Epist. 69.

et oriuntur, dum episcopus, qui unus est et ecclesiæ præest, superbâ quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus hominibus judicatur." The pride and peevish haughtiness of some factious people that contemn their bishops, is the cause of all heresy and schism. And, therefore, it was so strictly forbidden, by the ancient canons, that any man should have any meetings, or erect an altar, out of the communion of his bishop,—that if any man proved delinquent in this particular, he was punished with the highest censures, as appears in the thirty-second canon of the apostles, in the sixth canon of the council of Gangra, the fifth canon of the council of Antioch, and the great council of Chalcedon,[e] all which I have before cited. The sum is this: the bishop is the band and ligature of the church's unity; and separation from the bishop is διχονοίας σύμβολον, as Theodoret's expression is; a "symbol of faction;" and he that separates, is a schismatic.

But how if the bishop himself be a heretic or schismatic? May we not then separate? Yes, if he be judged so by a synod of bishops; but then he is sure to be deposed too; and then in these cases no separation from a bishop. For till he be declared so, his communion is not to be forsaken by the subjects of his diocess, lest they, by so doing, become their judge's judge; and when he is declared so, no need of withdrawing from obedience to the bishop, for the heretic or schismatic must be no longer bishop. But let the case be what it will be, no separation from a bishop, "ut sic," can be lawful; and yet if there were a thousand cases, in which it were lawful to separate from a bishop, yet in no case is it lawful to separate from episcopacy; that is the quintessence and spirit of schism, and a direct overthrow to christianity, and a confronting of a Divine institution.

SECTION XLVII.

And Heretics.

BUT is it not also heresy? Aerius was condemned for heresy by the catholic church. The heresy from whence the Aerians were denominated was, "sermo furiosus magis quàm humanæ conditionis, et dicebat, 'Quid est episcopus ad presbyterum? nihil differt hic ab illo;'"[a] "A mad and unmanly heresy to say, that a bishop and a priest are all one." So Epiphanius: "Assumpsit autem ecclesia, et in toto mundo assensus factus est, antequam esset Aerius, et qui ab ipso appellantur Aeriani." And the good catholic father is so angry at the heretic Aerius, that he thinks his name was given him by Providence, and he is called Aerius, "aeriis spiritibus pravitatis;" for he was possessed with an unclean spirit: he could never else have been the inventor of such heretical pravity. St. Austin, also, reckons him in the accursed roll of heretics, and adds, at the conclusion of his catalogue, "that he is no catholic christian that assents to any of the foregoing doctrines;" amongst which this is one of the principal. Philastrius does as much for him.

But against this it will be objected, first, that heresies, in the primitive catalogues, are of a large extent: and every dissent from a public opinion was esteemed heresy. Secondly, Aerius was called heretic, for denying prayer for the dead. And why may he not be as blameless in equalling a bishop and a presbyter, as in that other, for which he also is condemned by Epiphanius and St. Austin. Thirdly, he was never condemned by any council; and how, then, can he be called heretic?

I answer,—That dissent from a public or a received opinion was never called heresy, unless the contrary truth was indeed a part of catholic doctrine. For the fathers, many of them, did so; as St. Austin from the millenary opinion; yet none ever reckoned them in the catalogues of heretics; but such things only set them down there, which were either directly opposite to catholic belief, though "in minoribus articulis," or to a holy life. Secondly;—It is true that Epiphanius and St. Austin reckon his denying prayer for the dead to be one of his own opinions, and heretical. But I cannot help it, if they did; let him and them agree it; they are able to answer for themselves. But yet they accused him also of Arianism; and shall we therefore say, that Arianism was no heresy, because the fathers called him heretic in one particular upon a wrong principle? We may as well say this as deny the other. Thirdly; He was not condemned by any council. No: for his heresy was ridiculous, and a scorn to all wise men, as Epiphanius observes; and it made no long continuance; neither had it any considerable party. But yet this is certain, that Epiphanius, and Philastrius, and St. Austin, called this opinion of Aerius a heresy, and against the catholic belief. And themselves affirm that the church did so; and then it would be considered, that it is but a sad employment to revive old heresies, and make them a piece of the new religion.

And yet after all this, if I mistake not, although Aerius himself was so inconsiderable as not to be worthy noting in a council, yet certainly the one-half his error is condemned for heresy in one of the four general councils, viz. the first council of Constantinople.[b] Αἱρετικοὺς δὲ λέγομεν, τούς τε πάλαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκήρυχθέντας, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀναθεματισθέντας· "We call all them heretics, whom the ancient church hath condemned, and whom we shall anathematize." Will not Aerius come under one of these titles for a condemned heretic? Then see forward. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς τὴν πίστιν μὲν τὴν ὑγιῆ προσποιουμένους ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποσχίζοντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις. Here is enough for Aerius and all his hyperaspists, new and old; for the holy council condemns them "for heretics, who do indeed confess the true faith, but separate from their bishops, and make conventicles apart from his communion." Now this I the rather urge, because

[e] Act. iv. [a] Hæres. 75 [b] Can. 6.

an act of parliament, made tenth of Elizabeth, does make this council, and the other three of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, the rule of judging heresies.

I end this particular with the saying of the council of Paris against the Acephali, (who were the branch of a crab-stock, and something like Aerius,) cited by Burchard:[c] "Nullâ ratione clerici aut sacerdotes habendi sunt, qui sub nullius episcopi disciplinâ et providentiâ gubernantur. Tales enim Acephalos, id est, sine capite, priscæ ecclesiæ consuetudo nuncupavit:" "They are, by no means, to be accounted clergymen, or priests, that will not be governed by a bishop. For such men the primitive church called ἀκεφάλους, that is, 'headless,' witless people."

This only. Acephali was the title of a sect, a formal heresy, and condemned by the ancient church, say the fathers of the council of Paris. Now if we can learn exactly what they were, it may, perhaps, be another conviction for the necessity of episcopal regiment. Nicephorus[d] can best inform us. "Eodem tempore, et Acephali, quorum dux Severus Antiochenus fuit," &c. "Severus of Antioch was the first broacher of this heresy." But why were they called "Acephali?" "id est, *sine capite*, quem sequuntur hæretici; nullus enim eorum reperitur auctor, à quo exorti sunt," saith Isidore. But this cannot be, for their head is known: Severus was the heresiarch. But then why are they called "Acephali?" Nicephorus[e] gives this reason, and, withal, a very particular account of their heresy: "Acephali autem ob eam causam dicti sunt, quod sub episcopis non fuerunt:" "They refused to live under bishops." Thence they had their name; what was their heresy? They denied the distinction of natures in Christ. That was one of their heresies; but they had more; for they were "trium capitulorum in Chalcedone impugnatores," saith Isidore;[f] "they opposed three canons of the council of Chalcedon." One we have heard; what their other heresies were we do not so well know; but by the canon of the council of Paris, and the intimation of their name, we are guided to the knowledge of a second: they refused to live under the government of a bishop. And this also was "impugnatio unius articuli in Chalcedone;" for the eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon commands, that the clergy should be under episcopal government. But these Acephali would not, they were anti-episcopal men; and, therefore, they were condemned heretics; condemned in the councils of Paris, of Seville, and of Chalcedon.

But the more particular account that Nicephorus gives of them, I will now insert, because it is of great use. "Proinde episcopis, et sacerdotibus apud eos defunctis, neque baptismus juxta solennem atque receptum ecclesiæ morem apud eos administratur, neque oblatio, aut res aliqua divina facta, ministeriumve ecclesiasticum, sicuti mos est, celebratum est. Communionem verò illi, à plurimo tempore asservatam habentes, feriis Paschalibus, in minutissimas incisam partes convenientibus ad se hominibus dederunt. Quo tempore quam quisqu voluisset placitam sibi sumebat potestatem. I propterea quod quilibet, quodcunque visum esse fidei insertum volebat, quamplurima defectorun atque hæreticorum turba exorta est." It is a stor worthy observation. "When any bishop die they would have no other consecrated in succession and, therefore, could have no more priests, whe any of them died." But how then did they to ba tize their children? Why, they were fain to mak shift, and do it without any church-solemnity. B how then did they for the holy sacrament?—f that could not be consecrated without a priest, an he not ordained without a bishop. True: but ther fore "they, while they had a bishop, got a grea deal of bread consecrated, and kept a long time and when Easter came, cut it into small bits, crumbs rather, to make it go the further, and gav it to their people." And must we do so too? Go forbid. But how did they when all that was gone for crumbs would not last always. The stor specifies it not, but yet I suppose they then got bishop for their necessity, to help them to som more priests, and some more crumbs; for I find, the council of Seville,[g] the fathers saying, "I gressus est ad nos quidam ex hæresi Acephaloru episcopus;" they had then, it seems, got a bisho but this they would seldom have—and never, b when their necessity drove them to it. But wa this all the inconvenience of the want of bishops No: "for every man," saith Nicephorus, "migh do what he list, and if he had a mind to it, migh put his fancy into the creed, and thence came i numerable troops of schismatics and heretics." S that this device was one simple heresy in the roo but it was forty heresies in the fruit and branches clearly proving, that want of bishops is the cause all schism and recreant opinions that are imaginabl

I sum this up with the saying of St. Clement the disciple of St. Peter, "Si autem vobis episcop non obedierint omnes presbyteri, &c. tribus, linguæ non obtemperaverint, non solùm infames, se extorres à regno Dei, et consortio fidelium, ac limitibus sancti Dei ecclesiæ alieni erunt:" "A priests, and clergymen, and people, and nations, an languages, that do not obey their bishop, shall b shut forth of the communion of holy church her and of heaven hereafter." It runs high, but I ca not help it; I do but translate Ruffinus, as he b fore translated St. Clement.

SECTION XLVIII.

And Bishops were always, in the Church, Men o great Honour.

It seems, then, we must have bishops. But mu we have lord bishops too? That is the questio now, but such a one as the primitive piety cou

[c] Decret. lib. ii. c. 226.
[d] Eccles. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 45.
[e] Etymol. lib. viii. c. 5.
[f] Ut suprà.
[g] Can. 12.
[h] Epist. 3.

never have imagined. For, could they, to whom bishops were placed in a right and a true light,—they who believed and saw them to be the fathers of their souls, the guardian of their life and manners, (as King Edgar called St. Dunstan,) the guide of their consciences, the instruments and conveyances of all the blessings Heaven uses to pour upon us by the ministration of the holy gospel; would they, that thought their lives a cheap exchange for a free and open communion with a catholic bishop, would they have contested upon an airy title, and the imaginary privilege of an honour, which is far less than their spiritual dignity, but infinitely less than the burden and charge of the souls of all their diocess? Charity thinks nothing too much, and that love is but little that grudges at the good words a bishopric carries with it.

However, let us see whether titles of honour be either unfit in themselves to be given to bishops; or what the guise of christendom hath been in her spiritual heraldry.

1. St. Ignatius, in his epistle to the church of Smyrna, gives them this command: "Honora episcopum ut principem sacerdotum, imaginem Dei referentem:" "Honour the bishop as the image of God, as the prince of priests." Now since honour and excellency are terms of mutual relation, and all excellency that is in men and things, is but a ray of Divine excellency; so far as they participate of God, so far they are honourable. Since, then, the bishop carries the impress of God upon his forehead, and bears God's image, certainly this participation of such perfection makes him very honourable. And since "honor est in honorante," it is not enough that the bishop is honourable in himself, but it tells us our duty, we must honour him, we must do him honour; and, of all the honours in the world, that of words is the cheapest and the least.

St. Paul, speaking of the honour due to the prelates of the church, *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν*· "Let them be accounted worthy of double honour." And one of the honours that he there means, is a costly one, an honour of maintenance; the other must certainly be an honour of estimate, and that is cheapest. The council of Sardis, speaking of the several steps and capacities of promotion to the height of episcopacy, uses this expression: *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιος τῆς θείας ἱεροσύνης νομισθεὶς, τῆς μεγίστης ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς*·[a] "He that shall be found worthy of so Divine a priesthood, let him be advanced to the highest honour." Ego procidens ad pedes ejus rogabam, excusans me, et declinans honorem cathedræ et potestatem,"[b] saith St. Clement, when St. Peter would have advanced him to the honour and power of the bishop's chair. But in the third epistle, speaking of the dignity of Aaron, the high priest, and then, by analogy, of the bishop, who, although he be a minister in the order of Melchisedeck, yet he hath also the honour of Aaron; "Omnis enim pontifex sacro chrismate perunctus, et in civitate constitutus, et in Scripturis sacris conditus, carus et pretiosus hominibus oppidò esse debet:" "Every high priest ordained in the city, (viz. a bishop,) ought forthwith to be dear and precious in the eyes of men."—"Quem quasi Christi locum tenentem, honorare omnes debent, eique servire, et obedientes ad salutem suam fideliter existere, scientes quòd sive honor, sive injuria quæ ei defertur, in Christum redundat, et à Christo in Deum:" "The bishop is Christ's vicegerent, and therefore he is to be obeyed, knowing that whether it be honour or injury that is done to the bishop, it is done to Christ, and so to God." And, indeed, what is the saying of our blessed Saviour himself? "He that despiseth you, despiseth me." If bishops be God's ministers, and in higher order than the rest, then, although all discountenance and disgrace done to the clergy reflect upon Christ, yet what is done to the bishop is far more, and then there is the same reason of the honour. And if so, then the question will prove but an odd one; even this, whether Christ be to be honoured or no, or depressed to the common estimate of vulgar people? for if the bishops be, then he is. This is the condition of the question.

2. Consider we, that all religions, and particularly all christianity, did give titles of honour to their high priests and bishops respectively. I shall not need to instance in the great honour of the priestly tribe among the Jews, and how highly honourable Aaron was in proportion. Prophets were called "lords," in Holy Scripture. "Art not thou 'my lord' Elijah?" said Obadiah, to the prophet. "Knowest thou not, that God will take 'thy lord' from thy head this day?" said the children in the prophets' schools. So it was then. And in the New Testament, we find a prophet honoured every where but in his own country. And to the apostles and presidents of churches, greater titles of honour given than was ever given to man by secular complacence and insinuation:—Angels, and governors, and fathers of our faith, and stars, lights of the world, the crown of the church, apostles of Jesus Christ, nay, God's,[c] to whom the word of God came; and of the compellation of apostles, particularly St. Jerome saith, that when St. Paul called himself the "apostle of Jesus Christ," it was as magnifically spoken, as if he had said, "Præfectus prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, magister exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris;"[d] and yet bishops are apostles, and so called in Scripture. I have proved that already.

Indeed, our blessed Saviour in the case of the two sons of Zebedee, forbad them to expect by virtue of their apostolate, any princely titles, in order to a kingdom, and an earthly principality. For that was it which the ambitious woman sought for her sons, viz. fair honour and dignity in an earthly kingdom; for such a kingdom they expected with their Messias. To this their expectation, our Saviour's answer is a direct antithesis; and that made the apostles to be angry at the two petitioners, as if they had meant to supplant the rest, and get the best preferment from them, to wit, in a temporal kingdom. "No," saith our blessed Saviour, "ye are all deceived." "The kings of the nations, indeed, do exercise authority, and are

[a] Can. 10. Græc. [b] Epist. 1. ad Jacobum. [c] Apocal. 1. 1 Cor. iv. John x. [d] In Titum.

called *εὐεργέται, benefactors:*" so the word signifies, " gracious lords," so we read it; " but it shall not be so with you."[e] What shall not be so with them? shall not they exercise authority? " Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord made ruler over his household?" Surely the apostles, or nobody. Had Christ authority? Most certainly. Then so had the apostles, for Christ gave them his, with a " sicut misit me Pater," &c. Well! the apostles might, and we know they did exercise authority. What then " shall not be so with them?" Shall not they be called *εὐεργέται*? Indeed, if St. Mark had taken that title upon him in Alexandria, the Ptolemies, whose honorary appellative that was, would have questioned him highly for it. But if we go to the sense of the word, the apostles might be " benefactors," and, therefore, might be called so. But what then? Might they not be called " gracious lords?" The word would have done no hurt, if it had not been an ensign of a secular principality.

For as for the word " lord," I know no more prohibition for that, than for being called rabbi, or master, or doctor, or father.[f] What shall we think now? May we not be called doctors? " God hath constituted in his church, pastors and doctors," saith St. Paul.[g] Therefore, we may be called so. But what of the other, the prohibition runs alike for all, as is evident in the several places of the gospels; and may no man be called master, or father? Let an answer be thought on for these, and the same will serve for the other also without any sensible error. It is not the word, it is the ambitious seeking of a temporal principality, as the issue of christianity, and an affix of the apostolate that Christ interdicted his apostles. And if we mark it, our blessed Saviour points it out himself. " The princes of the nations," *κατακυριεύουσιν*, " exercise authority over them, and are called benefactors;" *οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν*: " It shall not be so with you." Not so? how? Not as the princes of the gentiles, for theirs is a temporal regiment, your apostolate must be spiritual. They rule as kings, you as fellow-servants; *καὶ ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρῶτος, ἔστω ὑμῶν δοῦλος*· " He that will be first amongst you, let him be your minister, or servant;" it seems then among Christ's disciples there may be a superiority, when there is a minister or servant? But it must be *ἐν τῷ διακονεῖν* that this greatness doth consist, it must be in " doing the greatest service and ministration that the superiority consists." But more particularly, it must be *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. It must not be " as the princes of the gentiles," but it must be " as the Son of man;" so Christ says expressly.[h] And how was that? why, " he came to minister and to serve," and yet in the lowest act of his humility, the washing his disciples' feet, he told them, " Ye call me Lord, and Master, and ye say well, for so I am."[i] It may be " so with you." Nay, it must be " as the Son of man;" but then, the being called rabbi, or lord, nay, the being lord " in spirituali magisterio et regimine," " in a spiritual superintendency," and *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* may stand with the humility of the gospel, and office of ministration.

So that now I shall not need to take advantage of the word[k] *κατακυριεύουσιν*, which signifies to rule with more than a political regiment, even with an absolute and despotic, and is so used in Holy Scripture, viz. " in sequiorem partem." God gave authority to man over the creatures; *κατακυριεύσατε* is the word in the Septuagint;[l] and we know the power that man hath over beasts, is to kill, and to keep alive. And thus to our blessed Saviour, the power that God gave him over his enemies, is expressed by *κατακυριεύειν· κατακυρίευε ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου*.[m] And this we know how it must be exercised, *ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* with a rod of iron, *ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς*. He shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.[n] That is *κατακυριεύειν*, but " it shall not be so with you."

But let this be as true as it will. The answer needs no way to rely upon a criticism. It is clear that the form of regiment only is distinguished, not all regiment and authority taken away. *Οὐχ οὕτως*, but *ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς*, " Not as the kings of the gentiles, but as the Son of man;" so must your regiment be, for " sicut misit me pater," &c. " As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." It must be a government, not for your impery, but for the service of the church. So that it is not for your advancement, but the public ministry, that you are put to rule over the household. And thus the fathers express the authority and regiment of bishops. " Qui vocatur ad episcopatum, non ad principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ," saith Origen.[o] And St. Jerome; " Episcopi sacerdotes se esse noverint, non dominos;" and yet St. Jerome himself, writing to St. Austin, calls him, " Domine verè sancte, et suspiciende papa." " Forma apostolica hæc est, dominatio interdicitur, indicitur ministratio."[p] It is no principality that the apostles have, but it is a ministry; a ministry in chief, the officers of which ministration must govern, and we must obey. They must govern, not in a temporal regiment by virtue of their episcopacy, but in a spiritual; not for honour to the rulers, so much as for benefit and service to the subject. So St. Austin, " Nomen est operis, non honoris, ut intelligat se non esse episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse."[q] And in the fourteenth chapter of the same book, " Qui imperant serviunt iis rebus quibus videntur imperare. Non enim dominandi cupidine imperant, sed officio consulendi; nec principandi superbiâ, sed providendi misericordiâ." And all this is intimated in the prophetical visions where the regiment of Christ is designed by the face of a man, and the empire of the world by beasts. The first is the regiment of a father, the second of a king. The first spiritual, the other secular. And of the fatherly authority it is that the prophet says, " Instead of fathers thou shalt

[e] Matt. xx. 25. Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25.
[f] Matt. xxiii. 8–10. [g] Ephes. iv. [h] Luke xxii.
[i] John xiii. [k] In locis ubi suprà. [l] Gen. i.
[m] Psalm cx. [n] Psalm ii. [o] Homil. 6. in Isa.
[p] S. Bern. lib. 10. de Considerat.
[q] Lib. 19. de Civit. Dei, c. 19.

have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands." This, say the fathers, is spoken of the apostles and their successors the bishops, who may be ἄρχοντες Ἐκκλησιῶν, "Princes or rulers of churches," not princes of kingdoms, by virtue or challenge of their apostolate. But if this ecclesiastical rule or chiefty be interdicted, I wonder how the presidents of the presbyters, the προεστῶτες in the reformed churches, will acquit themselves. How will their superiority be reconciled to the place, though it be but temporary? For is it a sin if it continues, and no sin if it lasts, but for a week? Or is it lawful to sin, and domineer, and lord it over their brethren for a week together? But suppose it were, what will they say that are perpetual dictators? Calvin was perpetual president,—and Beza, till Danæus came to Geneva, even for many years together. But beyond all this how can the presbytery, which is a fixed lasting body, rule and govern in causes spiritual and consistorial, and that over all princes, and ministers, and people, and that for ever? For is it a sin in episcopacy to do so, and not in the presbytery? If it be lawful here, then Christ did not interdict it to the apostles; for who will think that a presbytery shall have leave to domineer, and (as they call it now-a-days) to *lord* it over their brethren, when a college of apostles shall not be suffered to *govern?* But if the apostles may govern, then we are brought to a right understanding of our Saviour's saying to the sons of Zebedee, —and then also their successors, the bishops, may do the same.

If I had any further need of answer or escape, it were easy to pretend that this being a particular directory to the apostles, was to expire with their persons. So St. Cyprian intimates, "Apostoli pari fuêre consortio prædíti et honoris, et dignitatis:"[r] and indeed this may be concluding against the supremacy of St. Peter's successors, but will be no ways pertinent to impugn episcopal authority. For "inter se," they might be equal, and yet superior to the presbyters and the people.

Lastly: "It shall not be so with you:" so Christ said, "Non designando officium," but "sortem," "not their duty, but their lot;" intimating that their future condition should not be honorary, but full of trouble, not advanced, but persecuted. But I had rather insist on the first answer; in which I desire it be remembered that I said, seeking temporal principality to be forbidden the apostles, as an appendix to the office of an apostle. For, in other capacities, bishops are as receptive of honour and temporal principalities as other men. Bishops, "ut sic," are not secular princes, must not seek for it; but some secular princes may be bishops, as in Germany and in other places, to this day, they are. For it is as unlawful for a bishop to have any land, as to have a country, and a single acre is no more due to the order than a province; but both these may be conjunct in the same person, though still, by virtue of Christ's precept, the functions and capacities must be distinguished; according to the saying of Synesius, Συνάπτειν τὴν βασιλείαν τῇ ἱεροσύνῃ συγκλώθειν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα· "To confound and intermix the kingdom and the priesthood, is to join things incompossible and inconsistent;" inconsistent, I say, not in person, but absolutely discrepant in function.

3. Consider we, that St. Peter, when he speaks of the duteous subordination of Sarah to her husband Abraham, he propounds her as an example to all married women, in these words, "She obeyed Abraham, and called him lord:" why was this spoken to christian women, but that they should do so too? And is it imaginable that such an honourable compellation as Christ allows every woman to give to her husband, a mechanic, a hard-handed artisan, he would forbid to those eminent pillars of his church, those lights of christendom, whom he really endued with a plenitude of power for the regiment of the catholic church. "Credat Apella."

4. Pastor and father are as honourable titles as any. They are honourable in Scripture. "Honour thy father," &c. Thy father, in all senses. They are also made sacred by being the appellatives of kings and bishops, and that not only in secular addresses, but even in Holy Scripture, as is known. Add to this, ἡγούμενοι, προεστῶτες, and προϊστάμενοι, are used in Scripture for the prelates of the church,[s] and I am certain, that duke and captain, rulers and commanders, are but just the same in English that the other are in Greek, and the least of these is as much as κύριος, or lord. And then if we consider that since Christ excited a spiritual regiment, and used words of secular honour to express it, as in the instances above, although Christ did interdict a secular principality, yet he forbad not a secular title; he used many himself.

5. The voice of the spouse, the holy church, hath always expressed their honourable estimate, in reverential compilations and epithets of honour, to their bishops, and have taught us so to do. Bishops were called "principes ecclesiarum," "princes of the churches." I had occasion to instance it, in the question of jurisdiction. Indeed the third council of Carthage forbad the bishop of Carthage to be called "princeps sacerdotum," or "summus sacerdos," or "aliquid hujusmodi," but only "primæ sedis episcopus." I know not what their meaning was, unless they would dictate a lesson of humility to their primate, that he might remember the principality not to be so much in his person as in the see, for he might be "called bishop of the prime see." But whatsoever fancy they had at Carthage, I am sure it was a guise of christendom, not to speak of bishops "sine præfatione honoris," "but with honourable mention." Τῷ Κυρίῳ μακαριοτάτῳ, "To our most blessed Lord:" so the letters were superscribed to Julius, bishop of Rome, from some of his brethren; in Sozomen.[t] Let no man speak untruths of me μηδὲ τῶν κυρίων τῶν ἐπισκόπων, "Nor of my lords the bishops," said St. Gregory Nazianzen.[u] The synodical book of the council of Constantinople is inscribed, "Dominis reverendissimis ac piissimis fratribus ac collegis, Damaso, Ambrosio," &c. "To our most reverend lords, and

[r] De Unitat. Eccles. [s] Acts xv. Rom. xii. Hebr. xiii.

[t] Lib. iii. c. 23. [u] Epist. ad Greg. Nyssen.

holy brethren," &c.[x] And the council of Illyricum, sending their synodal letters to the bishops of Asia, by Bishop Elpidius, "Hæc pluribus," say they, "persequi non est visum, quòd miserimus unum ex omnibus, Dominum, et collegam nostrum Elpidium, qui cognosceret, esset ne sicut dictum fuerat à Domino, et collegâ nostro Eustathio:"[y] "Our *lord* and brother Elpidius." "Our *lord* and brother Eustathius." The oration in the council of Epaunum begins thus: "Quod præcipientibus tantis Dominis meis ministerium proferendi sermonis assumo," &c. "The prolocutor took that office on him, at the command of so many great *lords* the bishops." When the church of Spain became catholic, and abjured the Arian heresy, King Recaredus, in the third council of Toledo, made a speech to the bishops, "Non incognitum reor esse vobis, reverendissimi sacerdotes," &c. "Non credimus vestram latere sanctitatem," &c. "Vestra cognovit beatitudo," &c. "Venerandi patres," &c. And these often, "Your holiness," "your blessedness," "most reverend," "venerable fathers:" those were the addresses the king made to the fathers of the synod. Thus it was when Spain grew catholic, but not such a speech to be found in all the Arian records. They amongst them used but little reverence to their bishops. But the instances of this kind are innumerable.[z] Nothing more ordinary in antiquity, than to speak of bishops with the titles of κύριοι τιμιώτατοι, θεοφιλέστατοι, ἁγιότατοι, "Domine verè sancte, et suspiciende papa." So St. Jerome, a presbyter, to St. Austin, a bishop.[a] "Secundùm enim honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyteriâ major est," saith St. Austin,[b] "Episcopacy is greater than the office and dignity of a presbyter, according to the titles of honour which the custom of the church hath introduced." But I shall sum up these particulars in a total, which is thus expressed by St. Chrysostom; "Hæretici à diabolo honorum vocabula episcopis non dare didicerunt:" "Heretics have learned of the devil not to give due titles of honour to bishops."[c] The good patriarch was surely angry when he said so. For my own part, I am confident that my lords the bishops do so undervalue any fastuous or pompous title, that were not the duty of their people in it, they would as easily reject them, as it is our duty piously to use them. But if they still desire appellatives of honour, we must give them; they are their due; if they desire them not, they deserve them much more. So that either for their humility, or, however, for their works' sake, we must "highly honour them that have the rule over us;" it is the precept of St. Paul;[d] and St. Cyprian, observing how curious our blessed Saviour was, that he might give honour to the priests of the Jews, even then when they were reeking in their malice, hot as the fire of hell; he did it to teach us a duty. "Docuit enim sacerdotes veros legitime et plene honorari, dum circa falsos sacerdotes ipse talis extitit."[e] It is the argument he uses to procure a full honour to the bishop.

To these I add; if sitting in a throne even above the seat of elders be a title of a great dignity, then we have it confirmed by the voice of all antiquity, calling the bishop's chair a throne, and the investiture of a bishop, in his church, an enthronization. "Quando inthronizantur propter communem utilitatem episcopi," &c. saith Pope Anterus, in his decretal epistle to the bishops of Bœtica and Toledo. "Enthroning" is the primitive word for "the consecration" of a bishop. "Sedes in episcoporum ecclesiis excelsæ constitutæ et præparatæ, ut thronus speculationem et potestatem judicandi à Domino sibi datam materiam docent," saith Urban.[f] And St. Ignatius to his deacon Hero, πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—ὅτι δείξει μοι ὁ Θεὸς Ἥρωνα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου, "I trust that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ will show to me Hero, sitting upon my throne."[g]

The sum of all is this. Bishops, if they must be at all, most certainly must be beloved; it is our duties, and their work deserves it. St. Paul was as dear to the Galatians as their eyes, and it is true eternally, "Formosi pedes evangelizantium," "the feet of the preachers of the gospel are beauteous," and then much more of the chief. "Ideo ista prætulimus, carissimi, ut intelligatis potestatem episcoporum vestrorum, in eisque Deum veneremini, et eos ut animas vestras diligatis, ut quibus illi non communicant, non communicetis," &c.[h] Now, love to our superiors is ever honourable; for it is more than "amicitia," that is amongst peers; but love to our betters, is reverence, obedience, and high estimate. And if we have the one, the dispute about the other would be a mere impertinence. I end this with the saying of St. Ignatius; "Et vos decet non contemnere ætatem episcopi, sed juxta Dei Patris arbitrium omnem illi impertiri reverentiam:"[i] "It is the will of God the Father, that we should give all reverence, honour, or veneration to our bishops."

SECTION XLIX.

And trusted with Affairs of Secular Interest.

WELL! However things are now, it was otherwise in the old religion; for no honour was thought too great for them, whom God had honoured with so great degrees of approximation to himself in power and authority. But then also they went further. For they thought whom God had intrusted with their souls, they might, with an equal confidence, trust with their personal actions and employments of greatest trust.

For it was great consideration, that they who were "antistites religionis," the doctors, and great dictators of faith and conscience, should be the

[x] Theodoret. lib. v. c. 9.
[y] Theodoret. lib. iv. c. 9.
[z] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 4. et c. 5.
[a] Athanas. Apolog. 2.
[b] Epist. 17, 18, 19. apud S. Augustin.
[c] In Psal. xiii. apud Baron. An. Dom. 58. n. 2.
[d] Thess. v. 13.
[e] Epist. 65.
[f] Epist. decret.
[g] Epist. ad Heron.
[h] Urban. ibid.
[i] Epist. ad Magnes.

composers of those affairs, in whose determination a Divine wisdom, and the interests of conscience, and the authority of religion, were the best ingredients.

But it is worth observing how the church and the commonwealth did actions contrary to each other, in pursuance of their several interests. The commonwealth still enabled bishops to take cognizance of causes, and the confidence of their own people would be sure to carry them thither, where they hoped for fair issue, upon such good grounds as they might fairly expect from the bishops' abilities, authority, and religion: but, on the other side, the church did as much decline them as she could, and made sanctions against it, so far as she might, without taking from themselves all opportunities both of doing good to their people, and engaging the secular arm to their own assistance. But this we shall see, by consideration of particulars,

1. It was not, "in naturâ rei," unlawful for bishops to receive an office of secular employment. St. Paul's tent-making was as much against the calling of an apostle, as sitting in a secular tribunal is against the office of a bishop. And it is hard, if we will not allow that to the conveniences of a republic, which must be indulged to a private, personal necessity. But we have not St. Paul's example only, but his rule too, according to primitive exposition. "Dare any of you having a matter before another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church."[a]—Who are they? The clergy, I am sure, now-a-days. But St. Ambrose also thought that to be his meaning seriously: "Let the ministers of the church be the judges."[b] For by "least esteemed" he could not mean the most ignorant of the laity; they would most certainly have done very strange justice, especially in such causes which they understand not. No, but set them to judge, who by their office are servants, and ministers of all; and those are the clergy, who, as St. Paul's expression is, "Preach not themselves, but Jesus to be the Lord, and themselves your servants, for Jesus' sake." "Meliùs dicit, apud Dei ministros agere causam." Yea, but St. Paul's expression seems to exclude the governors of the church from intermeddling. "Is there not one wise man among you, that is able to judge between his brethren?" Why *brethren*, if bishops and priests were to be the judges; they are *fathers*. The objection is not worth the noting, but only for St. Ambrose's answer to it. "Ideò autem fratrem judicem eligendum dicit, qui adhuc rector ecclesiæ illorum non erat ordinatus." "St. Paul used the word 'brethren,' for as yet a bishop was not ordained amongst them of that church;" intimating that the bishop was to be the man, though till then, "in subsidium," a prudent christian man might be employed.[c]

2. The church did always forbid to clergymen a voluntary assumption of engagements in "rebus sæculi." So the sixth canon of the apostles, *ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβυτέρος, ἢ διάκονος κοσμικας φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω· εἰ δὲ, καθαιρείσθω.* "A bishop, and a priest, and a deacon, must not assume, or take on himself worldly cares: if he does, let him be deposed."[d] Here the prohibition is general, "No worldly cares." Not domestic. But how, if they come on him by Divine imposition, or accident? That is nothing, if he does not assume them; that is, by his voluntary act acquire his own trouble. So that if his secular employment be an act of obedience, indeed it is trouble to him, but no sin. But if he seeks it for itself, it is ambition. In this sense, also, must the following canon be understood. *Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας δίδους καθαιρείσθω.* "A clerk must not be a tutor or guardian," viz. of secular trust, that is, must not seek a diversion from his employment by voluntary tutorship.

3. The church, also, forbade all secular negociation for base ends, not precisely the employment itself, but the illness of the intention; and this, indeed, she expressly forbids in her canons. "Pervenit ad sanctam synodum, quòd quidam qui in clero sunt allecti, propter lucra turpia, conductores alienarum possessionum fiant, et sæcularia negotia sub curâ suâ suscipiant, Dei quidem ministerium parvipendentes, sæcularium verò discurrentes domos, et, propter avaritiam, patrimoniorum sollicitudinem sumentes."[e] Clergymen were farmers of lands, and did take upon them secular employment for covetous designs, and with neglect of the church. These are the things the council complained of, and, therefore, according to this exigence, the following sanction is to be understood. "Decrevit itaque hoc sanctum magnumque concilium, nullum deinceps, non episcopum, non clericum, vel monachum, aut possessiones conducere, aut negotiis secularibus se immiscere;" "No bishop, no clergyman, no monk, must farm grounds, nor engage himself in secular business." What, in none? No, none. "Præter pupillorum, si forte leges imponant inexcusabilem curam, aut civitatis episcopus ecclesiasticarum rerum sollicitudinem habere præcipiat, aut orphanorum, et viduarum earum quæ sine ullâ defensione sunt, ac personarum quæ maximè ecclesiastico indigent adjutorio, et propter timorem Domini causa deposcat." This canon will do right to the question.

All secular affairs and bargains, either for covetousness, or with considerable disturbance of church offices, are to be avoided. For a clergyman must not be covetous, much less for covetise must he neglect his cure. To this purpose is that of the second council of Arles, "Clericus, turpis lucri gratiâ, aliquod genus negotiationis non exerceat."[f] But not here nor at Chalcedon is the prohibition absolute, nor declaratory of an inconsistence and incapacity; for, for all this, the bishop or clerk may do any office that is "in piâ curiâ." He may undertake "the supra-vision of widows and orphans." And, although he be forbid by the canon of the apostles to be "a guardian of pupils," yet it is expounded here, by this canon of Chalcedon, for a voluntary seeking; it is forbidden by the apos-

[a] 1 Cor. vi. [b] In hunc locum.
[c] Vide etiam August. de Opere Monach. ca. 29
[d] Can. 7. Latin. Vide Zonar. in Can. Apostol.
[e] Concil. Chalced. Act. 15. can. 3. [f] Can. 11.

tles, but here it is permitted only with "si fortè leges imponant," "if the law or authority commands him," then he may undertake it. That is, if either the emperor commands him, or if the bishop permits him, then it is lawful. But without such command or license, it was against the canon of the apostles. And, therefore, St. Cyprian did himself severely punish Geminius Faustinus, one of the priests of Carthage, for undertaking the executorship of the testament of Geminius Victor:[g] he had no leave of his bishop so to do, and for him, of his own head, to undertake that which would be an avocation of him from his office, did in St. Cyprian's consistory deserve a censure. 3. By this canon of Chalcedon, any clerk may be the œconomus, or steward of a church, and dispense her revenue, if the bishop command him. 4. He may undertake the patronage or assistance of any distressed person that needs the church's aid. From hence it is evident, that all secular employment did not "hoc ipso" avocate a clergyman from his necessary office and duty; for some secular employments are permitted him; "All causes of piety, of charity, all occurrences concerning the revenues of the church, and nothing for covetousness, but any thing in obedience," any thing, I mean, of the forenamed instances. Nay, the affairs of church revenues, and dispensation of ecclesiastical patrimony, was imposed on the bishop by the canons apostolical,[h] and then considering how many possessions were deposited first at the apostles' feet, and afterwards in the bishops' hands, we may quickly perceive that a case may occur, in which something else may be done by the bishop and his clergy besides prayer and preaching. *Αἱ χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστὴς ἔσω*, saith Ignatius to St. Polycarp of Smyrna. "Let not the widows be neglected; after God, do thou take care of them."—"Qui locupletes sunt, et volunt, pro arbitrio quisque suo quod libitum est, contribuit; et quod collectum est apud præsidem deponitur, atque is inde opitulatur orphanis, et viduis, iisque qui vel morbo vel aliâ de causâ egent: tum iis qui vincti sunt, et peregrè advenientibus hospitibus: et, ut uno verbo dicam, omnium indigentium curator est:" "All the collects and offerings of faithful people are deposited with the bishop, and thence he dispenses for the relief of the widows and orphans, thence he provides for travellers, and, in one word, he takes care of all indigent and necessitous people."[i] So it was in Justin Martyr's time, and all this, a man would think, required a considerable portion of his time, besides his studies, and prayer, and preaching.

This was also done even in the apostles' times, for first they had the provision of all the goods and persons of the cœnobium of the church at Jerusalem. This they themselves administered, till a complaint arose which might have proved a scandal; then they chose seven men, men full of the Holy Ghost, men that were priests, for they were of the seventy disciples, saith Epiphanius; and such men as preached and baptized, so St. Stephen and St. Philip; therefore, to be sure, they were clergymen, and yet they left their preaching for a time, at least abated of the height of the employment; for therefore the apostles appointed them, that "themselves might not leave the word of God and serve tables;" plainly implying that such men who were to serve these tables, must leave the ministry of the word in some sense or degree; and yet they chose presbyters, and no harm neither, and for a while themselves had the employment. I say there was no harm done by this temporary office to their priestly function and employment; for to me it is considerable. If the calling of a presbyter does not take up the whole man, then what inconvenience, though his employment be mixed with secular allay? But if it does take up the whole man, then it is not safe for any presbyter ever to become a bishop, which is a dignity of a far greater burden, and requires more than a man's all, if all was required to the function of a presbyter. But I proceed.

4. The church prohibiting secular employment to bishops and clerks, do prohibit it only "in gradu impedimenti officii clericalis;" and therefore when the offices are supplied by any of the order, it is never prohibited, but that the personal abilities of any man may be employed for the fairest advantages either of church or commonwealth. And, therefore, it is observable that the canons provide that the church be not destitute, not that such a particular clerk should there officiate. Thus the council of Arles decreed, "Ut presbyteri, sicut hactenus factum est, indiscretè per diversa non mittantur loca; ne fortè propter eorum absentiam, et animarum pericula, et ecclesiarum, in quibus constituti sunt, negligantur officia."[k] So that here we see, 1. That it had been usual to send priests on embassies, "sicut hactenus factum est." 2. The canon forbids the indiscreet or promiscuous doing of it; not that men of great ability and choice be not employed, but that there be discretion or discerning in the choice of the men, viz. that such men be chosen whose particular worth did, by advancing the legation, make compensation for absence from their churches; and then I am sure there was no indiscretion in the embassy, "quoad hoc" at least; for the ordinary offices of the church might be dispensed by men of even abilities, but the extraordinary affairs of both states require men of a heightened apprehension. 3. The canon only took care, that "the cure of the souls of a parish be not relinquished;" for so is the title of the canon, "Ne presbyteri causâ legationis per diversa mittantur loca, curâ animarum relictâ." But then if the cure be supplied by delegation, the fears of the canon are prevented.

In pursuance of this consideration, the church forbade clergymen to receive honour, or secular preferment; and so it is expressed where the prohibi-

[g] Epist. 56.
[h] Vide Synod. Roman. sub. Sylvestr. c. 4. Concil. Chalced. c. 26. et Zonar. ibid.
[i] Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 2.
[k] Apud Burchard. lib. 2. decret. cap. 99.

tion is made. It is in the council of Chalcedon.[l] "Qui semel in clero deputati sunt, aut monachorum vitam expetiverunt, statuimus neque ad militiam, neque ad dignitatem aliquam venire mundanam." That is the inhibition; but the canon subjoins a temper; "Aut hoc tentantes et non agentes pœnitentiam quo minùs redeant ad hoc quod propter Deum primitus elegerunt, anathematizari;" "they must not turn soldiers, or enter upon any worldly dignity to make them leave their function, which, for the honour of God, they have first chosen:" for then, it seems, he that took on him military honours, or secular prefectures, or consular dignity, could not officiate in holy orders, but must renounce them to assume the other: it was in obstruction of this abuse, that the canon directed its prohibition, viz. in this sense clearly, that a clerk must not so take on him secular offices, as to make him "redire in sæculum," having put his hand to the plough, to look back, to change his profession, or to relinquish the church, and make her become a widow. The case of St. Matthew and St. Peter distinguish and clear this business. "Ecce reliquimus omnia," was the profession of their clerical office. St. Matthew could not return to his trade of publican at all, for that would have taken him from his apostolate. But St. Peter might, and did return to his nets, for all his "reliqui omnia." Plainly telling us, that a secular calling, a continued fixed attendance on a business of the world, is an impediment to the clerical office and ministration, but not a temporary employment or secession.

5. The canons of the church do as much forbid the cares of household, as the cares of public employment to bishops. So the fourth council of Carthage decrees. "Ut episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed lectioni, et orationi, et verbi Dei prædicationi tantummodò vacet."[m] Now if this canon be confronted with that saying of St. Paul, "He that provides not for them of his own household, is worse than an infidel," it will easily inform us of the church's intention. For they must provide, saith St. Paul, but yet so provide, as not to hinder their employment, or else they transgress the canon of the council; but this caveat may be as well entered, and observed in things political as œconomical.

Thus far we have seen what the church hath done in pursuance of her own interest; and that was, that she might with sanctity, and without distraction, tend her grand employment; but yet many cases did occur in which she did canonically permit an alienation of employment, and revocation of some persons from an assiduity of ecclesiastical attendance, as in the case of the seven set over the widows, and of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the apostles, and the canon of Chalcedon.

Now, let us see how the commonwealth also pursued her interest; and, because she found bishops men of religion and great trust, and confident abilities, there was no reason that the commonwealth should be disserved in the promotion of able men to a bishop's throne. Who would have made recompence to the emperor for depriving him of Ambrose his prefect, if episcopal promotion had made him incapable of serving his prince in any great negociation? It was a remarkable passage in Ignatius, *τὸν ουν ἐπίσκοπον——ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν, τῷ Κυρίῳ προεστῶτα· ὁρατικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ ὀξὺν τοῖς ἔργοις βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι, καὶ μὴ παρεστάναι ἀνθρώποις νωθροῖς.*[n] "As our Lord is to be observed, so also must we observe the bishop, because he assists and serves the Lord. And wise men, and of great understanding, must serve kings, for he must not be served with men of small parts." Here either Ignatius commends bishops to the service of kings, or else propounds them as the fittest men in the world to do them service. For, if only men of great abilities are fit to serve kings, surely as great abilities are required to enable a man for the service of God in so peculiar manner of approximation. He, then, that is fit to be a bishop, is most certainly fit for the service of his king. This is the sense of Ignatius's discourse.

For, consider; Christianity might be suspected for a design; and, if the church should choose the best and most pregnant understandings for her employment, and then these men become incapable of aiding the republic, the promotion of these men would be an injury to those princes, whose affairs would need support. The interest of the subjects also is considerable. For we find by experience, that no authority is so full of regiment, and will so finely force obedience, as that which is seated in the conscience; and, therefore, Numa Pompilius made his laws, and imposed them with a face of religious solemnity. For the people are stronger than any one governor, and were they not awed by religion, would quickly "miscere sacra profanis," jumble heaven and earth into a miscellany; and, therefore, not only in the sanction of laws, but in the execution of them, the "Antistites Religionis" are the most competent instruments; and this was not only in all religions that ever were, and in ours, ever till now, but even now we should quickly find it, were but our bishops in that veneration and esteem that by the law of God they ought, and that actually they were in the calenture of primitive devotion, and that the doctors of religion were ever even amongst the most barbarous and untaught pagans.

Upon the confidence of these advantages, both the emperors themselves, when they first became christian, allowed appeals from secular tribunals to the bishop's consistory,[o] even in causes of secular interest, and the people would choose to have their difficulties there ended, whence they expected the issues of justice and religion; I say, this was done as soon as ever the emperors were christian. Before this time, bishops and priests, to be sure, could not be employed in state affairs, they were odious for their christianity; and then, no wonder if the church forbade secular employment in meaner offices, the attendance on which could by no means make recompence for the least avocation of them from their church employment. So that it was not only the avocation, but the sordidness of the employment.

[l] Part. Act. 15. Can. 7.

[m] Can. 20.

[n] Epist. ad Ephes.

[o] Sozom. lib. i. cap. 9.

that was prohibited the clergy in the constitutions of Holy Church. But as soon as ever their employment might be such as to make compensation for a temporary secession, neither church nor state did then prohibit it; and that was as soon as ever the princes were christian, for then immediately the bishops were employed in honorary negociations. It was evident in the case of St. Ambrose; for the church of Milan had him for their bishop, and the emperor had him one of his prefects, and the people their judge in causes of secular cognizance. For when he was chosen bishop, the emperor, who was present at the election, cried out, "Gratias tibi ago, Domine, quoniam huic viro ego quidem commisi corpora; tu autem animas, et meam electionem ostendisti tuæ justitiæ convenire."[p] So that he was bishop and governor of Milan at the same time; and therefore, by reason of both these offices, St. Austin was forced to attend a good while before he could find him at leisure. "Non enim quærere ab eo poteram quod volebat sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat."[q] And it was his own condition too, when he came to sit in the chair of Hippo, "Non permittor at quod volo vacare, ante meridiem; post meridiem, occupationibus hominum teneor."[r] And again; Et homines quidem causas suas sæculares apud nos finire cupientes, quando eis necessarii fuerimus, sic nos sanctos, et Dei servos appellant, ut negotia terræ suæ peragant. Aliquando et agamus negotium salutis nostræ et salutis ipsorum, non de auro, non de argento, non de fundis, et pecoribus, pro quibus rebus quotidiè submisso capite salutamur, ut dissensiones hominum terminemus."[s] "It was almost the business of every day to him, to judge causes concerning gold and silver, cattle and glebe, and all appurtenances of this life." This St. Austin would not have done, if it had not been lawful, so we are to suppose in charity; but yet this we are sure of, St. Austin thought it not only lawful, but a part of his duty; "quibus nos molestiis idem affixit apostolus:"[t] and that by the authority, not of himself, but of him that spake within him, even the Holy Ghost. So he.

Thus also it was usual for princes, in the primitive church, to send bishops their ambassadors. Constans, the emperor, sent two bishops chosen out of the council of Sardis, together with Salianus the great master of his army, to Constantius. St. Chrysostom was sent ambassador to Gainas.[u] Maruthus, the bishop of Mesopotamia, was sent ambassador from the emperor to Isdigerdes, the king of Persia.[x] St. Ambrose, from Valentinian the younger, to the tyrant Maximus.[y] Dorotheus was a bishop and a chamberlain to the emperor.[z] Many more examples there are of the concurrence of the episcopal office, and a secular dignity or employment.[a] Now then consider: the church did not, might not, challenge any secular honour or employment, by virtue of her ecclesiastical dignity precisely. 2. The church might not be ambitious or indagative of such employment. 3. The church's interest, abstractedly considered, was not promoted by such employment; but where there was no greater way of compensation, was interrupted and depressed. 4. The church, though in some cases she was allowed to make secession, yet might not relinquish her own charge to intervene in another's aid. 5. The church did by no means suffer her clerks to undertake any low secular employment, much more did she forbid all sordid ends and covetous designs. 6. The bishop or his clerks might ever do any action of piety, though of secular burden. Clerks were never forbidden to read grammar or philosophy to youth to be masters of schools or hospitals; they might reconcile their neighbours that were fallen out about a personal trespass or real action; and yet since now-a-days a clergyman's employment and capacity is bounded within his pulpit or reading desk, or his study of divinity at most, these that I have reckoned are as verily secular as any thing and yet no law of christendom ever prohibited any of these, or any of the like nature, to the clergy nor any thing that is ingenuous, that is fit for a scholar, that requires either fineness of parts, or great learning, or overruling authority, or exemplary piety. 7. Clergymen might do any thing that was imposed on them by their superiors. 8. The bishops and priests were men of great ability and surest confidence for determinations of justice, in which religion was ever the strongest binder. And therefore the princes and people sometimes forced the bishops from their own interest to serve the commonwealth, and in it they served themselves directly, and by consequence too; the church had not only a sustentation from the secular arm, but an addition of honour and secular advantages; and all this warranted by precedent of Scripture, and the practice of the primitive church, and particularly of men whom all succeeding ages have put into the calendar of saints. So that it would be considered that all this while it is the king's interest and the people's that is pleaded, when we assert a capacity to the bishops to undertake charges of public trust. It is no addition to the calling of bishops. It serves the king, it assists the republic; and, in such a plethory and almost a surfeit of clergymen, as this age is supplied with, it can be no disservice to the church, whose daily offices may be plentifully supplied by vicars; and for the temporary avocation of some few, abundant recompence is made to the church, which is not at all injured by becoming an occasion of endearing the church to those whose aid she is.

There is an admirable epistle written by Petrus Blesensis,[b] in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Alexander III., in the defence of the bishops of Ely, Winchester, and Norwich, that attended the court upon service of the king. "Non est novum," saith he, "quòd regum consiliis intersint episcopi. Sicut enim honestate, et sapientiâ

[p] Tripart. Hist. lib. vii. c. 8.
[q] S. August. lib. vi. Confess. c. 4.
[r] Epist. 110.
[s] Epist. 147.
[t] De Opere Monach. cap. 29.
[u] Tripart. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 25.
[x] Ibid. lib. x. cap. 6.
[y] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 8.
[z] Epist. Ambros. lib. v. c. 33.
[a] Euseb. lib. viii. c. 1.
[b] Epist. 81.

cæteros antecedunt, sic expeditiores et efficaciores in reipublicæ administratione censentur. Quia, sicut scriptum est, 'minùs salubriter disponitur regnum, quod non regitur consilio sapientum.' In quo notatur, eos consiliis regum debere assistere, qui sciant et velint, et possint patientibus compati, paci terræ ac populi saluti prospicere, erudire ad justitiam reges, imminentibus occursare periculis, vitæque maturioris exemplis informare subditos et quâdam auctoritate potestativâ præsumptionem malignantium cohibere:" "It is no new thing for bishops to be counsellors to princes," saith he; their wisdom and piety, that enables them for a bishop, proclaims them fit instruments to promote the public tranquillity of the commonwealth. They know how to comply with oppressed people, to advance designs of peace and public security: it is their office to instruct the king to righteousness, by their sanctity to be a rule to the court, and to diffuse their exemplary piety over the body of the kingdom, to mix influences of religion with designs of state, to make them have as much of the dove as of the serpent, and, by the advantage of their religious authority, to restrain the malignity of accursed people, in whom any image of a God or of religion is remaining." He proceeds in the discourse, and brings the examples of Samuel, Isaiah, Elisha, Jehoiada, Zacharias, who were priests and prophets respectively, and yet employed in princes' courts and councils of kings; and adds this: "Unum noveritis, quia nisi familiares, et consiliarii regis essent episcopi, supra dorsum ecclesiæ hodie fabricarent peccatores. et immaniter ac intolerabiliter opprimeret clerum præsumptio laicalis." That is most true: if the church had not the advantage of additional honorary employments, "the ploughers would plough upon the church's back, and make long furrows." The whole epistle is worth transcribing, but I shall content myself with this summary of the advantages, which are acquired both to policy and religion by the employment of bishops in princes' courts: "Istis mediantibus, mansuescit circa simplices judiciarius rigor, admittitur clamor pauperum, ecclesiarum dignitas erigitur, relevatur pauperum indigentia, firmatur in clero libertas, pax in populis, in monasteriis quies, justitia liberè exercetur, superbia opprimitur, augetur laicorum devotio, religio fovetur, diriguntur judicia," &c. "When pious bishops are employed in princes' councils, then the rigour of the laws is abated, equity introduced, the cry of the poor is heard, their necessities are made known, the liberties of the church are conserved, the peace of kingdoms laboured for, pride is depressed, religion increaseth, the devotion of the laity multiplies, and tribunals are made just, and incorrupt, and merciful." Thus far Petrus Blesensis. These are the effects, which though perhaps they do not always fall out, yet these things may in expectation of reason be looked for from the clergy; their principles and calling promise all this. "Et quia in ecclesiâ magis lex est, ubi Dominus legis timetur, meliùs dicit apud Dei ministros agere causam. Faciliùs enim Dei timore sententiam legis veram promunt;" saith St. Ambrose;[c] and, therefore, certainly the fairest reason in the world that they be employed. But if personal defailance be thought reasonable to disemploy the whole calling, then neither clergy nor laity should ever serve a prince.

And now we are easily driven into an understanding of that saying of St. Paul, "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life."[d] For although this be spoken of all christian people, and concerns the laity in their proportion, as much as the clergy, yet, nor one nor the other is interdicted any thing that is not a direct hinderance to their own precise duty of christianity. And such things must be pared away from the fringes of the laity, as well as the long robe of the clergy. But if we should consider how little we have now left for the employment of a bishop, I am afraid a bishop would scarce seem to be a necessary function, so far would it be from being hindered by the collateral intervening of a lay judicature. I need not instance in any particulars; for if the judging matters and questions of religion be not left alone to them, they may well be put into a temporal employment, to preserve them from suspicion of doing nothing.

I have now done with this; only entreating this to be considered: Is not the king "fons utriusque jurisdictionis?" In all the senses of common law, and external compulsory, he is. But if so, then why may not the king as well make clergy-judges, as lay-delegates? For, to be sure, if there be an incapacity in the clergy of meddling with secular affairs, there is the same at least in the laity of meddling with church affairs. For if the clergy be above the affairs of the world, then the laity are under the affairs of the church; or else, if the clergy be incapable of lay-business because it is of a different and disparate nature from the church, does not the same argument exclude the laity from intervening in church affairs? For the church differs no more from the commonwealth, than the commonwealth differs from the church. And now, after all this, suppose a king should command a bishop to go on embassy to a foreign prince, to be a commissioner in a treaty of pacification, if the bishop refuse, did he do the duty of a subject? If yea, I wonder what subjection that is which a bishop owes to his prince, when he shall not be bound to obey him in any thing but the saying and doing of his office, to which he is obliged, whether the prince commands him yea or no. But if no, then the bishop was tied to go, and then the calling makes him no way incapable of such employment, for no man can be bound to do a sin.

[c] In 1 Cor. vi.

SECTION L.

And therefore were enforced to delegate the Power, and put others in Substitution.

But then did not this employment, when the occasions were great and extraordinary, force the

[d] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

bishops to a temporary absence? And what remedy was there for that? For the church is not to be left destitute, that is agreed on by all the canons. They must not be like the Sicilian bishops whom Petrus Blesensis complains of, that attended the court, and never visited their churches, or took care either of the cure of souls, or of the church possessions. What then must be done? The bishops, in such cases, may give delegation of their power and offices to others, though now-a-days they are complained of for their care: I say, for their care; for if they may intervene in secular affairs, they may sometimes be absent, and then they must delegate their power, or leave the church without a curate. But for this matter the account need not be long. For since I have proved that the whole diocess is in "cura episcopali," and for all of it he is responsive to God Almighty, and yet that instant necessity and the public act of christendom hath ratified it, that bishops have delegated to presbyters so many parts of the bishop's charge, as there are parishes in his diocess, *αὐθεντία*, which is pretended for delegation of episcopal charge, is no less than the act of all christendom. For it is evident, at first, presbyters had no distinct cure at all, but were, in common, assistant to the bishop, and were his emissaries for the gaining souls in city or suburbs: but when the bishops divided parishes, and fixed the presbyters upon a cure, so many parishes as they distinguished, so many delegations they made; and these we all believe to be good both in law and conscience: for the bishop "per omnes divinos ordines propriæ hierarchiæ exercet mysteria," saith St. Denis;[a] he does not do the offices of his order by himself only, but by others also, for all the inferior orders do so operate, as by them he does his proper offices.

But besides this grand act of the bishops first, and then of all christendom in consent, we have fair precedent in St. Paul; for he made delegation of a power to the church of Corinth to excommunicate the incestuous person. It was a plain delegation, for he commanded them to do it, and gave them his "own spirit," that is, "his own authority;" and indeed, without it, I scarce find how the delinquent should have been delivered over to Satan in the sense of the apostolic church; that is, "to be buffeted," for that was a miraculous appendix of power apostolic.

When St. Paul sent for Timothy from Ephesus, he sent Tychicus to be his vicar. "Do thy diligence to come unto me shortly, for Demas hath forsaken me, &c. and Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus."[b] Here was an express delegation of the power of jurisdiction to Tychicus, who for the time was curate to St. Timothy. Epaphroditus for a while attended on St. Paul, although he was then bishop of Philippi; and either St. Paul or Epaphroditus appointed one in substitution, or the church was relinquished, for he was most certainly non-resident.[c]

Thus also we find that St. Ignatius did delegate his power to the presbyters, in his voyage to his martyrdom: "Presbyteri, pascite gregem qui inter vos est, donec Deus designaverit eum, qui principatum in vobis habiturus est:" "Ye presbyters, do you feed the flock till God shall design you a bishop."[d] Till then, therefore, it was but a delegate power; it could not else have expired in the presence of a superior. To this purpose is that of the Laodicean council: "Non oportet presbyteros ante ingressum episcopi ingredi, et sedere in tribunalibus, nisi fortè aut ægrotet episcopus, aut in peregrinis eum esse constiterit:" "Presbyters must not sit in consistory without the bishop, unless the bishop be sick or absent."[e] So that it seems, what the bishop does when he is in his church, that may be committed to others in his absence. And to this purpose St. Cyprian sent a plain commission to his presbyters: "Fretus ergo dilectione et religione vestrâ, his literis hortor et mando, ut vos, vice meâ, fungamini circa gerenda, ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit:" "I entreat and command you, that you do my office in the administration of the affairs of the church."[f] And another time he put Herculanus and Caldonius, two of his suffragans, together with Rogatianus and Numidicus, two priests, in substitution for the excommunicating Fœlicissimus and four more, "cùm ego vos pro me vicarios miserim."[g] So it was just in the case of Hierocles, bishop of Alexandria, and Melitius his surrogate, in Epiphanius; "Videbatur autem et Melitius præminere, &c. ut qui secundum locum habebat post Petrum in archiepiscopatu, velut adjuvandi ejus gratiâ sub ipso existens, et sub ipso ecclesiastica curans:" "He did church offices under and for Hierocles."[h] And I could never find any canon or personal declamatory clause, in any council or primitive father, against a bishop's giving more or less of his jurisdiction by way of delegation.

Hitherto also may be referred, that when the goods of all the church, which then were of a perplexed and busy dispensation, were all in the bishop's hand, as part of the episcopal function, yet that part of the bishop's office, the bishop, by order of the council of Chalcedon, might delegate to a steward, provided he were a clergyman. And upon this intimation and decree of Chalcedon, the fathers in the council of Seville forbade any laymen to be stewards for the church: "Elegimus ut unusquisque nostrûm, secundum Chalcedonensium patrum decreta, ex proprio clero œconomum sibi constituat."[i] But the reason extends the canon further: "Indecorum est enim laicum vicarium esse episcopi, et sæculares in ecclesiâ judicare." Vicars of bishops the canon allows, only forbids laymen to be vicars. "In uno enim eodemque officio non decet dispar professio, quod etiam in divinâ lege prohibetur," &c. "In one and the same office, the law of God forbids to join men of disparate capacities." Then this would be considered. For the canon pretends Scripture, precepts of fathers, and tradition of antiquity, for its sanction.

[a] Eccles. Hierar. c. 5.
[b] 2 Tim. iv. 9, 12.
[c] Phil. ii. 25, 26.
[d] Epist. ad Antioch.
[e] Can. 56.
[f] Epist. 9.
[g] Epist. 31. & 39.
[h] Hæres. 68.
[i] Concil. Hispal. cap. 6.

SECTION LI.

But they were ever Clergymen, for there never were any Lay-Elders in any Church-office heard of in the Church.

For although antiquity approves of episcopal delegations of their power to their vicars, yet these vicars and delegates must be priests, at least. Melitius was a bishop, and yet the chancellor of Hierocles, patriarch of Alexandria; so were Herculanus and Caldonius to St. Cyprian. But they never delegated to any layman any part of their episcopal power precisely. Of their lay power, or the cognizance of secular causes of the people, I find one delegation made to some gentleman of the laity, by Sylvanus, bishop of Troas:[a] when his clerks grew covetous, he cured their itch of gold by trusting men of another profession, so to shame them into justice and contempt of money. "Si quis autem episcopus posthâc ecclesiasticam rem laicali procuratione administrandam elegerit, non solùm à Christo de rebus pauperum judicatur reus, sed etiam et concilio manebit obnoxius:" "If any bishop shall hereafter concredit any church affairs to lay administration, he shall be responsible to Christ, and in danger of the council."[b] But the thing was of more ancient constitution; for in that epistle which goes under the name of St. Clement, which is most certainly very ancient, whoever was the author of it, it is decreed, "Si qui ex fatribus negotia habent inter se, apud cognitores sæculi non judicentur, sed apud presbyteros ecclesiæ, quicquid illud est, dirimatur:" "If christian people have causes of difference and judicial contestation, let it be ended before the priests." For so St. Clement expounds "presbyteros" in the same epistle, reckoning it as a part of the sacred hierarchy.[c] To this or some parallel constitution St. Jerome relates, saying, that "priests from the beginning were appointed judges of causes." He expounds his meaning to be of such priests as were also bishops; and they were judges "ab initio," "from the beginning," saith St. Jerome.[d] So that the saying of the father may no way prejudge the bishop's authority, but it excludes the assistance of laymen from their consistories. "Presbyter" and "episcopus" were instead of one word to St. Jerome, but they are always clergy with him and all men else.

But for the main question, St. Ambrose did represent it to Valentinian, the emperor, with confidence and humility, "In causâ fidei, ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis."[e] The whole epistle is admirable to this purpose; "Sacerdotes de sacerdotibus judicare," "that clergymen only must judge of clergy causes;" and this St. Ambrose there calls "judicium episcopale," "the bishop's judicature." "Si tractandum est, tractare in ecclesiâ didici, quod majores fecerunt mei. Si conferendum de fide, sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino, augustæ memoriæ principe." So that both "matters of faith and of ecclesiastical order are to be handled in the church, and that by bishops," and that "sub imperatore," by permission and authority of the prince: for so it was in Nice, under Constantine. Thus far St. Ambrose.

St. Athanasius reports, that Hosius, bishop of Corduba, president in the Nicene council, said it was the abomination of desolation that a layman shall be judge "in ecclesiasticis judiciis," "in church causes."[f] And Leontius calls church affairs, "res alienas à laicis," "things of another court, of a distinct cognizance from the laity."[g] To these add the council of Venice, for it is very considerable in this question: "Clerico, nisi ex permissu episcopi sui, servorum suorum sæcularia judicia adire non liceat. Sed si fortasse episcopi sui judicium cœperit habere suspectum, aut ipsi de proprietate aliquâ adversus ipsum episcopum fuerit nata contentio, aliorum episcoporum audientiam, non sæcularium potestatum debebit ambire. Aliter, à communione habeatur alienus:" "Clergymen, without delegation from their bishop, may not hear the causes of their servants, but the bishop, unless the bishop be appealed from; then other bishops must hear the cause, but no lay judges by any means."[h]

These sanctions of holy church it pleased the emperor to ratify by an imperial edict, for so Justinian commanded, that in causes ecclesiastical, secular judges should have no interest: "Sed sanctissimus episcopus secundum sacras regulas causæ finem imponat:" "The bishop according to the sacred canons must be the sole judge of church matters."[i] I end this with the decretal of St. Gregory, one of the four doctors of the church: "Cavendum est à fraternitate vestrâ, ne sæcularibus viris, atque non sub regulâ nostrâ degentibus, res ecclesiasticæ committantur:" "Heed must be taken, that matters ecclesiastical be not any ways concredited to secular persons."[k] But of this I have twice spoken already.—(Sect 36. and Sect. 41.)

The thing is so evident, that it is next to impudence to say, that, in antiquity, laymen were parties and assessors in the consistory of the church. It was against their faith, it was against their practice; and those few pigmy objections out of Tertullian,[l] St. Ambrose,[m] and St. Austin,[n] using the word "seniores," or elders, sometimes for priests, as being the Latin for the Greek πρεσβύτεροι, sometimes for a secular magistrate or alderman, (for I think St. Austin did so in his third book against Cresconius,) are but like sophisms to prove that two and two are not four; for to pretend such slight, airy imaginations, against the constant, known, open catholic practice and doctrine of the church, and history of all ages, is as if a man should go to fight an imperial army with a single bulrush. They are not worth further considering.

[a] Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 37.
[b] Concil. Hispan. ubi suprà.
[c] Epist. ad Jacob. Fratr. Dom.
[d] De 7 Ordin. Eccles.
[e] Epist 13. ad Valent.
[f] Epist. ad Solitar.
[g] Suidas in Vitâ Leontii.
[h] Can. ix. A. D. 453.
[i] Novel. Constit. 123.
[k] Lib. vii. Epist. 66.
[l] Tertul. Apol. c. 33.
[m] S. Amb. in 1 Tim. v. 1.; et lib. i. de Offic. c. 20.
[n] S. August. lib. iii. contra Crescon.; et. Epist. 137.

But this is: that in this question of lay elders, the modern Arians and Acephali do wholly mistake their own advantages: for whatsoever they object, out of antiquity, for the white and watery colours of lay-elders, is either a very misprision of their allegations, or else clearly abused in the use of them. For now-a-days they are only used to exclude and drive forth episcopacy; but then they misallege antiquity; for the men with whose heifers they would fain plough in this question, were themselves bishops for the most part, and he that was not, would fain have been; it is known so of Tertullian; and, therefore, most certainly, if they had spoken of lay-judges in church-matters, (which they never dreamed of,) yet meant them not so as to exclude episcopacy, and if not, then the pretended allegations can do no service in the present question.

I am only to clear this pretence from a place of Scripture totally misunderstood, and then it cannot have any colour from any *αὐθεντα*, either Divine or human, but that lay-judges of causes ecclesiastical, as they are unheard of in antiquity, so they are neither named in Scripture, nor receive from thence any instructions for their deportment in their imaginary office; and, therefore, may be remanded to the place from whence they came, even the lake of Gehenna, and so to the place of the nearest denomination. The objection is from St. Paul, *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι*, &c. "Let the elders that rule well, be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine:" "especially they,"[o]—therefore, all elders do not so. Here are two sorts of elders, preaching ministers, and elders not preachers. Therefore lay-elders, and yet all are governors.

But why, therefore, lay-elders? Why may there not be divers church-officers, and yet but one or two of them the preacher? "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach," saith St. Paul; and yet the commission of "baptizate" was as large as "prædicate," and why, then, might not another say, "Christ sent me not to preach, but to baptize?" that is, in St. Paul's sense, not so much to do one as to do the other, and if he left the ordinary ministration of baptism, and betook himself to the ordinary office of preaching, then, to be sure, some minister must be the ordinary baptizer, and so not the preacher: for if he might be both ordinarily, why was not St. Paul both? For though their power was common to all of the same order, yet the execution and dispensation of the ministries was according to several gifts, and that of prophecy or preaching was not dispensed to all in so considerable a measure, but that some of them might be destined to the ordinary execution of other offices, and yet because the gift of prophecy was the greatest, so also was the office; and, therefore, the sense of the words is this, "That all presbyters must be honoured, but especially they that prophesy, doing that office with an ordinary execution and ministry." So no lay-elders yet. Add to this, that it is also plain, that all the clergy did not preach. Valerius, bishop of Hippo, could not well skill in the Latin tongue, being a Greek born, and yet a godly bishop; and St. Austin, his presbyter, preached for him. The same case might occur in the apostles' times. For then was a concourse of all nations to the christian synaxes, especially in all great imperial cities and metropolitans, as Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and the like. Now all could not speak with tongues, neither could all prophesy; they were particular gifts, given severally, to several men, appointed to minister in church offices. Some prophesied, some interpreted; and, therefore, it is an ignorant fancy to think that he must needs be a laic, whosoever, in the ages apostolical, was not a preacher.

2. None of the fathers ever expounded this place of lay-elders, so that we have a traditive interpretation of it in prejudice to the pretence of our new office.

3. The word presbyter is never used, in the New Testament, for a lay-man, if a church-officer be intended. If it be said, it is used so here, that is the question, and must not be brought to prove itself.

4. The presbyter that is here spoken of, must be maintained by ecclesiastical revenue, for so St. Paul expounds "honour" in the next verse. "Presbyters that rule well, must be honoured," &c. "For it is written, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." But now the patrons of this new devise are not so greedy of their lay-bishops as to be at charges with them, they will rather let them stand alone on their own rotten legs, and so perish, than fix him upon this place with their hands in their purses. But it had been most fitting for them to have kept him, being he is of their own begetting.

5. This place speaks not of divers persons, but divers parts of the pastoral office, *προΐστασθαι*, and *κοπιᾶν ἐν λόγῳ*· "To rule and to labour in the word." Just as if the expression had been "in materiâ politicâ." All good counsellors of state are worthy of double honour, especially them that, disregarding their own private, aim at the public good. This implies not two sorts of counsellors, but two parts of a counsellor's worth and quality. Judges that do righteousness are worthy of double honour, especially if they right the cause of orphans and widows; and yet there are no righteous judges that refuse to do both.

6. All ministers of holy church did not preach, at least not frequently. The seven that were *ἐπὶ τῶν χήρων τεταγμένοι*, "set over the widows," were presbyters, but yet they were forced to leave the constant ministration of the word to attend that employment, as I showed formerly;[p] and thus it was in descent too, for *ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, οὐ προσομιλεῖ*, said Socrates;[q] "A presbyter does not preach in Alexandria, the bishop only did it." And then the allegation is easily understood. For "labouring in the word" does not signify only making homilies or exhortations to the people, but whether it be by word, or writing, or travelling from place to place, still, the greater the sedulity of the person is, and difficulty of the labour, the greater increment

[o] 1 Tim. v. 17.

[p] Sect. 48.

[q] Lib. v. c. 22.

of honour is to be given him. So that here are no lay-elders; for all the presbyters St. Paul speaks of, are to be honoured, but especially those who take extraordinary pains in propagating the gospel. For though all preach, (suppose that,) yet all do not κοπιᾷν, take such great pains in it as is intimated in κοπιῶντες. For κοπιᾶν is "to take bodily labour and travel, 'usque ad lassitudinem,'" so Budæus renders it. And so, it is likely, St. Paul here means. Honour the good presbyters, but especially them that travel for disseminating the gospel. And the word is often so used in Scripture. St. Paul, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον πάντων ἐκοπίασα· "I have travelled in the word more than they all." Not that St. Paul preached more than all the apostles, for, most certainly, they made it their business as well as he. But he travelled further and more than they all, for the spreading it. And thus it is said of the good women that travelled with the apostles, for supply of the necessities of their diet and household offices, "they laboured much in the Lord."[r] Κοπιᾷν is the word for them too. So it is said of Persis, of Mary, of Tryphæna, of Tryphosa. And since those women were κοπιώσαι ἐν Κυρίῳ, that travelled with the apostolical men and evangelists, the men also travelled too, and preached, and, therefore, were κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ, that is, "travellers in the word." "We ought, therefore, to receive such," saith St. John,[s] intimating a particular reception of them, as being towards us of a peculiar merit. So that the sense of St. Paul may be this also, all the rulers of the church, that is, all bishops, apostles, and apostolic men, are to be honoured, but especially them, who, besides the former ruling, are also "travellers in the word," or evangelists.

7. We are furnished with answer enough to infatuate this pretence for lay-elders, from the common draught of the new discipline. For they have some that preach only, and some that rule and preach too, and yet neither of them the lay-elders, viz. their pastors and doctors.

8. Since it is pretended by themselves, in the question of episcopacy, that "presbyter" and "episcopus" is all one, and this very thing confidently obtruded, in defiance of episcopacy, why may not "presbyteri," in this place, signify "bishops?" And then either this must be lay-bishops, as well as lay-presbyters, or else this place is to none of their purposes.

9. If both these offices of ruling and preaching may be conjunct in one person, then there is no necessity of distinguishing the officers by the several employments, since one man may do both. But if these offices cannot be conjunct, then no bishops must preach, nor no preachers be of the consistory, (take which government you list,) for if they be, then the officer being united in one person, the inference of the distinct officer, the lay-elder, is impertinent. For the meaning of St. Paul would be nothing but this:—All church-rulers must be honoured, especially for their preaching.—For if the offices may be united in one person, (as it is evident they may,) then this may be comprehended within the other, and only be a vital part, and of peculiar excellency. And, indeed, so it is, according to the exposition of St. Chrysostom and Primasius: Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ καλῶς προεστάναι μηδενὸς φειδεσθαι τῆς τῶν προβάτων κηδεμονίας ἕνεκεν· "They rule well, that spare nothing for the care of the flock." So that this is the general charge, and preaching is the particular. For the work, in general, they are to receive double honour, but this of preaching, as then preaching was, had a particular excellency, and a plastic power to form men into christianity, especially it being then attested with miracles.

But the new office of a lay-elder, I confess, I cannot comprehend in any reasonable proportion, his person, his quality, his office, his authority, his subordination, his commission, hath made so many divisions and new emergent questions; and they none of them all, asserted, either by Scripture or antiquity, that if I had a mind to leave the way of God, and of the catholic church, and run in pursuit of this meteor, I might quickly be amused; but should find nothing certain, but a certainty of being misguided. Therefore, if not for conscience' sake, yet for prudence, "bonum est esse hîc," it is good to remain in the fold of Christ, under the guard and supravision of those shepherds Christ hath appointed, and which his sheep have always followed.

For I consider this one thing to be enough to determine the question. "My sheep," saith our blessed Saviour, "hear my voice; if a stranger or a thief come, him they will not hear." Clearly thus. That Christ's sheep hear not the voice of a stranger, nor will they follow him, and, therefore, those shepherds whom the church hath followed in all ages, are no strangers, but shepherds or pastors of Christ's appointing, or else Christ hath had no sheep; for if he hath, then bishops are the shepherds, for them they have ever followed. I end with that golden rule of Vincentius Lirinensis: "Magnoperè curandum est ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est enim verè, proprièque catholicum."[t] For, certainly, the catholic belief of the church against Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, and, the worst of heretics, the Cataphrygians, was never more truly received "of all and always, and every where," than is the government of the church by bishops. "Annunciare ergo christianis catholicis, præter id quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nunquam licet, nunquam licebit:" "It never was, is, nor ever shall be, lawful to teach christian people any new thing than what they have received" from a primitive fountain, and is descended in the stream of catholic uninterrupted succession.[u]

I only add, that the church hath insinuated it to be the duty of all good catholic christians to pray for bishops, and as the case now stands, for episcopacy itself: for there was never any church-liturgy but said litanies for their king, and for their bishop.

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός.

[r] Rom. xvi. [s] 1 Epist. c. 33.

[t] Cap. 3. adv. Hæreses. [u] Cap. 14.

AN APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY,

AGAINST

THE PRETENCE OF THE SPIRIT.

1. FOR EXTEMPORE PRAYER,

AND

2. FORMS OF PRIVATE COMPOSITION.

TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

It is now two years, since part of these ensuing papers, like the public issue of the people, imperfect and undressed, were exposed, without a parent to protect them, or any hand to nourish them. But since your most sacred Majesty was pleased graciously to look upon them, they are grown into a tract, and have an ambition (like the gourd of Jonas) to dwell in the eye of the sun, from whence they received life and increment. And although because some violence hath been done to the profession of the doctrine of this treatise, it may seem to be "verbum in tempore non suo," and like the offering cypress to a conqueror, or palms to a broken army; yet I hope I shall the less need an apology, because it is certain, he does really disserve no just and noble interest, that serves that of the Spirit, and religion. And because the sufferings of a king and a confessor are the great demonstration to all the world, that truth is as dear to your Majesty, as the jewels of your diadem, and that your conscience is tender as a pricked eye; I shall pretend this only to alleviate the inconvenience of an unseasonable address, that I present your Majesty with a humble persecuted truth, of the same constitution with that condition whereby you are become most dear to God, as having upon you the characterism of the sons of God, bearing in your sacred person the marks of the Lord Jesus, who is your elder Brother, the King of sufferings, and the Prince of the catholic church. But I consider that kings, and their great councils, and rulers ecclesiastical, have a special obligation for the defence of liturgies; because they having the greatest offices, have the greatest needs of auxiliaries from heaven, which are best procured by the public spirit, the spirit of government and supplication. And since the first, the best, and most solemn liturgies and set forms of prayer, were made by the best and greatest princes, by Moses, by David, and the son of David; your Majesty may be pleased to observe such a proportion of circumstances in my laying this "Apology for Liturgy" at your feet, that possibly I may the easier obtain a pardon for my great boldness; which if I shall hope for, in all other contingencies I shall represent myself a person indifferent whether I live or die, so I may by either, serve God, and God's church, and God's vicegerent, in the capacity of,

Great Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble,

And most obedient subject and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY.

When judges were instead of kings, and Hophni and Phinehas were among the priests, every man did what was right in his own eyes, but few did what was pleasing in the eyes of the Lord; and the event was this, God put on his fierce anger against them, and stirred up and armed the enemies of their country and religion, and they prevailed very far, against the expectation and confidence of them, who thought the goodness of their cause would have borne out the iniquity of their persons, and that the impiety of their adversaries would have disabled them even from being made God's scourges and instruments of punishing his own people: the sadness of the event proved the vanity of their hopes; for that which was the instrument of their worship, the determination of their religious addresses, the place where God did meet his people, from which the priests spake to God, and God gave his oracles, that they dishonourably and miserably lost; the ark of the Lord was taken, the impious priests, who made the sacrifice of the Lord to become an abomination to the people, were slain with the sword of the Philistines; old Eli lost his life, and the wife of Phinehas died with sorrow and the miscarriages of childbirth, crying out, "That the glory was departed from Israel, because the ark of God was taken."

2. In these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion; he hath snuffed our lamp so near, that it is almost extinguished, and the sacred fire was put into a hole of the earth, even then when we were forced to light those tapers that stood upon our altars, that by this sad truth better than by the old ceremony, we might prove our succession to those holy men, who were constrained to sing hymns to Christ, in dark places and retirements.

3. But I delight not to observe the correspondencies of such sad accidents, which as they may happen upon divers causes, or may be forced violently upon the strength of fancy, or driven on by jealousy, and the too fond openings of troubled hearts and afflicted spirits; so they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantastic and groundless comfort: I will, therefore, deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others; I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night; these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed, as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be so again, when it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; and when men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant to the destroying such forms of discipline and devotion in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion.

4. And such is the liturgy of the church of England. I shall not need to enumerate the advantages of liturgy in general, though it be certain that some liturgy or other is most necessary in public addresses, that so we may imitate the perpetual practice of all settled churches since christianity, or ever since Moses's law or the Jewish church came to have a settled foot, and any rest in the land of Canaan. 2. That we may follow the example and obey the precept of our blessed Saviour, who appointed a set form of devotion; and certainly they that profess enmity against all liturgy, can in no sense obey the precept given by him, who gave command, "When ye pray, say, Our Father." 3. That all that come may know the condition of pub-

lic communion, their religion, and manner of address to God Almighty. 4. That the truth of the proposition, the piety of the desires, and the honesty of the petitions, the simplicity of our purposes, and the justice of our designs may be secured beforehand; because whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, and it is impossible that we should pray to God in the extempore prayers of the priest, by any faith, but unreasonable, unwarranted, insecure, and implicit. 5. That there may be union of hearts, and spirits, and tongues. 6. That there may be a public symbol of communion in our prayers, which are the best instruments of endearing us to God, and to one another; Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀνενδεεστέρα πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. "Private prayer, not assisted with the concord and unity of a public spirit, is weaker and less effectual," saith St. Basil. 7. That the ministers less learned, may have provisions of devotions made for them. 8. That the more learned may have no occasion of ostentation ministered to them, lest their best actions, their prayers, be turned into sin. 9. That extravagant levities, and secret impieties, be prevented. 10. That the offices ecclesiastical may the better secure the articles of religion. 11. That they may edify the people, by being repositories of holy and necessary truths ready formed out of their needs, and described in their books of daily use; for that was one of the advices of the apostle,[a] "teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs." 12. That men by the intervening of authority, may be engaged to certain devotions. 13. That not only the duty, but the very form of its ministration may be honoured by the countenance of authority, and not be exposed to contempt, by reason of the insufficiency of its external warrant. 14. That the assignation of such offices, and appropriating them to the ministry of certain persons, may be a cancel to secure the enclosures of the clerical orders from the usurpings and invasions of pretending and unhallowed spirits. 15. That indetermination of the office may not introduce indifferency, nor indifferency lead in a freer liberty, or liberty degenerate into licentiousness, or licentiousness into folly and vanity; and these come sometimes attended with secular designs, lest these be cursed with the immission of a peevish spirit upon our priests, and that spirit be a teacher of lies, and these lies become the basis of impious theorems, which are certainly attended with ungodly lives; and then either atheism or antichristianism may come, according as shall happen in the conjunction of time and other circumstances; for this would be a sad climax, a ladder upon which are no angels ascending or descending, because the degrees lead to darkness and misery.

5. But that which is of special concernment is this, that the liturgy of the church of England hath advantages so many and so considerable, as not only to raise itself above the devotions of other churches, but to endear the affections of good people to be in love with liturgy in general.

6. For to the churches of the Roman communion we can say, that ours is reformed; to the reformed churches we can say, that ours is orderly and decent; for we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a tyrannical spirit, and yet from the extravagancies of a popular spirit too: our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with consideration and the results of authority: not like women or children when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes; we shaked off the coal, indeed, but not our garments, lest we should have exposed our churches to that nakedness, which the excellent men of our sister-churches complained to be among themselves.

7. And, indeed, it is no small advantage to our liturgy, that it was the offspring of all that authority which was to prescribe in matters of religion. The king and the priest, which are the "antistites religionis," and the preservers of both the tables joined in this work, and the people, as it was represented in parliament, were advised withal, in authorizing the form after much deliberation; for the rule "Quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet," was here observed with strictness, and then, as it had the advantages of discourse, so also of authorities,—its reason from one, and its sanction from the other, that it might be both reasonable, and sacred, and free, not only from the indiscretions, but (which is very considerable) from the scandal of popularity.

8. And in this, I cannot but observe the great wisdom and mercy of God in directing the contrivers of the liturgy, with the spirit of zeal and prudence, to allay the furies and heats of the first affrightment. For when men are in danger of burning, so they leap from the flames, they consider not whither, but whence: and the first reflections of a crooked tree are not to straightness, but to a contrary incurvation: yet it pleased the Spirit of God so to temper and direct their spirits, that in the first liturgy of King Edward, they did rather retain something that needed further consideration, than reject any thing that was certainly pious and holy; and in the second liturgy, that they might also thoroughly reform, they did rather cast out something that might, with good profit, have remained, than not satisfy the world of their zeal to reform, of their charity in declining every thing that was offensive, and the clearness of their light in discerning every semblance of error or suspicion in the Roman church.

9. The truth is, although they framed the liturgy with the greatest consideration that could be, by all the united wisdom of this church and state; yet, as if prophetically to avoid their being charged in after-ages with a "crepusculum" of religion, a dark, "twilight," imperfect reformation, they joined to their own star all the shining tapers of the other reformed churches, calling for the advice of the most eminently learned and zealous reformers in other kingdoms, that the light of all together might show them a clear path to walk in. And this their care produced some change; for upon the consultation, the first form of King Edward's service book

[a] Colos. iii.

was approved with the exception of a very few clauses, which upon that occasion were reviewed and expunged, till it came to that second form and modest beauty it was in the edition of MDLII. and which Gilbertus, a German, approved of as a transcript of the ancient and primitive forms.

10. It was necessary for them to stay somewhere. Christendom was not only reformed, but divided too, and every division would, to all ages, have called for some alteration, or else have disliked it publicly: and since all that cast off the Roman yoke thought they had title enough to be called reformed, it was hard to have pleased all the private interests and peevishness of men that called themselves friends, and therefore that only in which the church of Rome had prevaricated against the word of God, or innovated against apostolical tradition, all that was pared away. But at last she fixed, and strove no further to please the people, who never could be satisfied.

11. The painter that exposed his work to the censure of the common passengers, resolving to mend it as long as any man could find fault, at last had brought the eyes to the ears, and the ears to the neck, and for his excuse subscribed, "Hanc populus fecit:" but his "hanc ego," that which he made by the rules of art, and the advice of men skilled in the same mystery, was the better piece. The church of England should have pared away all the canon of the communion, if she had mended her piece at the prescription of the Zuinglians; and all her office of baptism, if she had mended by the rules of the Anabaptists; and kept up altars still by the example of the Lutherans; and not have retained decency by the good will of the Calvinists; and now another new light is sprung up, she should have no liturgy at all, but the worship of God be left to the managing of chance, and indeliberation, and a petulant fancy.

12. It began early to discover its inconvenience; for when certain zealous persons fled to Frankfort, to avoid the funeral piles kindled by the Roman bishops in Queen Mary's time, as if they had not enemies enough abroad, they fell foul with one another, and the quarrel was about the common prayer-book; and some of them made their appeal to the judgment of Mr. Calvin, whom they prepossessed with strange representments, and troubled phantasms concerning it: and yet the worst he said upon the provocation of those prejudices was, that even its vanities were tolerable. "Tolerabiles ineptias" was the unhandsome epithet he gave to some things, which he was forced to dislike by his over earnest complying with the brethren of Frankfort.

13. Well! upon this, the wisdom of this church and state saw it necessary to fix, where with advice she had begun,—and with counsel she had once mended. And to have altered in things inconsiderable, upon a new design or sullen mislike, had been extreme levity, and apt to have made the men contemptible, their authority slighted, and the thing ridiculous, especially before adversaries, that watched all opportunity and appearances to have disgraced the reformation. Here, therefore, it became a law, was established by an act of parliament, was made solemn by an appendant penalty against all, that, on either hand, did prevaricate a sanction of so long and so prudent consideration.

14. But the common prayer-book had the fate of St. Paul; for when it had scaped the storms of the Roman sea, yet a viper sprung out of Queen Mary's fires, which at Frankfort first leaped upon the hand of the church; but since that time, it hath gnawn the bowels of its own mother, and given itself life by the death of its parent and nurse.

15. For as for the adversaries from the Roman party, they were so convinced by the piety and innocence of the common prayer-book, that they could accuse it of no deformity; but of imperfection, of a want of some things which they judged convenient, because the error had a wrinkle on it, and the face of antiquity. And, therefore, for ten or eleven years they came to our churches, joined in our devotions, and communicated without scruple, till a temporal interest of the church of Rome rent the schism wider, and made it gape like the jaws of the grave.

And let me say, it adds no small degree to my confidence and opinion of the English common prayer-book, that, amongst the numerous armies sent from the Roman seminaries, (who were curious enough to inquire, able enough to find out, and wanted no anger to have made them charge home any error in our liturgy, if the matter had not been unblamable, and the composition excellent,) there was never any impiety or heresy charged upon the liturgy of the church: for I reckon not the calumnies of Harding, for they were only in general, calling it "darkness," &c. from which aspersion it was worthily vindicated by M. Deering. The truth of it is, the compilers took that course which was sufficient to have secured it against the malice of a Spanish inquisitor, or the scrutiny of a more inquisitive presbytery; for they put nothing of controversy into their prayers, nothing that was then matter of question; only because they could not prophesy, they put in some things which, since then, have been called to question by persons, whose interest was highly concerned to find fault with something. But that also hath been the fate of the penmen of Holy Scripture, some of which could prophesy, and yet could not prevent this. But I do not remember that any man was ever put to it to justify the common prayer against any positive, public, and professed charge by a Roman adversary: nay, it is transmitted to us by the testimony of persons greater than all exceptions, that Paulus Quartus, in his private intercourses and letters to Queen Elizabeth, did offer to confirm the English common prayer-book, if she would acknowledge his primacy and authority, and the reformation derivative from him.[b] And this lenity was pursued by his successor, Pius Quartus,[c] with an "omnia de nobis tibi polliceare:" he assured her she should have any thing from him, not only things pertaining to her soul, but what might conduce to the establishment and confirmation of her

[b] Tortura Torti, p. 142.

[c] Camb. Annal. A. D. 1560.

royal dignity; amongst which, that the liturgy, new established by her authority, should not be rescinded by the pope's power, was not the least considerable.

16. And possibly this hath cast a cloud upon it in the eyes of such persons who never will keep charity, or so much as civility, but with those, with whom they have made a league offensive and defensive against all the world. This hath made it to be suspected of too much compliance with that church, and her offices of devotion, and that it is a very cento composed out of the Mass-book, Pontifical, Breviaries, Manuals, and Portuises of the Roman church.

17. I cannot say but many of our prayers are also in the Roman offices. But so they are also in the Scripture, so also is the Lord's prayer; and if they were not, yet the allegation is very inartificial, and the charge peevish and unreasonable, unless there were nothing good in the Roman books, or that it were unlawful to pray a good prayer, which they had once stained with red letters. The objection hath not sense enough to procure an answer upon its own stock, but by reflection from a direct truth, which uses to be like light, manifesting itself and discovering darkness.

18. It was first perfected in King Edward VI.'s time, but it was, by and by, impugned, through the obstinate and dissembling malice of many; they are the words of Mr. Fox, in his Book of Martyrs. Then it was reviewed and published with so much approbation, that it was accounted the work of God; but yet, not long after, there were some persons, "qui divisionis occasionem arripiebant," saith Alseius, "vocabula et pene syllabas expendendo;" "they tried it by points and syllables, and weighed every word," and sought occasions to quarrel: which being observed by Archbishop Cranmer, he caused it to be translated into Latin, and sent it to Bucer, requiring his judgment of it, who returned this answer; "That although there are in it some things 'quæ rapi possunt ab inquietis ad materiam contentionis,' 'which, by peevish men, may be cavilled at,' yet there was nothing in it but what was taken out of the Scriptures, or agreeable to it, if rightly understood; that is, if handled and read by wise and good men." The zeal which Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Ridley, Dr. Taylor, and other the holy martyrs and confessors in Queen Mary's time, expressed for his excellent liturgy, before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputations, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their bloods, are arguments which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the church of England for ever, infinitely to be valued beyond all the little whispers and murmurs of argument pretended against it: and when it came out of the flame, and was purified in the martyrs' fires, it became a vessel of honour, and used in the house of God in all the days of that long peace, which was the effect of God's blessing, and the reward, as we humbly hope, of a holy religion; and when it was laid aside, in the days of Queen Mary, it was "to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the professors of th truth of Christ's religion:" they are the words o Queen Elizabeth, and her grave and wise parlia ment.

19. Archbishop Cranmer, in his purgation, A. D 1553, made an offer, if the queen would give hin leave, to prove all that is contained in the commo prayer-book to be conformable to that order whic our blessed Saviour, Christ, did both observe an command to be observed. And a little after, h offers to join issue upon this point that the order o the church of England, set out by authority of th innocent and godly prince Edward VI., in his hig court of parliament, is the same that was used in th church fifteen hundred years past.

20. And I shall go near to make his words good For very much of our liturgy is the very words o Scripture. The psalms and lessons, and all th hymns, save one, are nothing else but Scripture, an owe nothing to the Roman breviaries for their pro duction or authority. So that the matter of them is, out of question, holy and true: as for the form none ever disliked it, but they that will admit n form; for all admit this that admit any. But tha these should be parts of liturgy, needs not to be question, when we remember, that Hezekiah an the princes made it a law to their church, to sing praises to the Lord "with the words of David, an of Asaph, the seer,"[d] and that Christ himself di so, and his apostles, after the manner of the Jews in the feast of Passover, sung their hymns and por tions of the great Allelujah in the words of David and Asaph, the seer,[e] too, and that there was a song in heaven made up of the words of Moses, an David, and Jeremy, the seer, and that the apostle and the church of God always chose to do so, ac cording to the commandment of the apostle, tha we sing psalms and hymns to God. I know no where we can have better than the Psalms of David and Asaph, and these were ready at hand for the use of the church, insomuch, that in the christian synaxes, particularly in the churches of Corinth, St Paul observed that "every man had a psalm;" it was then the common devotion and liturgy of all the faithful, and so for ever; and the fathers of the fourth council of Toledo justified the practice of the church, in recitation of the psalms and hymns, by the example of Christ and his apostles, who, after supper, sung a psalm; and the church did also make hymns of her own, in the honour of Christ, and sung them: such as was the "Te Deum," made by St. Ambrose and St. Austin, and they stood her in great stead, not only as acts of direct worship to Christ, but as conservators of the articles of Christ's divinity, of which the fathers made use against the heretic Artemon, as appears in Eusebius, lib. v. c. 28. Eccles. Hist.

21. That reading the Scripture was part of the liturgy of the apostolical ages, we find it in the tenth canon of the apostles, in Albinus Flaccus, Rabanus Maurus, and in the liturgy attributed to St. James. "Deinde leguntur fusissime oracula sacra veteris Testamenti et prophetarum, e Filii Dei incar-

[d] 2 Chron. xxix.

[e] Apoc. xv. Exod. xv. Psal. cxlv. Jer. x. 6, 7.

natio demonstratur, passio, resurrectio ex mortuis, ascensus in cœlum, secundus item adventus ejus cum gloriâ. Atque id fit singulis diebus," &c.

22. So that since thus far the matter of our devotions is warranted by God's Spirit, and the form by the precedents of Scripture too, and the ages apostolical, above half of the English liturgy is as Divine as Scripture itself, and the choice of it for practice is no less than apostolical.

23. Of the same consideration is the Lord's prayer, commanded by our blessed Saviour in two evangelists: the "introit" is the Psal. xcv., and the responsories of morning and evening prayer, ejaculations taken from the words of David and Hezekiah; the decalogue recited in the communion is the ten words of Moses, and without peradventure, was not taken into the office in imitation of the Roman; for although it was done upon great reason, and considering the great ignorance of the people they were to inform, yet I think it was never in any church-office before, but in manuals and catechisms only: yet they are made liturgic by the suffrages at the end of every commandment, and need no other warrant from antiquity but the twentieth chapter of Exodus. There are not many parts beside, and they which are, derive themselves from an elder house than the Roman offices; the Gloria Patri was composed by the Nicene council, the latter versicle by St. Jerome, though some eminently learned, and, in particular, Baronius, is of opinion that it was much more ancient. It was, at first, a confession of faith, and used by a newly-baptized convert and the standers by; and then it came to be a hymn, and very early annexed to the antiphones, and afterwards to the Psalms and hymns, all except that of St. Ambrose beginning with "Te Deum," because that of itself is a great doxology. It is seven times used in the Greek office of baptism, and in the recitation of it the priest and people stood all up and turned to the east; and this custom ever continued in the church, and is still retained in the church of England, in conformity to the ancient and primitive custom, save only that in the litany we kneel, which is a more humble posture, but not so ancient,—the litanies having usually been said walking, not kneeling or standing. But in this the variety is an ornament to the church's garment. St. Gregory added this doxology to the responsory at the beginning of prayer, after "O Lord, make haste to help us:" that was the last, and yet above a thousand years old, and much older than the body of popery. And as for the latter part of the doxology, I am clearly of opinion, that though it might, by St. Jerome, be brought into the Latin church, yet it was in the Greek church before him; witness that most ancient hymn or doxology, Καὶ σοι τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. However, as to the matter of the doxology, it is no other than the confession of the three most blessed persons of the Trinity, which Christ commanded, and which, with greatest solemnity, we declare in baptism; and certainly we can no ways better, or more solemnly and ritually, give glory to the holy Trinity, than by being baptized into the profession and service of it. The trisagion was taught to the Greek church by angels; but certain it is, it sprang not from a Roman fountain; and that the canon of our communion is the same with the old canon of the church, many hundred years before popery had invaded the simplicity of christian religion, is evident, if we compare the particulars recited by St. Basil,[f] Innocentius's[g] epistle to John, archbishop of Lyons,—Honorius,[h] the priest, Alcuinus,[i] and Walafridus Strabo;[k] and if we will, we may add the liturgy said to be St. James's, and the constitution of St. Clement,[l] (for whoever was the author of these, certainly they were ancient,) Radulphus Tongrensis; and the later ritualists, Cassander, Pamelius, Hittorpius, Jacobus Goar, and the rest.

24. And that we may be yet more particular, the very prayer for Christ's catholic church, in the office of communion, beside that it is nothing but a plain execution of an apostolical precept, set down in the preface of the prayer, it was also used in all times, and in all liturgies of the ancient church. And we find this attested by St. Cyril of Jerusalem;[m] "Deinde postquam confectum est illud spirituale sacrificium, obsecramus Deum pro communi ecclesiarum pace, pro tranquillitate mundi, pro regibus," &c. To the same purpose also there is a testimony in St. Chrysostom,[n] which because it serves not only here, but also to other uses, it will not be amiss here to note it: "Quid autem sibi vult *primum omnium?* In obsequio scilicet quotidiano, perpetuoque divinæ religionis ritu. Atque id noverunt fideles, quomodo diebus singulis, mane et vespere, orationes fundantur ad Dominum; quomodo pro omni mundo et regibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate positi sunt, obsecrationes in ecclesiâ fiant. Sed forte quis dixerit, *pro omnibus* quod ait, tantum fideles intelligi voluisse. At id verum non esse quæ sequuntur, ostendunt. Denique ait, *pro regibus;* neque enim tunc reges Deum colebant." It is evident by this, that the custom of the church was, not only in the celebration of the holy communion, but in all her other offices, to say this prayer not only for Christ's catholic church, but for all the world.

25. And that the charity of the church might not be misconstrued, he produces his warrant. St. Paul not only expressly commands us to pray "for all men," but adds, by way of instance, "for kings," who then were unchristian, and heathen in all the world. But this form of prayer is almost word for word in St. Ambrose. "Hæc regula ecclesiastica est tradita à magistro gentium, quâ utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent —deprecantes pro regibus—orantes pro iis quibus sublimis potestas credita est, ut in justitiâ et veritate gubernent—postulantes pro iis qui in necessitate

[f] De Spir. Sanct. c. 27.
[g] De Celebratione Missarum, c. cum Matth.
[h] In Gemma Animi, lib. i. c. 86. [i] De Divin. Offic.
[k] Super Act. 20. Una autem Sabbati. [l] Lib. viii. c. 17.
[m] Mystagog. Catechis. 5.
[n] Hom. 6. in 1 Epist. ad Tim.

variâ sunt, ut eruti et liberati Deum collaudent incolumitatis autorem."[o] So far goes our form of prayer. But St. Ambrose adds, "Referentes quoque gratiarum actiones." And so it was with us in the first service-books of King Edward, and the preface to the prayer engages us to a thanksgiving; but I know not how it was stolen out, the preface still remaining, to chide their unwariness that took down that part of the building, and yet left the gate standing. But if the reader please to be satisfied concerning this prayer, which, indeed, is the longest in our service-book, and of greatest consideration, he may see it taken up from the universal custom of the church, and almost in all the words of the old liturgies, if he will observe the liturgies themselves, of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the concurrent testimonies of Tertullian,[p] St. Austin,[q] Celestine,[r] Gennadius,[s] Prosper,[t] and Theophylact.[u]

26. I shall not need to make any excuses for the church's reading those portions of Scripture, which we call epistles and gospels, before the communion. They are Scriptures of the choicest and most profitable transaction. And let me observe this thing, that they are not only declarations of all the mysteries of our redemption, and rules of good life, but this choice is of the greatest compliance with the necessities of the christian church that can be imagined. For if we deny to the people a liberty of reading Scriptures, may they not complain, as Isaac did against the inhabitants of the land, that the Philistines had spoiled his well, and the fountains of living water? if a free use to all of them, and of all Scriptures, were permitted, should not the church herself have more cause to complain of the infinite licentiousness and looseness of interpretations, and of the commencement of ten thousand errors, which would certainly be consequent to such permission? Reason and religion will chide us in the first, reason and experience in the latter. And can the wit of man conceive a better temper and expedient, than that such Scriptures only or principally should be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption, and all the rules of good life? which two things are done by the gospels and epistles respectively: the first being a record of the life and death of our blessed Saviour; the latter, instructions for the edification of the church, in pious and christian conversation; and all this was done with so much choice, that as obscure places are avoided by design, as much as could be, so the very assignation of them to certain festivals, the appropriation of them to solemn and particular days, does entertain the understandings of the people with notions proper to the mystery, and distinct from impertinent and vexatious questions. And were this design made something more minute, and applicable to the various necessities of times, and such choice scriptures permitted indifferently, which might be matter of necessity and great edification, the people of the church would have no reason to complain, that the fountains of our Saviour were stopped from them,—nor the rulers of the church that the mysteriousness of Scripture were abused by the petulancy of the people to consequents harsh, impious, and unreasonable, in despite of government, in exauctoration of the power of superiors, or for the commencement of schisms and heresies. The church, with great wisdom, hath first held this torch out; and, though, for great reasons intervening and hindering, it cannot be reduced to practice, yet the church hath shown her desire to avoid the evil that is on both hands, and she hath shown the way also, if it could have been insisted in. But, however this choice of the more remarkable portions of Scripture is so reasonable and proportionable to the nature of the thing, that, because the gospels and epistles bear their several shares of the design, (the gospels representing the foundation, and prime necessities of christianity, and the mysterious parts of our redemption, the sum, the faith, and the hopes of christianity,) therefore it is attested by a ceremony of standing up, it being a part of the confession of faith: but the epistles containing superstructures upon that foundation, are read with religious care but not made formal or solemn by any other circumstance. The matter contains in it sufficient of reason and of proportion, but nothing of necessity except it be by accident, and as authority does intervene by way of sanction.

27. But that this reading of epistles and gospels before the communion, was one of the earliest customs of the church, I find it affirmed by Rabanus Maurus.[x] "Sed enim initio mos iste cantandi non erat, qui nunc in ecclesiâ ante sacrificium celebratur: sed tamen epistolæ Pauli recitabantur, et sanctum evangelium:" "The custom of reading St. Paul's epistles, and the holy gospel before the sacrament, was from the beginning." Some other portions of Scripture were read, upon emergent occasions, instead of the epistle, which still retain the name of epistle; but it is so seldom, that it happens upon two Sundays only in the year: upon Trinity Sunday, and the twenty-fifth Sunday after: upon Saints' days it happens oftener, because the story requires a particular rememoration, and, therefore, is very often taken out of the Acts of the Apostles; but being in substitution only of the ordinary portion of the epistle of St. Paul, or other the apostles, it keeps the name of the first design, though the change be upon good reason, and much propriety.

28. There remains now nothing but the litany and collects to be accounted for: for the matter of which, I shall need to say nothing, because the objections whatsoever have been against them, are extremely low, and rather like the intemperate talk of an angry child, than pressures of reason or probability, excepting where they are charged with their virtues, for their charity in praying for all men, for their humility in acknowledging such a worthlessness in ourselves, as not to dare to ask our petitions upon our own confidences. These things

[o] In Comment.
[p] Apologet. c. 14.
[q] Ep. 59. ad Paulin.
[r] Ep. 1.
[s] De Dogmat. Eccles. cap. 30.
[t] L. 1. de Vocat. Gent. c. 4.
[u] In Comment.
[x] Institut. Cleric. l. i. c. 32.

fall like water against a rock, or like the accusations against our blessed Saviour; the unreasonableness of them splits themselves.

29. But for the form, I think themselves will make answer, when they consider that they are nothing but a pursuit of that apostolical precept, which, next to the Lord's prayer, was the first Scripture pattern, whence the church framed her liturgies. "First of all, let there be made intercessions, and prayers, and supplications, and giving of thanks, for all men."[y] In which words, if there be not an impertinent repetition of divers words to the same sense, then needs must δεήσεις, προσευχαὶ, ἐντεύξεις, be as much distinct from each other in their form, as they are all from Εὐχαριστίαι.

30. St. Austin expounds προσευχὰς, "prayers made in and about the blessed eucharist." "Ideo in hujus sanctificatione et distributionis præparatione existimo apostolum jussisse proprie fieri προσευχὰς, id est, orationes. Interpellationes autem vel postulationes fiunt, cum populus benedicitur."[z]

31. But St. Austin, if he were not deceived in his criticism, says, that besides the general name of prayer, which is signified by all those words, εὐχὴ in Scripture signifies "votum" or desire, such surely as we express by sudden and short emissions, and then προσευχὴ is but a prayer, πρὸς εὐχὴν, that is, but an expression of short and ejaculatory desires, and may be better applied to such forms of prayer as are our collects, rather than the longer and more solemn parts of the canon of communion. Ἐντεύξεις, though it signifies an address to God, yet it may with propriety enough be applied to our interlocutory prayers where the people bear a share; for ἐντεύξεις signifies "congressum" or "colloquium," τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ πυκνὰς ποιοῦ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Isocrates: "Make no frequent societies or confederations with them." However, although grammarians may differ in assigning these several words to their proper, minute, and incommunicable signification, yet it is most clear, that they mean not prayers distinct, and made several by the variety of matter, but several addresses differing only in "modo orandi," and, therefore, by these are intended the several forms of prayer and supplication: and the church hath at all times used prayers of all variety, long and short, ejaculatory, determined, and solemn. And the church of England understood it in this variety, calling the short ejaculatory prayers and responsories by the names of litanies, or suffrages, which I should render in the phrase of St. Austin to be "postulationes," or δεήσεις; but the longer collects he calls "prayers," which is the true rendering of προσευχὰς, I suppose, and therefore twice in the litany, after the short responsories, the priest says, "let us pray," by that, minding the people of the apostles' precept, that "prayer" as well as "supplications" be made. For the litanies it is certain, the form is of great antiquity; Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, made solemn litanies, four hundred years after Christ, and he and all his diocess repeated them together: and, therefore, I know not what matter of doubt there can be reasonable in the form, since, besides that we have the wisdom of so many ages, and holy and prudent persons to confirm them, the form is made with design to represent all the needs of the catholic church, and to make the prayer itself fitted for an active and an intense devotion; and that it co-operates rarely well to these ends, is so true, that of the first, every man is judge,—of the second, every man may be judge, that will, without prejudice, and with pious predispositions, use the form; for if they help my devotion infinitely, they may do as much to another, if he be disposed as I am; and he that says they do no advantage, or singular relish to my spirit, may as well tell me the meat I eat does not please me, because he loves it not; but the exceptions which are against it, are so fantastic, and by chance, that, unless it be against a single adversary, and by personal engagement, they cannot be noted in a series of a positive discourse. Sometimes they are too long, and sometimes they are too short, and yet the objectors will make longer and shorter when they please; and, because no law of God hath prescribed to us in such circumstances, if the church leaves the same liberty to their private devotions, it is not reasonable they should prescribe to her in public, and in such minutes, in which the ordinary prudence of one wise man is abundantly sufficient to give him laws and directions, and in matters of greater difficulty.

32. Of the same consideration is the form of our church collects, which are made pleasant by their variety of matter,—are made energetical and potent by that great endearment of "per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum,"—are cleared from a neighbourhood of tediousness by their so quick intercision and breakings off,—and have for their precedent the forms of prayer used by the religious of Palestine mentioned by Cassian; "Et hæ fuerunt monachorum jaculatoriæ orationes, ut frequentius Dominum deprecantes jugiter eidem cohærere possimus, et ut insidiantis diaboli jacula, quæ infligere nobis tum præcipue insistit cum oramus, succinctâ vitemus brevitate."[a] In all these forms of prayer there is no difference but what is circumstantial; and therefore, although these circumstances be of great efficacy for the procuring of accidental advantages to our spirits, which are often swayed, moved, and determined by a manner, as much as by an essence, yet there is in it nothing of duty and obligation; and, therefore, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to make any of these things to be a question of religion.

33. I shall therefore press these things no further, but note, that since all liturgy is, and ever was, either prose or verse,—or both, and the liturgy of the church of England, as well as most others, is of the last sort,—I consider that whatsoever is in her devotions besides the lessons, epistles, and gospels, (the body of which is no other thing, than was the famous "lectionarium" of St. Jerome,) is a compliance with these two dictates of the apostle for liturgy: the which, one for verse, the other for prose, "in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs,"

[y] 1 Tim. ii.

[z] Epist. 59. ad Paulin. q. 5.

[a] De Instit. Cleric. lib. i. c. 32.

for verse; for prose, "deprecations, and prayers, and intercessions, and giving of thanks,"—will warrant and commend, as so many parts of duty, all the portions of the English liturgy.

34. If it were worth the pains, it were very easy to enumerate the authors, and especially the occasions and time when the most minute passages, such I mean as are known by distinct appellatives, came into the church; that so it may appear, our liturgy is as ancient and primitive in every part, as it is pious and unblamable, and long before the church got such a beam in one of her eyes, which was endeavoured to be cast out at the reformation. But it will not be amiss to observe, that very many of them were inserted as antidotes and deleteries to the worst of heresies, as I have discoursed already: and such was that clause, "Through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, ever one God:" and some other phrases parallel were put in, in defiance of the Macedonians, and all the species of the Anti-trinitarians, and used by St. Ambrose in Milan, St. Austin in Africa, and Idacius Clarus in Spain; and in imitation of so pious precedents, the church of England hath inserted divers clauses into her offices.

35. There was a great instance in the administration of the blessed sacrament. For upon the change of certain clauses in the liturgy, upon the instance of Martin Bucer, instead of "the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for you, preserve your body and soul unto everlasting life," was substituted this, "take and eat this in remembrance," &c. and it was done lest the people, accustomed to the opinion of transubstantiation and the appendant practices, should retain the same doctrine upon intimation of the first clause. But in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when certain persons of the Zuinglian opinion would have abused the church with sacramentary doctrine, and pretended the church of England had declared for it in the second clause of 1552, the wisdom of the church thought it expedient to join both the clauses; the first, lest the church should be suspected to be of the sacramentary opinion; the latter, lest she should be mistaken as a patroness of transubstantiation; and both these with so much temper and sweetness, that by her care she rather prevented all mistakes, than by any positive declaration in her prayers, engaged herself upon either side, that she might pray to God without strife and contention with her brethren. For the church of England had never known how to follow the names of men, but to call Christ only "her Lord and Master."

36. But from the inserting of these and the like clauses, which hath been done in all ages, according to several opportunities and necessities, I shall observe this advantage, which is in many, but is also very signally in the English liturgy; we are thereby enabled and advantaged in the meditation of those mysteries, "de quibus festivatur in sacris," as the casuists love to speak;—which, upon solemn days, we are bound to meditate, and make to be the matter and occasion of our address to God; for the offices are so ordered, that the most indifferent and careless cannot but be reminded of the mystery in every anniversary, which, if they be summed up, will make an excellent creed; and then let any man consider what a rare advantage it will be to the belief of such propositions, when the very design of the holiday teaches the hard-handed artisan the name and meaning of an article, and yet the most forward and religious cannot be abused with any semblances of superstition. The life and death of the saints, which is very precious in the eyes of God, is so remembered by his humble and afflicted handmaid the church of England, that by giving him thanks and praise, God may be honoured, the church instructed by the proposition of their example, and we give testimony of the honour and love we owe and pay unto religion, by the pious veneration and esteem of those holy and beatified persons.

37. Certain it is that there is no part of religion, as it is a distinct virtue, and is to be exercised by interior acts and forms of worship, but is in the offices of the church of England. For if the soul desires to be humbled, she hath provided forms of confession to God before his church; if she will rejoice and give God thanks for particular blessings, there are forms of thanksgiving described and added, by the king's authority, upon the conference at Hampton-court, which are all the public, solemn, and foreseen occasions, for which, by law and order, provision could be made. If she will commend to God the public and private necessities of the church, and single persons, the whole body of collects and devotions supplies that abundantly; if her devotion be high and pregnant, and prepared to fervency and importunity of congress with God, the litanies are an admirable pattern of devotion, full of circumstances proportionable for a quick and an earnest spirit; when the revolution of the anniversary calls on us to perform our duty of special meditation, and thankfulness to God for the glorious benefits of Christ's incarnation, nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension, (blessings which do as well deserve a day of thanksgiving as any other temporal advantage, though it be the pleasure of a victory,) then we have the offices of Christmas, the Annunciation, Easter, and Ascension; if we delight to remember those holy persons, whose bodies rest in the bed of peace, and whose souls are deposited in the hands of Christ till the day of restitution of all things, we may, by the collects and days of anniversary-festivity, not only remember, but also imitate them too in our lives, if we will make that use of the proportions of Scripture allotted for the festival which the church intends: to which if we add the advantages of the whole psalter, which is an entire body of devotion by itself, and hath in it forms to exercise all graces by way of internal act and spiritual intention, there is not any ghostly advantage which the most religious can either need or fancy, but the English liturgy in its entire constitution will furnish us withal. And certainly it was a very great wisdom, and a very prudent and religious constitution, so to order that part of the liturgy, which the

ancients called the "lectionarium," that the psalter should be read over twelve times in the year, the Old Testament once, and the New Testament thrice, besides the epistles and gospels, which renew with a more frequent repetition, such choice places as represent the entire body of faith and good life. There is a defalcation of some few chapters from the entire body in the order; but that also was part of the wisdom of the church, not to expose to public ears and common judgments some of the secret rites of Moses's law, or the more mysterious prophecies of the New Testament, whose sense and meaning the event will declare, if we, by mistaken and anticipated interpretations, do not obstruct our own capacities, and hinder us from believing the true events, because they answer not those expectations, with which our own mistakes have prepared our understandings; as it happened to the Jews in the case of Antiochus, and to the christians in the person of Antichrist.

38. Well: thus as it was framed in the body of its first constitution and second alteration, those excellent men whom God chose as instruments of his honour and service in the reformation, to whom also he did show what great things they were to suffer for his name's sake, approved of it with high testimony, promoted it by their own use and zeal, and at last sealed it with their blood.

39. That they had a great opinion of the piety and unblamable composure of the common prayer-book, appears, 1. in the challenge made in its behalf by the archbishop Cranmer, to defend it against all the world of enemies; 2. by the daily using it in time of persecution and imprisonment; for so did Bishop Ridley, and Doctor Taylor, who also recommended it to his wife for a legacy; 3. by their preaching in behalf of it, as many did; 4. by Hulliers' hugging it in his flames, with a posture of great love and forwardness of entertainment; 5. besides the direct testimony which the most eminent learned amongst the Queen-Mary martyrs have given of it. Amongst which, that of the learned rector of Hadley, Doctor Rowland Taylor, is most considerable: his words are these in a letter of his to a friend: "But there was after that, by the most innocent king Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly!) the whole church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men of the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm; which book was never reformed but once, and yet, by that one reformation, it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our christian religion, in every behalf, that no christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained: I mean of that book reformed."[b]

40. I desire the words may be considered and confronted against some other words lately published, which charge these holy and learned men but with a half-faced light, a darkness in the confines of Egypt and the suburbs of Goshen. And because there is no such thing proved of these blessed men and martyrs, and that it is easy to say such words of any man that is not fully of our mind, I suppose the advantage and the out-weighing authority will lie on our part, in behalf of the common prayer-book, especially since this man, and divers others, died with it and for it, according as it happened by the circumstance of their charges and articles, upon which they died; for so it was in the cases of John Rough, John Philpot, Cuthbert Simson, and seven others burnt in Smithfield;[c] upon whom it was charged in their indictments, that they used, allowed, preached for, and maintained respectively, the service-book of King Edward. To which articles they answered affirmatively, and confessed them to be true in every part, and died accordingly.

41. I shall press this argument to issue, in the words of St. Ambrose, cited to the like purpose by Vincentius Lirinensis: "Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrûm resignare audeat, signatum à confessoribus, et multorum jam martyrio consecratum? Quomodo fidem eorum possumus denegare, quorum victoriam prædicamus?"[d] "Who shall dare to violate this priestly book, which so many confessors have consigned, and so many martyrs have hallowed with their blood? How shall we call them martyrs, if we deny their faith? how shall we celebrate their victory, if we dislike their cause? If we believe them to be crowned, why shall we deny but that they "strove lawfully?" So that if they, dying in attestation of this book, were martyrs, why do we condemn the book for which they died? If we will not call them martyrs, it is clear we have changed our religion since then. And then it would be considered whether we are fallen; for the reformers in King Edward's time died for it, in Queen Elizabeth's time they avowed it under the protection of an excellent princess; but, in that sad interval of Queen Mary's reign, it suffered persecution: and if it shall do so again, it is but an unhandsome compliance for reformers to be unlike their brethren, and to be like their enemies, to do as do the papists, and only to speak great words against them; and it will be sad for a zealous protestant to live in an age that should disavow King Edward's and Queen Elizabeth's religion and manner of worshipping God, and in an age that shall do as Queen Mary's bishops, persecute the book of common-prayer, and the religion contained in it. God help the poor protestants in such times: but let it do its worst; if God please to give his grace, the worst that can come is but a crown, and that was never denied to martyrs.

42. In the mean time I can but with joy and eucharist consider with what advantages and blessings the pious protestant is entertained, and blessed, and armed against all his needs, by the constant and religious usage of the common prayer-book: for besides the direct advantages of the prayers and devotions, some whereof are already instanced,—and the experience of holy persons will furnish them with more,—there are also forms of solemn benediction and absolution in the offices; and if they be not highly considerable, there is nothing sacred in

[b] Acts and Monuments, p. 1385, 1608, 1565, 1840, 1841, et alibi.

[c] P. 1818, 1619, 1840.

[d] Contra Hæres. c. 7.

the evangelical ministry, but all is a vast plain, and the altars themselves are made of unhallowed turf.

43. Concerning benediction (of which there are four more solemn forms in the whole office, two in the canon of the communion, one in confirmation, one in the office of marriage) I shall give this short account, that "without all question, the less is blessed of the greater," and it being an issue spiritual, is rather to be verified in spiritual relation than in natural or political. And, therefore, if there be any such thing as "regeneration" by the ministry of the word, and "begetting in Christ," and fathers, and sons after the common faith, (as the expressions of the apostle make us to believe,) certain it is, the blessings of religion do descend most properly from our spiritual fathers, and with most plentiful emanation. And this hath been the religion of all the world, to derive very much of their blessings by the priest's particular and signal ministration: Melchisedeck blessed Abraham, Isaac blessed Jacob, and Moses and Aaron blessed the people. So that here is benediction from a prince, from a father, from the Aaronical priest, from Melchisedeck, of whose order is the christian, in whose law it is a sanction, that, in great needs especially, "the elders of the church be sent for, and let them pray over him that is distressed." That is the "great remedy" for the "great necessity." And it was ever much valued in the church, insomuch that Nectarius would, by no means, take investiture of his patriarchal see, until he had obtained the benediction of Diodorus, the bishop of Cilicia. Eudoxia, the empress, brought her son Theodosius to St. Chrysostom, for his blessing; and St. Austin and all his company received it of Innocentius, bishop of Carthage. It was so solemn in all marriages, that the marrying of persons was called "benediction." So it was in the fourth council of Carthage; "Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt à sacerdote," &c. *benedicendi* for *married*. And in all church offices it was so solemn, that, by a decree of the council of Agatho, A. D. 380, it was decreed, "Ante benedictionem sacerdotis populus egredi non præsumat." By the way only, here is *αὐθεντία* for two parts of the English liturgy: for the benediction in the office of marriage, by the authority of the council of Carthage; and for concluding the office of communion with the priest's or bishop's benediction, by warrant of the council of Agatho; which decrees, having been derived into the practice of the universal church for very many ages, is in no hand to be undervalued, lest we become like Esau, and we miss it when we most need it. For my own particular, I shall still press on to receive the benediction of holy church, till at last I shall hear a "Venite, benedicti," and that I be reckoned amongst those blessed souls, who come to God by the ministries of his own appointment, and will not venture upon that neglect, against which the piety and wisdom of all religions in the world infinitely do prescribe.

44. Now the advantages of confidence, which I have upon the forms of benediction in the common prayer-book, are therefore considerable, because God himself prescribed a set form of blessing the people, appointing it to be done, not in the priest's extempore, but in an established form of words; and because, as the authority of a prescript form is from God, so that this form may be also highly warranted, the solemn blessing, at the end of the communion, is in the very words of St. Paul.

45. For the forms of absolution in the liturgy, though I shall not enter into consideration of the question concerning the quality of the priest's power, which is certainly a very great ministry, yet I shall observe the rare temper and proportion which the church of England uses in commensurating the forms of absolution to the degrees of preparation and necessity. At the beginning of the morning and evening prayer, after a general confession, usually recited before the devotion is high and pregnant, whose parts like fire enkindle one another,—there is a form of absolution in general, declarative, and by way of proposition. In the office of the communion, because there are more acts of piety and repentance previous and pre-supposed, there the church's form of absolution is optative and by way of intercession. But in the visitation of the sick, when it is supposed and enjoined that the penitent shall disburden himself of all the clamorous loads upon his conscience, the church prescribes a medicinal form by way of delegate authority, that the parts of justification may answer to the parts of good life. For as the penitent proceeds, so does the church; pardon and repentance being terms of relation, they grow up together till they be complete: this the church, with the greatest wisdom, supposes to be at the end of our life, grace by that time having all its growth that it will have here; and, therefore, then also the pardon of sins is of another nature than it ever was before, it being now more actual and complete; whereas, before, it was "in fieri," in the beginnings and smaller increases, and upon more accidents apt to be made imperfect and revocable. So that the church of England, in these manners of dispensing the power of the keys, does cut off all disputings and impertinent wranglings, whether the priest's power were judicial or declarative; for possibly it is both, and it is optative too; and something else yet, for it is an emanation from all the parts of his ministry, and he never absolves, but he preaches or prays, or administers a sacrament; for this power of remission is a transcendant, passing through all the parts of the priestly offices; for the keys of the kingdom of heaven are the promises and the threatenings of the Scripture, and the prayers of the church, and the word, and the sacraments, and all these are to be dispensed by the priest, and these keys are committed to his ministry,—and by the operation of them all, he opens and shuts heaven's gates ministerially; and, therefore, St. Paul calls it "verbum reconciliationis," and says it is dispensed by ministers, as by "ambassadors" or delegates: and, therefore, it is an excellent temper of the church, so to prescribe her forms of absolution, as to show them to be results of the whole priestly office, of preaching, of dispensing sacraments, of

[e] Num. vi. 23.

spiritual cure, and authoritative deprecation. And the benefit which pious and well disposed persons receive by these public ministries, as it lies ready formed in our blessed Saviour's promise "erit solutum in cœlis," so men will then truly understand, when they are taught to value, every instrument of grace or comfort by the exigence of a present need, as in a sadness of spirit, in an unquiet conscience, in the arrest of death.

46. I shall not need to procure advantages to the reputation of the common-prayer, by considering the imperfections of whatsoever hath been offered in its stead: but yet,[f] 1. A form of worship, composed to the dishonour of the reformation, accusing it of darkness, and intolerable inconvenience: 2. A direction without a rule: 3. A rule without restraint: 4. A prescription leaving an indifferency to a possibility of licentiousness: 5. An office without any injunction of external acts of worship, not prescribing so much as kneeling: 6. An office that only once names reverence, but forbids it in the ordinary instance, and enjoins it in no particular: 7. An office that leaves the form of ministration of sacraments so indifferently, that if there be any form of words essential, the sacrament is in much danger to become invalid, for want of provision of due forms of ministration: 8. An office that complies with no precedent of Scripture, nor of any ancient church: 9. That must of necessity either want authority, or it must prefer novelty before antiquity: 10. That accuses all the primitive church of indiscretion, at the least: 11. That may be abused by the indiscretion, or ignorance, or malice of any man that uses it: 12. Into which, heresy or blasphemy may creep without possibility of prevention: 13. That hath no external forms to entertain the fancy of the more common spirits: 14. Nor any allurement to persuade and entice its adversaries: 15. Nor any means of adunation and uniformity amongst its confidents: 16. An office that still permits children, in many cases of necessity, to be unbaptized, making no provision for them in sudden cases: 17. That will not suffer them to be confirmed at all, "Ut utroque sacramento renascantur," as St. Cyprian's phrase is, "that they may be advantaged by a double rite:" 18. That joins in marriage as Cacus did his oxen, in rude, inform, and unhallowed yokes: 19. That will not do piety to the dead, nor comfort to the living, by solemn and honorary offices of funeral: 20. That hath no forms of blessing the people, any more 21. than *described* forms of blessing God, which are just none at all: 22. An office that never thinks of absolving penitents, or exercising the power of the keys, after the custom and rites of priests: 23. A liturgy that recites no creed, no confession of faith, so, not declaring, either to angels or man, according to what religion they worship God; but entertaining, though indeed without a symbol, Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Manichees, or any other sect, for ought there appears to the contrary: 24. That consigns no public canon of communion, but leaves that as casual and fantastic as any of the lesser offices: 25. An office that takes no more care than chance does, for the reading the Holy Scriptures: 26. That never commemorates a departed saint: 27. That hath no communion with the church triumphant, any more than with the other parts of the militant: 28. That never thanks God for the redemption of the world by the nativity, and passion, resurrection, and ascension, of our blessed Saviour Jesus; but condemns the memorial even of the Scripture-saints, and the memorial of the miraculous blessings of redemption of mankind by Christ himself; with the same accusation it condemns the legends and portentous stories of the most suspected part of the Roman calendar: 29. An office that, out of zeal against Judaism, condemns all distinction of days, unless they themselves distinguish them: that leaves no signature of piety upon the Lord's day, and yet the compilers do enjoin it to a Judaical superstition: 30. An office that does by implication undervalue the Lord's prayer, for it never enjoins it, and does but once permit it: 31. An office that is new without authority, and never made up into a sanction by an act of parliament: an order or directory of devotion, that hath all these ingredients and capacities, (and such a one there is in the world,) I suppose is no equal match to contest with and be put in balance against the liturgy of the church of England, which was with so great deliberation compiled out of Scriptures, the most of it; all the rest agreeing with Scriptures, and drawn from the liturgies of the ancient church, and made by men famous in their generations, whose reputation and glory of martyrdom hath made it immodest for the best of men now to compare themselves with them; and after its composition, considered by advices from abroad, and so trimmed and adorned, that no excrescency did remain; the rubrics of which book was writ in the blood of many of the compilers, which hath had a testimony from God's blessing in the daily use of it, accompanying it with the peace of an age, established and confirmed by six acts of parliament directly and collaterally, and is of so admirable a composure, that the most industrious wits of its enemies could never find out an objection of value enough to make a doubt, or scarce a scruple, in a wise spirit. But that I shall not need to set a night-piece by so excellent a beauty, to set it off the better,—its own excellencies are orators prevalent enough, that it shall not need any advantages accidental.

47. And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire, but it is not consumed; at first it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers, and the church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness; but it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the church of England: Indeed, the greatest danger that ever the common prayer-book had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but

[f] Directory.

as a common blessing; and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach,—though they might innocently intend it, yet did not, in that action, consult the honour of our liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and an actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least, that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession.

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*48. But because things are otherwise in this affair than we had hoped, and that, in very many churches, instead of the common-prayer which they use not, every man uses what he pleases, and all men do not choose well; and where there are so many choosers, there is nothing regular, and the sacraments themselves are not so solemnly ministered as the sacredness and solemnity of the mysteries do require, and in very many places, where the old excellent forms are not permitted, there is scarce any thing at all, but something to show there was a shipwreck, a plank or a cable, a chapter or a psalm: some who were troubled to see it so, and fain would see it otherwise, did think it might not be amiss that some of the ancient forms of other churches, and of the prayers of Scripture, should be drawn together, and laid before them that need; as supposing that these or the like materials would make better fuel for the fires of devotion, than the straw and the stubble which some men did suddenly or weakly rake together, whenever they were to dress their sacrifice. Now, although these prayers have no authority to give them power, yet they are humbly and charitably intended, and that may get them love, and they have been (as to the matter of them) approved by persons of great learning and great piety; and that may sufficiently recommend them to the use of those who have no other, or no better, and they no way do violence to authority, and therefore the use of them cannot be insecure; and they contain in them no matter of question or dispute, and therefore cannot be justly suspected of interest or partiality: and they are (especially in the chiefest offices) collected out of the devotions of the Greek church, with some mixture of the Mozarabic and Æthiopic, and other liturgies, and perfected out of the fountains of Scripture, and therefore, for the material part, have great warrant and great authority; and therefore if they be used with submission to authority, it is hoped they may do good; and if they be not used, no man will be offended.

49. I hope there will be no need of an apology, or an excuse for doing an act of charity; if no man will confess that he needs any of these, they can be let alone, for they are intended only for them that do; but if there be a need, these prayers may help to obtain of God to take that need away, and to supply it in the mean while. But there is nothing else intended in this design, but that we may see what excellent forms of prayer were used in the ancient church, what a rare repository of devotion the Scripture is; how it was the same spirit of prayer that assisted the church of England, and other churches of God; how much better the curates of souls may help themselves with these or the like offices, than with their own extempore; how their present needs may be supplied, and their devotion enlarged, and a day of religion entirely spent, and a provision made for some necessities, in which our calamities and our experience of late have too well instructed us. For which and for other great reasons, all churches have admitted variety of offices. In the Greek church, it is notorious, they have three public books, and very many added afterwards by their patriarchs, their bishops, and their priests; some are said often, and others sometimes: and in Spain, the Mozarabic office was used until the time of Alphonso VI. and to this very day, in six parishes in Toledo, and in the cathedral church itself, in the chapel of Friar Francis Ximenes; and at Salamanca, upon certain days, in the chapel of Doctor Talabricensis. And after all, these may be admitted into the use and ministry of families, for all the necessities of which, here is something provided.

JER. TAYLOR.

* This Preface being in every respect the same as that which is prefixed to the "Collection of Offices," with the exception of this and the following paragraph, they have been added here, to supersede the necessity of reprinting the whole with the "Collection of Offices."

A LETTER FROM JEREMY TAYLOR, D. D.

ADDRESSED TO BISHOP LESLIE;

AND PREFIXED BY HIM TO HIS DISCOURSE ON PRAYING WITH THE SPIRIT AND UNDERSTANDING.

My Lord,

I am well pleased your Lordship hath consented to publish your excellent sermons concerning "extempore prayer." You preached them in a family, in which the public liturgy of the church is greatly valued, and diligently used; but in a country, where most of the inhabitants are strangers to the thing, and enemies to the name; for so they are taught to be, having no other reason for that enmity, than because their preachers have blasted it with the breath of their displeasure. But, instead of this, they are fed with indeliberate, unstudied, sudden conceptions, begotten and born in the same minute, and, therefore, not likely to be better than all those other productions of the world, which, by being sudden and hasty, have an inevitable fate to be useless and good for nothing.

My Lord, I have often considered concerning the pretensions of those persons, who think no prayer is good if it be studied, and none spiritual unless it be "ex tempore," and that only such are made by the Spirit: and perceiving them to rely upon the expression of St. Paul, "I will pray with the Spirit," I have thought that they as little study what they teach to men, as what they say to God; for if they did not understand with the Spirit, in the same sense as they pray with the Spirit, that is, without all study and consideration, I am verily persuaded they would not have fallen upon this new and unheard-of practice: I say, "unheard-of;" for it is a new thing, both to heathens, to Jews, and to christians; and indeed must be so, since, in the very nature of the thing itself, it appears to be infinitely unreasonable.

For what greater disparagement in the world can there be to him that speaks, or the thing spoken, than to say it was spoken rashly and inconsiderately? And, therefore, it was an excellent saying of one: "Oratio viri philosophi, sicut vita, debet esse composita:" "every wise man's words should be composed and orderly as his life:" μετὰ πολλοῦ σκέψεως καὶ πόνου, "with labour and consideration." And certain it is, if any man intends to speak well and wisely, he does not vomit out his answers, as a fool does secrets; he is sick till they are out, and when they are, they are loathsome. Of this I need say no more; but it is evident all such extempore prayers are likely to be less wise; and to use such ways of prayer, is against reason.

2. To do so is against the virtue of religion: it is doing the work of the Lord negligently, and, therefore, unpleasantly; and to this is to be imputed all those unhandsome issues of a sudden tongue, which so ill become religion, that they very often minister offence to wise and godly persons of all persuasions.

3. Hasty and unstudied prayers are against Scripture; expressly, I say, against the word of God, whose Spirit hath commanded thus: "Be not rash with thy mouth, and be not hasty to utter any thing before God."[a] Now this commandment is plain and easy, and, therefore, not to be evacuated by any obscure and difficult pretences, from which no certain argument can arise. To which if we add, that St. Paul amongst the characters of these of whom he prophesies evil things, reckons προπετεῖς, "the hasty and heady people;"[b] I humbly conceive that these are the persons, in the New Testament, who break the commandment in the Old, and that they must have something else to defend them, than what hath yet appeared.

But, therefore, these our brethren pretend that the Spirit of God supplies all this; and what is wanting in nature is supplied by grace. To this I need to make no new replies, but only consider, that where there is an unavoidable necessity, we have reason to suppose we shall be helped: but we have no such need; we are taught in Scripture, by the Holy Spirit, what to pray, and how to pray, and beyond this assistance we need nothing, save only that he be pleased to stir us up to pray; and for that also we have arguments and invitations sufficient in the divine Scripture; and I humbly conceive, it is one sort of tempting God, to call for extraordinary aids, when we are sufficiently provided for in ordinary; and I appeal to the piety and consciences of all christian ministers, whether the Spirit of God hath not sufficiently enabled us in all the parts and necessities of prayer, by the treasures of Holy Scripture? and, 2. whether, by reading and meditating in the Scriptures, we cannot obtain all the aid we need? and, 3. whether or no, do not those ministers that are supposed to pray best amongst them, most of all use the phrases and expressions of Scripture? and, 4. whether or no, are not such prayers undeniably the best which are taken thence?

4. But, that I need no further argument in this question, I appeal to the experience of this last age, in which extempore prayers have been born

[a] Eccl. v. 2.

[b] 2 Tim. iii.

and bred, whether it can be reasonable to allow such sudden prayers to be productions of the Spirit, when we have heard many spiritual crimes expressed and promoted by such prayers, and by those that pretended to such gifts? the consequence of which is certainly this; that to prove a man to pray with the Spirit, something else is required besides speaking extempore; and that this is not, therefore, it; because many do this, who do like Ananias and Sapphira, *ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*, "belie, or falsely pretend the Spirit," who cannot dictate false, heretical, rebellious, blasphemous, or ignorant propositions: and yet it is certain, if these men who pray extempore, did pray with the Spirit; that is, if the Spirit of God did dictate those words; those prayers would be as good canonical Scripture, when they are written by the short-hand writers, as any of the psalms of David, or the words of the apostles: which because it is intolerable to affirm, it follows, that praying with the Spirit means not extempore prayers.

5. I add but one thing more, and that is, that Dideclavius, the great patron of our dissenting brethren, said, in his "Altare Damasceno," that the master of a family could not, without indecency, pray with such sudden conception before a family; and as wise a man as he, said, "Nihil ordinatum est quod præcipitatur; properari sine indecoro non potest;"[c] "There can be no order in sudden conception." Since, therefore, it is indecent and unorderly, let it be considered how such persons can observe the precept of the apostle: "Let all things," in the church, "be done decently and in order."

If it be asked by any man, Whether it be unfit to use, in private, forms of our own composing? I answer, "it may be very fit;" but this is because this rule of the apostle, which wholly relates to the public, is not a provision for the private, for decency is a relative term, and so is order; and in private we may deliberate upon our knees, but, in public, we cannot; and although we must, neither in public nor in private, speak hastily, rashly, or without sufficient deliberation, yet we may do that in private which, in public, we may not; and there we are only to avoid rashness and hastiness; but in public we must take care of order also, and of decency, and of edification of others, all which by extempore prayers cannot be well provided for: but, my Lord, I forget the purpose of my letter, which is to pay to your Lordship that just acknowledgment of your care of the church's good, and the instruction of souls, which you have expressed in this material, plain, easy, and religious discourse, which I pray God may prove as profitable as it is rational, as useful as it is pious.

My Lord, I am
Your Lordship's
Most affectionate brother and servant,
J. T.

AN APOLOGY

FOR

AUTHORIZED AND SET FORMS OF LITURGY.

Χωρεῖν γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸ ὅμοιον· ὅθεν καὶ μόνος ἱερεὺς ὁ σόφος λέγεται, μόνος θεοφιλὴς, ΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΔΩΣ ΕΥΞΑΣΘΑΙ· *μόνος γὰρ οἶδε τιμᾶν, ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μὴ συγχεὼν τῶν τιμωμένων, καὶ ὁ προηγουμένως ἱερεῖον ἑαυτὸν προσάγων.*—HIEROCL. in Pythag.

I HAVE read over this book which the assembly of divines is pleased to call, "The Directory for Prayer." I confess I came to it with much expectation, and was in some measure confident I should have found it an exact and unblamable model of devotion, free from all those objections which men of their own persuasion had obtruded against the public liturgy of the church of England; or, at least, it should have been composed with so much artifice and fineness, that it might have been to all the world an argument of their learning and excellency of spirit, if not of the goodness and integrity of their religion and purposes. I shall give no other character of the whole, but that the public disrelish which I find amongst persons of great piety, of all qualities, not only of great, but even of ordinary understandings, is to me some argument that it lies so open to the objections even of common spirits, that the compilers of it did intend more to prevail by the success of their armies, than the strength of reason, and the proper grounds of persuasion, which yet most wise and good men believe to be the more christian way of the two. But because the judgment I made of it from an argument so extrinsical to the nature of the thing, could not reasonably enable me to satisfy those many persons, who, in their behalf, desired me to consider it, I resolved to look upon it nearer, and to take its account from something that was ingredient to its constitution,

[c] Seneca.

"that I might be able both to exhort and convince the gainsayers," who refuse to hold fast πιστὸν λόγον κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν, that "faithful word which they had been taught" by their mother, the church of England.

2. I shall decline to speak of the efficient cause of this directory, and not quarrel at it, that it was composed against the laws both of England and all christendom. If the thing were good and pious, and did not, directly or accidentally, invade the rights of a just superior, I would learn to submit to the imposition, and never quarrel at the incompetency of his authority, that engaged me to do pious and holy things. And it may be, when I am a little more used to it, I shall not wonder at a synod, in which not one bishop sits, in the capacity of a bishop, though I am most certain, this is the first example in England, since it was first christened. But, for the present, it seems something hard to digest it, because I know so well that all assemblies of the church have admitted priests to consultation and dispute, but never to authority and decision, till the pope enlarging the phylacteries of the archimandrites and abbots, did sometimes, by way of privilege and dispensation, give to some of them decisive voices in public councils; but this was one of the things in which he did innovate and invade against the public resolutions of christendom, though he durst not do it often, and yet when he did it, it was in very small and inconsiderable numbers.

3. I said, I would not meddle with the efficient, and I cannot meddle with the final cause, nor guess at any other ends and purposes of theirs, than at what they publicly profess, which is the abolition and destruction of the book of common-prayer; which great change, because they are pleased to call reformation, I am content, in charity, to believe they think it so, and that they have "zelum Dei," but whether "secundum scientiam," "according to knowledge," or no, must be judged by them who consider the matter and the form.

4. But because the matter is of so great variety and minute consideration, every part whereof would require as much scrutiny as I purpose to bestow upon the whole, I have, for the present, chosen to consider only the form of it; concerning which, I shall give my judgment without any sharpness or bitterness of spirit; for I am resolved not to be angry with any men of another persuasion, as knowing that I differ just as much from them as they do from me.

5. The directory takes away that form of prayer which, by the authority and consent of all the obliging power of the kingdom, hath been used and enjoined ever since the reformation. But this was done by men of differing spirits, and of disagreeing interests; some of them consented to it, that they might take away all set forms of prayer, and give way to every man's spirit; the other, that they might take away this form, and give way and countenance to their own. The first is an enemy to all deliberation: the second, to all authority. They will have no man to deliberate; these would have none but themselves. The former are unwise and rash; the latter are pleased with themselves, and are full of opinion. They must be considered apart, for they have rent the question in pieces, and with the fragment in his hand, every man hath run his own way.

QUESTION I.

6. First, of them that deny all set forms, though in the subject matter they were confessed innocent and blameless.

7. And here I consider that the true state of the question is only this, Whether it is better to pray to God with consideration, or without? Whether is the wiser man of the two, he who thinks and deliberates what to say, or he that utters his mind as fast as it comes? Whether is the better man, he who, out of reverence to God, is most careful and curious that he offend not in his tongue, and, therefore, he himself deliberates, and takes the best guides he can; or he who, out of the confidence of his own abilities, or other exterior assistances, ὅμοιος εἶη τοῖς εἰκῇ, καὶ φορτικῶς, καὶ χύδην,—ὅ, τι ἂν ἐπελθῇ, λέγουσι;[a] speaks whatever comes uppermost.

8. And here I wave the advice and counsel of a very wise man, no less than Solomon, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; therefore, let thy words be few."[b] The consideration of the vast distance between God and us, heaven and earth, should create such apprehensions in us, that the very best and choicest of our offertories are not acceptable but by God's gracious vouchsafing and condescension: and, therefore, since we are so much indebted to God for accepting our best, it is not safe ventured to present him with a dough-baked sacrifice, and put him off with that, which in nature and human consideration is absolutely the worst; for such is all the crude and imperfect utterance of our more imperfect conceptions: "Hoc non probo in philosopho, cujus oratio, sicut vita, debet esse composita," said Seneca; "A wise man's speech should be like his life and actions, composed, studied, and considered." And if ever inconsideration be the cause of sin and vanity, it is in our words, and therefore is, with greatest care, to be avoided in our prayers, we being most of all concerned that God may have no quarrel against them, for folly or impiety.

9. But, abstracting from the reason, let us consider who keeps the precept best, he that deliberates, or he that considers not when he speaks? What man in the world is hasty to offer any thing unto God, if he be not, who prays extempore? And then add to it but the weight of Solomon's reason, and let any man answer me, if he thinks it can well stand with that reverence we owe to the immense, the infinite, and to the eternal God, the God of wisdom, to offer him a sacrifice, which we durst not present to a prince or a prudent governor, "in re seriâ," such as our prayers ought to be.

[a] Isocrat. in Panathen.

[b] Eccles. v. 2.

10. And that this may not be dashed with a pretence it is carnal reasoning, I desire it may be remembered, that it is the argument God himself uses against lame, maimed, and imperfect sacrifices, "Go and offer this to thy prince," see if he will accept it; implying, that the best person is to have the best present; and what the prince will slight as truly unworthy of him, much more is it unfit for God. For God accepts not of any thing we give or do, as if he were bettered by it; for, therefore, its estimate is not taken by its relation or natural complacency to him, for, in itself, it is to him as nothing: but God accepts it by its proportion and commensuration to us. That which we call our best, and is truly so in human estimate, that pleases God; for it declares, that if we had better we would give it him. But to reserve the best, says too plainly, that we think any thing is good enough for him. As therefore God, in the law, would not be served by that which was imperfect "in genere naturæ:" so neither now, nor ever, will that please him which is imperfect "in genere morum," or "materiâ intellectuali," when we can give a better.

11. And, therefore, the wisest nations, and the most sober persons, prepared their verses and prayers in set forms with as much religion as they dressed their sacrifices, and observed the rites of festivals and burials. Amongst the Romans, it belonged to the care of the priests to worship in prescribed and determined words. "In omni precatione qui vota effundit sacerdos, Vestam et Janum aliosque deos præscriptis verbis et composito carmine advocare solet."[c] The Greeks did so too, receiving their prayers by dictate, word for word. "Itaque sua carmina suæque precationes singulis diis institutæ sunt; quas plerumque, nequid præposterè dicatur, aliquis ex præscripto præire et ad verbum referre solebat:"[d] "Their hymns and prayers were ordained peculiar to every god, which, lest any thing should be said preposterously, were usually pronounced, word for word, after the priest, and out of written copies; and the magi among the Persians were as considerate in their devotions; "Magos et Persas primo semper diluculo canere diis hymnos et laudes, meditato et solenni precationis carmine;"[e] "The Persians sang hymns to their gods by the morning twilight, in a premeditate, solemn, and metrical form of prayer," saith the same author. For, since in all the actions and discourses of men, that which is the least considered is likely to be the worst, and is certainly of the greatest disreputation, it were a strange cheapness of opinion, towards God and religion, to be the most incurious of what we say to him; and in our religious offices, it is strange that every thing should be considered but our prayers. It is spoken by Eunapius, to the honour of Proæresius's scholars, that when the proconsul asked their judgments in a question of philosophy, they were προσενεγκόντες τὰ Ἀριστείδου μετὰ πολλῆς σκέψεως καὶ πόνου, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν ἐμούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶνὰ κριβούντων,[f] "they, with much consideration and care, gave, in answer, those words of Aristides, 'that they were not of the number of those that used to vomit out answers, but of those that considered every word they were to speak.'" "Nihil enim ordinatum est quod præcipitatur et properat," said Seneca; "Nothing can be regular and orderly that is hasty and precipitate;" and, therefore, unless religion be the most imprudent, trifling and inconsiderable thing, and that the work of the Lord is done well enough when it is done negligently, or that the sanctuary hath the greatest beauty when it hath the least order, it will concern us highly to think our prayers and religious offices are actions fit for wise men, and, therefore, to be done as the actions of wise men use to be, that is, deliberately, prudently, and with greatest consideration.

12. Well then, in the nature of the thing, extempore forms have much the worse of it. But it is pretended that there is such a thing as the gift of prayer, a praying with the Spirit; "Et nescit tarda molimina Spiritus sancti gratia," God's Spirit, if he pleases, can do his work as well in an instant as in long premeditation. And to this purpose are pretended those places of Scripture, which speak of assistance of God's Spirit in our prayers: "And I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Spirit of grace and supplication."[g] But especially Rom. viii. 26. "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered," &c. From whence the conclusion that is inferred is, in the words of St Paul, "that we must pray with the Spirit," therefore, not with set forms, therefore extempore.

13. The collection is somewhat wild, for there is great independency in the several parts; and much more is in the conclusion than was virtually in the premises. But such as it is, the authors of it, I suppose, will own it. And, therefore, we will examine the main design of it, and then consider the particular means of its persuasion, quoted in the objection.

14. It is one of the privileges of the gospel, and the benefit of Christ's ascension, that the Holy Ghost is given unto the church, and is become to us the fountain of gifts and graces. But these gifts and graces are improvements and helps of our natural faculties, of our art and industry, not extraordinary, miraculous, and immediate infusions of habits and gifts. That without God's Spirit we cannot pray aright, that our infirmities need his help, that we know not what to ask of ourselves, is most true; and if ever any heretic was more confident of his own naturals, or did ever more undervalue God's grace, than the Pelagian did, yet he denies not this: but what then? therefore without study, without art, without premeditation, without learning, the Spirit gives the gift of prayer, and is it his grace that, without any natural or artificial help, makes us pray extempore? No such thing: the objection proves nothing of this.

15. Here, therefore, we will join issue, whether the gifts and helps of the Spirit be immediate infusions of the faculties, and powers, and perfect

[c] Alex. ab Alex. lib. ii. c. 14. [d] Idem, lib. iv. c. 17. [e] Ibid. [f] In Vita Proæresii. [g] Zech. xii. 10.

abilities? Or that he doth assist us only by his aids, external and internal, in the use of such means which God and nature had given to man, to ennoble his soul, better his faculties, and to improve his understanding? That the aids of the Holy Ghost are only assistances to us, in the use of natural and artificial means, I will undertake to prove; and from thence it will evidently follow, that labour, and hard study, and premeditation, will soonest purchase the gift of prayer, and ascertain us of the assistance of the Spirit; and, therefore, set forms of prayer, studied and considered of, are in a true and proper sense, and without enthusiasm, the fruits of the Spirit.

16. First; God's Spirit did assist the apostles by ways extraordinary, and fit for the first institution of christianity; but doth assist us now by the expresses of those first assistances which he gave to them immediately.

17. Thus the Holy Ghost brought to their memory all things which Jesus spake and did, and, by that means, we come to know all that the Spirit knew to be necessary for us, the Holy Ghost being author of our knowledge, by being the fountain of the revelation; and we are, therefore, θεοδίδακτοι, "taught by God," because the Spirit of God revealed the articles of our religion, that they might be known to all ages of the church; and this is testified by St. Paul: "He gave some apostles, and some prophets," &c. "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man," &c. This was the effect of Christ's ascension, when he "gave gifts unto men," that is, when he sent the Spirit, the verification of the promise of the Father. The effect of this immission of the Holy Ghost was to fill all things, and that for ever; to build up the church of God until the day of consummation; so that the Holy Ghost abides with the church for ever, by transmitting those revelations, which he taught the apostles, to all christians in succession. Now as the Holy Ghost taught the apostles, and, by them, still teaches us what to believe; so it is certain he taught the apostles how and what to pray; and because it is certain that all the rules concerning our duty in prayer, and all those graces which we are to pray for, are transmitted to us by derivation from the apostles, whom the Holy Ghost did teach even to that very purpose also, that they should teach us: it follows evidently, that the gift of prayer is a gift of the Holy Ghost; and yet to verify this proposition, we need no other immediate inspiration or extraordinary assistance, than that we derive from the Holy Ghost, by the conveyance of the apostolical sermons and writings.

18. The reason is the same in faith and prayer; and if there were any difference in the acquisition or reception, faith certainly needs a more immediate infusion, as being of greatest necessity, and yet a grace to which we least co-operate, it being the first of graces, and less of the will in it than any other. But yet the Holy Ghost is the author of our faith, and "we believe with the Spirit" (it is St. Paul's expression); and yet our "belief comes by hearing and reading" the Holy Scriptures, and their interpretations. Now reconcile these two together, "Faith comes by hearing," and yet "is the gift of the Spirit;"[h] and it says that the gifts of the Spirit are not ecstasies and immediate infusions of habits, but helps from God, to enable us, upon the use of the means of his own appointment, to believe, to speak, to understand, to prophesy, and to pray.

19. But whosoever shall look for any other gifts of the Spirit, besides the parts of nature helped by industry and God's blessing upon it, and the revelations or the supplies of matter in Holy Scripture, will be very far to seek, having neither reason, promise, nor experience of his side. For why should the spirit of prayer be any other than as the gift and "spirit of faith," as St. Paul calls it,[i] acquired by human means, using Divine aids? that is, by our endeavours in hearing, reading, catechizing, desires to obey, and all this blessed and promoted by God, this produces faith. Nay, it is true of us what Christ told his apostles, "sine me nihil potestis facere;" not "nihil magnum aut difficile," but "omninò nihil," as St. Austin observes. "Without me ye can do nothing:" and yet we were not capable of a law, or of reward or punishment, if neither with him, nor without him, we were able to do any thing. And, therefore, although in the midst of all our cooperation we may say to God, in the words of the prophet, "Domine, omnia opera operatus es in nobis," "O Lord, thou hast wrought all our works in us," yet they are "opera nostra" still; God works, and we work: first is the χάρις φερομένη, God's grace is brought to us, he helps and gives us abilities, and then expects our duty. And if the spirit of prayer be of greater consequence than all the works God hath wrought in us besides, and hath the promise of a special prerogative, let the first be proved, and the second be shown in any good record, and then I will confess the difference.

20. The parallel of this argument I the rather urge, because I find praying in the Holy Ghost joined with graces, which are as much God's gifts and productions of the Spirit, as any thing in the world, and yet which the apostle presses upon us as duties, and things put into our power, to be improved by our industry, and those are faith (in which I before instanced) and charity. "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God."[k] All of the same consideration, faith, and prayer, and charity, all gifts of the Spirit, and yet "build up yourselves in faith, and keep yourselves in love," and therefore, by a parity of reason, improve yourselves in the spirit of prayer; that is, God, by his Spirit, having supplied us with matter, let our industry and co-operations, "per modum naturæ," improve these gifts, and build upon this foundation.

21. Thus the Spirit of God is called "the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of counsel, the Spirit of grace, the Spirit of meekness, the Spirit of wis-

[h] Rom. x. 17. Ephes. ii. 8.

[i] 2 Cor. iv. 13. [k] Epist. Jude, ver. 20.

dom." And, without doubt, he is the Fountain of all these to us all, and that for ever, and yet it cannot reasonably be supposed, but that we must stir up the graces of God in us, co-operate with his assistances, study in order to counsel, labour and consider in order to wisdom, give all diligence to make our calling and election sure, in order to our adoption, in which we are sealed by the Spirit. Now these instances are of gifts, as well as graces; and since the days of wonder and need of miracles is expired, there is no more reason to expect inspiration of gifts, than of graces, without our endeavours. It concerns the church rather to have these secured than those, and yet the Spirit of God puts it upon the condition of our co-operation; for, according to the proverb of the old moralists, "Deus habet sinum facilem, non perforatum," "God's bosom is apt and easy" to the emission of graces and assistances, but it is not loose and ungirt; something must be done on our part, we must improve the talents and swell the bank; for if either we lay them up in a napkin or spend them, suppress the Spirit or extinguish it, we shall dearly account for it.

22. In the mean time, if we may lose the gifts by our own fault, we may purchase them by our diligence; if we may lessen them by our incuriousness, we may increase them by study; if we may quench the Spirit, then also we may re-enkindle it: all which are evident probation that the Holy Ghost gives us assistances to improve our natural powers, and to promote our acquisite, and his aids are not inspirations of the habit, or infusions of a perfect gift, but a subliming of what God gave us in the stock of nature and art, to make it in a sufficient order to an end supernatural and divine.

23. The same doctrine we are taught by St. Paul's exhortation to Timothy: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."[l] And again, "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands."[m] If there be any gifts of the Holy Ghost and spiritual influences, dispensed without our co-operation, and by inspiration of the entire power, it is in ordination; and the persons so ordained are most likely to receive the gift of prayer, if any such thing be for the edification of the church, they being the men appointed to intercede, and to stand between God and the people; and yet this gift of God, even in those times when they were dispensed with miracle, and assistances extraordinary, were given, as all things now are given, by the means also of our endeavour, and was capable of improvement by industry, and of defailance by neglect; and therefore much rather is it so now, in the days of ordinary ministration and common assistances.

24. And indeed this argument, beside the efficacy of its persuasion, must needs conclude against the men to whom these "adversaria" are addressed, because themselves call upon their disciples to exercise the gift of prayer,[n] and offer it to consideration, that such exercising it is the way to better it; and if natural endowments and artificial endeavours are the way to purchase new degrees of it, it were not amiss they did consider a little before they begin, and did improve their first and smallest capacities before they ventured any thing in public, by way of address to almighty God. For the first beginnings are certainly as improvable as the next degrees, and it is certain they have more need of it, as being more imperfect and rude. Therefore, whenever God's Spirit hath given us any capacities or assistances, any documents, motions, desires, or any aids whatsoever, they are, therefore, given us with a purpose we should, by our industry, skill, and labour, improve them, because without such co-operation, the intention is made void, and the work imperfect.

25. And this is exactly the doctrine I plainly gather from the objected words of St. Paul. "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities," *συναντιλαμβάνεται*, it is, in the Greek, "collaborantem adjuvat." It is an ingeminate expression of our labours. And that supposes us to have faculties capable of improvement and an obligation to labour, and that the effect of having the gift of prayer depends upon the mutual course, that is, upon God blessing our powers and our endeavours. And if this way the Spirit performs his promise sufficiently, and does all that we need, and all that he ties himself to; he that will multiply his hopes further than what is sufficient, or what is promised, may possibly deceive himself, but never deceive God, and make him multiply and continue miracles to justify his fancy.

26. Better it is to follow the Scriptures for our guide, as in all things else, so in this particular. "Take the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit."[o] "The word of God" is "the sword of the Spirit;" "praying in the Spirit," is one way of using it, indeed the only way that he here specifies. "Praying in the Spirit," then, being the using of this sword, and this sword being the word of God, it follows evidently, that praying in the Spirit is praying in, or according to, the word of God, that is, in the directions, rules, and expresses of the word of God, that is, of the Holy Scriptures. For we have many infirmities, and we need the Spirit to help; as doubting, coldness, weariness, disrelish of heavenly things, indifferency; and these are enough to interpret the place quoted in the objection, without tying him to make words for us, to no great religious purposes, when God hath done that for us, in other manner than what we dream of.

27. So that, in effect, praying in the Holy Ghost, or with the Spirit, is nothing but prayer for such things, and in such manner, which God, by his Spirit, hath taught us in Holy Scripture. Holy prayers, "spiritual songs," so the apostle calls one

[l] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [m] 2 Tim. i. 6.

[n] "So as that hereby they become not slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them. But that each one, by meditation, by taking heed, &c. may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further or other materials," &c.—Preface to the Directory.

[o] Ephes. vi. 17, 18.

part of prayer, viz. "eucharistical or thanksgiving," that is, prayers or songs which are spiritual "in materiâ." And if they be called spiritual for the efficient cause too, the Holy Ghost being the author of them, it comes all to one; for therefore he is the cause and giver of them, because he hath, in his word, revealed what things we are to pray for, and there, also, hath taught us the manner.

28. And this I plainly prove from the words of St. Paul before quoted, "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought."[p] In this we are infirm, that we know not our own needs, nor our own advantages: when the Holy Ghost hath taught us what to ask, and to ask that as we ought, then he hath healed our infirmities, and our ignorances in the matter and the manner; then we know what to pray for as we ought, then we have the grace of prayer, and the spirit of supplication. And, therefore, in the instance before mentioned, concerning spiritual songs, when the apostle had twice enjoined the use of them in order to prayer and preaching, to instruction and to eucharist, and those to be done by the aid of Christ, and Christ's Spirit; what in one place he calls, "being filled with the Spirit,"[q] in the other he calls, "the dwelling of the word of Christ in us richly;"[r] plainly intimating to us that when we are mighty in the Scriptures, full of the word of Christ, then we are filled with the Spirit, because the Spirit is the great dictator of them to us, and the remembrancer; and when, by such helps of Scripture, we sing hymns to God's honour, and our mutual comfort, then we sing and give thanks in the Spirit. And this is evident, if you consult the places, and compare them.

29. And that this is for this reason called a "gift and grace," or issue of the Spirit, is so evident and notorious, that the speaking of an ordinary revealed truth, is called in Scripture, "a speaking by the Spirit."[s] "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost."[t] For, though the world could not acknowledge Jesus for the Lord, without a revelation, yet now that we are taught this truth by Scripture, and by the preaching of the apostles to which they were enabled by the Holy Ghost, we need no revelation or enthusiasm to confess this truth, which we are taught in our creeds and catechisms; and as this light sprang first from the emission of a ray from God's Spirit, we must for ever acknowledge him the fountain of our light. Though we cool our thirst at the mouth of the river, yet we owe for our draughts to the springs and fountains from whence the waters first came, though derived to us by the succession of a long current. If the Holy Ghost supplies us with materials and fundamentals for our building, it is then enough to denominate the whole edifice to be of him, although the labour and the workmanship be ours upon another stock. And this is it which the apostle speaks, "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual."[u] "The Holy Ghost teaches," yet it is upon our co-operation, our study and endeavour; "while we compare spiritual things with spiritual," the Holy Ghost is said to teach us, because these spirituals were of his suggestion and revelation.

30. For it is a rule of the school, and there is much reason in it, "Habitus infusi infunduntur per modum acquisitorum," "whatsoever is infused into us is in the same manner infused as other things are acquired," that is, step by step, by human means and co-operation; and grace does not give us new faculties, and create another nature, but meliorates and improves our own. And therefore, what the Greeks called ἕξεις, "habits," the christians used to call δόσεις and δωρήματα, "gifts," because we derive assistances from above to heighten the habits, and facilitate the actions, in order to a more noble and supernatural end. And what St. Paul said in the resurrection, is also true in this question, "that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural,—and then that which is spiritual." The graces and gifts of the Spirit are postnate, and are additions to art and nature. God directs our counsels, opens our understandings, regulates our will, orders our affections, supplies us with objects, and arguments, and opportunities, and revelations, "in scriptis," and then most when we most employ our own endeavours, God loving to bless all the means and instruments of his service, whether they be natural or acquisite.

31. So that now I demand, whether, since the expiration of the age of miracles, God's Spirit does not most assist us when we most endeavour and most use the means? He that says "no," discourages all men from reading the Scriptures, from industry, from meditation, from conference, from human arts and sciences, and from whatsoever else God and good laws provoke us to by proposition of rewards. But if "yea," (as most certainly God will best crown the best endeavours,) then the spirit of prayer is greatest in him, who (supposing the like capacities and opportunities) studies hardest, reads most, practises most religiously, deliberates most prudently; and then, by how much want of means is worse than the use of means, by so much extempore prayers are worse than deliberate and studied. Excellent, therefore, is the counsel of St. Peter. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God:" not lightly, then, and inconsiderately. "If any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth:"[x] great reason then to put all his abilities and faculties to it: and whether of the two does most likely do that, he that takes pains, and considers and discusses, and so approves and practises a form,—or he that never considers what he says, till he says it,—needs not much deliberation to pass a sentence. Only, methinks it is most unreasonable, that we should be bound to prepare ourselves with due requisites, to hear what they shall speak in public, and that they should not prepare what to speak; as if to speak were of easier

[p] Rom. viii. 26.
[q] Eph. v. 18, 19.
[r] Col. iii. 16.
[s] 1 Cor. xii. 8.
[t] Vid. Acts xix. 21. and xvi. 7—10.
[u] 1 Cor. ii. 13.
[x] 1 Epist. iv. 11.

or of less consideration, than to hear what is spoken; or if they do prepare what to speak to the people, it were also very fit they prepared their prayers, and considered beforehand of the fitness of the offertory they present to God.

32. Lastly; did not the penmen of the Scripture write the epistles and gospels respectively all by the Spirit? Most certainly, "holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," saith St. Peter. And certainly they were moved by a more immediate motion, and a motion nearer to an enthusiasm, than now-a-days in "the gift and spirit of prayer." And yet, in the midst of those great assistances and motions they did use study, art, industry, and human abilities.[y] This is more than probable in the different styles of the several books, some being of admirable art, others lower and plain. The words were their own; at least, sometimes, not the Holy Ghost's. And if Origen, St. Jerome, and especially the Greek fathers, scholiasts and grammarians, were not deceived by false copies, but that they truly did observe, sometimes to be impropriety of an expression in the language, sometimes not true Greek, who will think those errors or imperfections in grammar were (in respect of the words, I say, precisely) immediate inspirations and dictates of the Holy Ghost, and not rather their own productions of industry and humanity? But clearly, some of their words were the words of Aratus, some of Epimenides: some of Menander, some of St. Paul, "This speak I, not the Lord."[z] Some were the words of Moses, even all that part of the Levitical law which concerned divorces, and concerning which our blessed Saviour affirms, that "Moses permitted it, because of the hardness of their hearts, but from the beginning it was not so:" and divers others of the same nature, collected and observed to this purpose, by Origen,[a] St. Basil,[b] St. Ambrose;[c] and particularly that promise which St. Paul made "of calling upon the Corinthians as he passed into Macedonia," which certainly, in all reason, is to be presumed to have been spoken "humanitùs," and not by immediate inspiration and infusion, because St. Paul was so hindered that he could not be as good as his word, and yet the Holy Ghost could have foreseen it, and might better have excused it, if St. Paul had laid it upon his score; but he did not, and it is reasonable enough to believe there was no cause he should; and yet, because the Holy Ghost renewed their memory, improved their understanding, supplied to some their want of human learning, and so assisted them, that they should not commit an error in fact or opinion, neither in the narrative nor dogmatical parts, therefore they wrote "by the Spirit." Since that, we cannot pretend, upon any grounds of probability, to an inspiration so immediate as theirs, and yet their assistances which they had from the Spirit, did not exclude human arts and industry, but that the ablest scholar did write the best, much rathe is this true in the gifts and assistances we receiv and particularly in "the gift of prayer;" it is n an extempore and an inspired faculty, but the facu ties of nature, and the abilities of art and industr are improved and ennobled by the supervening a sistances of the Spirit. And if these who pray ex tempore, say that the assistance they receive fro the Spirit, is the inspiration of words and powe without the operations of art and natural abilitie and human industry, then, besides that it is mo than the penmen of Scripture sometimes had, (b cause they needed no extraordinary assistance to what they could, of themselves, do upo the stock of other abilities,) besides this, I say, must follow that such prayers, so inspired, if the were committed to writing, would prove as goo canonical Scripture as any is in St Paul's epistles the impudence of which pretension is sufficient t prove the extreme vanity of the challenge.

33. The sum is this: Whatsoever this gift is, o this spirit of prayer, it is to be acquired by huma industry, by learning of the Scriptures, by reading by conference, and by whatsoever else faculties ar improved, and habits enlarged. God's Spirit hath done his work sufficiently this way, and he love not, either in nature or grace, which are his tw great sanctions, to multiply miracles when there i no need.

34. And now let us take a man that pretends h hath the "gift of prayer," and loves to pray extem pore,—I suppose his thoughts go a little before his tongue; I demand, then, whether cannot this man when it is once come into his head, hold his tongue and write down what he hath conceived? If his first conceptions were of God, and God's Spirit, ther they are so still, even when they are written. O is the Spirit departed from him, upon the sight of a pen and ink-horn? It did use to be otherwis among the old and new prophets, whether they were prophets of prediction, or of ordinary ministry. But if his conception may be written, and being written, is still a production of the Spirit; then i follows, that "set forms of prayer," deliberate, and described, may as well be a praying with the Spirit, as sudden forms and extempore outlets.

35. Now the case being thus put, I would fain know what the difference is between deliberate and extempore prayers, save only that in these there is less consideration and prudence; for that the other are (at least as much as these) the productions of the Spirit, is evident in the very case put in this argument: and whether to consider and to weigh them be any disadvantage to our devotions, I leave it to all wise men to determine; so that in effect, since, after the pretended assistance of the Spirit in our prayers, we may write them down, consider them, try the spirits, and ponder the matter, the reason, and the religion of the address; let the

[y] Etiam veteres prophetæ disposuerunt se ad respondendum prophetice, et vaticinia, admoto plectro, aut hausto calice, dederunt.—Gen. xliv. 5. "Scyphus, quem furati estis, ipse est, in quo Dominus meus bibit, et in quo augurari solet," dixit œconomus Josephi. "Et efferte psalterium," dixit Eliseus, 2 Reg. iii. 15. Dominum interrogaturus. Vid. Eras. Epist. ad Jo. Eckium, Ep. lib. 20.

[z] 1 Cor. vii. 6.

[a] Homil. 16. in Numer.

[b] Lib. v. cont. Eunom. c. penult.

[c] Lib. viii. in Lucam, c. 16.

world judge whether this sudden utterance and extempore forms, be any thing else but a direct resolution not to consider beforehand what we speak. "Sic itaque habe, ut istam vim dicendi rapidam aptiorem esse circulanti judices, quàm agenti rem magnam et seriam, docentique." They are the words of Seneca, and express what naturally flows from the premises. The pretence of the spirit, and the gift of prayer, is not sufficient to justify the dishonour they do to religion, in serving it in the lowest and most indeliberate manner, nor quit such men from unreasonableness and folly, who will dare to speak to God in the presence of the people, and in their behalf, without deliberation, or learning, or study. Nothing is a greater disreputation to the prudence of a discourse, than to say it was a thing made up in haste, that is, without due considering.

36. But here I consider, and I wish they whom it concerns most would do so too: that to pretend the Spirit, in so unreasonable a manner, to so ill purposes, and without reason, or promise, or probability for doing it, is a very great crime, and of dangerous consequence. It was the greatest aggravation of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, *ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον τὸ πνεῦμα*, that they did falsely pretend and "belie the Holy Spirit;" which crime, besides that it dishonours the Holy Ghost, to make him the president of imperfect and illiterate rites, the author of confusion, and indeliberate discourses, and the parent of such productions, which a wise person would blush to own: it also entitles him to all those doctrines which either chance or design shall expose to the people, in such prayers to which they entitle the Holy Spirit as the author and immediate dictator. So that if they please, he must not only own their follies, but their impieties too; and how great disreputation this is to the Spirit of wisdom, of counsel, and of holiness, I wish they may rather understand by discourse than by experiment.

37. But let us look a little further into the mystery, and see what is meant in Scripture by "praying with the spirit." In what sense the Holy Ghost is called the "Spirit of prayer," I have already shown; viz. by the same reason as he is the "Spirit of faith, of prudence, of knowledge, of understanding," and the like, because he gives us assistances for the acquiring of these graces, and furnishes us with revelations by way of object and instruction. But "praying with the spirit" hath besides this other senses also in Scripture. I find in one place, that we then pray with the spirit, when the Holy Ghost does actually excite us to desires and earnest tendencies to the obtaining our holy purpose, when he prepares our hearts to pray, when he enkindles our desires, gives us zeal and devotion, charity and fervour, spiritual violence and holy importunity. This sense is also in the latter part of the objected words of St. Paul,[d] "The Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings." And, indeed, this is truly a praying with the Spirit; but this will do our reverend brethren of the assembly little advantage as to the present question. For this Spirit is not a spirit of utterance, not at all clamorous in the ears of the people; but cries aloud in the ears of God, with "groans unutterable," so it follows, and only "he that searcheth the heart, he understandeth the meaning of the Spirit."[e] This is the Spirit of the Son, which "God hath sent into our hearts," (not into our tongues,) "whereby we cry, Abba Father."[f] And this is the great *αὐθεντία* for mental prayer, which is properly and truly praying by the Spirit.

38. Another praying with the spirit I find in that place of St. Paul, from whence this expression is taken, and commonly used, "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also." It is generally supposed that St. Paul relates here to a special and extraordinary gift of prayer, which was indulged to the primitive bishops and priests, the apostles and rulers of churches, and to some other persons extraordinarily, of being able to compose prayers, pious in the matter, prudent in the composure, devout in the forms, expressive in the language; and, in short, useful to the church, and very apt for devotion, and serving to her religion and necessities. I believe that such a gift there was, and this indulged, as other issues of the Spirit, to some persons upon special necessities, by singular dispensation, as the Spirit knew to be most expedient for the present need, and the future instruction. This I believe, not because I find sufficient testimony that it was so, or any evidence from the words now alleged; but because it was reasonable it should be so, and agreeable to the other proceedings of the Holy Ghost. For although we account it an easy matter to make prayers, and we have great reason to give thanks to the Holy Ghost for it, who hath descended so plentifully upon the church, hath made plentiful revelation of all the public and private necessities of the world, hath taught us how to pray, given rules for the manner of address, taught us how to distinguish spiritual from carnal things, hath represented the vanity of worldly desires, the unsatisfyingness of earthly possessions, the blessing of being denied our impertinent, secular, and indiscreet requests, and hath done all this at the beginning of christianity, and hath actually stirred up the apostles and apostolical men to make so many excellent forms of prayer, which their successors did in part retain, and in part imitate, till the conjunct wisdom of the church saw her offices complete, regular, and sufficient. So that now every man is able to make something of forms of prayer, (for which ability they should do well to pay their eucharist to the Holy Ghost, and not abuse the gift to vanity or schism;) yet at the first beginning of christianity, till the Holy Spirit did fill all things, they found no such plenty of forms of prayer; and it was accounted a

[d] Rom. viii. 26.

[e] Sunt ne mei? sunt ne tui? imò sunt gemitus ecclesiæ, aliquando in me, aliquando in te. August. eodem modo quo St. August. dixit Deo, Conqueror tibi, Domine, lachrymis Jesu Christi, de quo dictum est, Heb. v. 7. *δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσένεγκε.*

[f] Gal. iv. 6.

matter of so great consideration to make a form of prayer, that it was thought a fit work for a prophet, or the founder of an institution. And, therefore, the disciples of John asked of him, "to teach them how to pray;" and the disciples of Christ did so too. For the law of Moses had no rules to instruct the synagogue how to pray; and but that Moses, and David, and Asaph, and some few of the prophets more, left "forms of prayer" which the Spirit of God inspired them withal, upon great necessities, and great mercy to that people, they had not known how to have composed an office for the daily service of the temple, without danger of asking things needless, vain, or impious; such as were the prayers in the Roman closets, that he was a good man that would not own them:

> Et nihil arcano qui roget ore Deos.—MART.
>
> ———Pulchra Laverna
> Da mihi fallere, da justum, sanctumque videri;
> Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem. HOR.

But when the Holy Ghost came down in a full breath and a mighty wind, he filled the breasts and tongues of men, and furnished the first christians, not only with abilities enough to frame excellent devotions for their present offices, but also to become precedents for liturgy to all ages of the church, the first being imitated by the second, and the second by the third, till the church being settled in peace, and the records transmitted with greater care, and preserved with less hazard, the church chose such forms, whose copies we retain at this day.

39. Now since it was certain that all ages of the church would look upon the first fathers in Christ, and founders of churches, as precedents, or tutors, and guides, in all the parts of their religion, and that "prayer," with its several parts and instances, is a great portion of the religion, (the sacraments themselves being instruments of grace, and effectual in "genere orationis,") it is very reasonable to think that the apostolical men had not only the "first-fruits," but the "elder brother's share," a double portion of the Spirit; because they were not only to serve their own needs, to which a single and an ordinary portion would have been then, as now, abundantly sufficient, but also to serve the necessity of the succession, and to instruct the church for ever after.

40. But then, that this assistance was an ability to pray extempore, I find it no where affirmed by sufficient authentic testimony; and if they could have done it, it is very likely they would have been wary and restrained in the public use of it. I doubt not but there might then be some sudden necessities of the church, for which the church, being in her infancy, had not as yet provided any public forms; concerning which cases I may say, as Quintilian of an orator in the great and sudden needs of the commonwealth: "Quarum si qua, non dico cuicunque innocentium civium, sed amicorum ac propinquorum alicui evenerit, stabitne mutus, et salutarem petentibus vocem, statim, si non succurratur, perituris, moras et secessum et silentium quæret, dum illa verba fabricentur, et memoriæ insidant, et vox ac latus præparetur?"[g] I do not think that they were "oratores imparati ad casus," but that an ability of praying on a sudden was indulged to them by a special aid of the Spirit, to contest against sudden dangers, and the violence of new accidents; to which also possibly a new inspiration was but for a very little while necessary, even till they understood the mysteries of christianity, and the revelations of the Spirit by proportion and analogy to which they were sufficiently instructed, to make their sudden prayers when sudden occasions did require.

41. This I speak by way of concession and probability: for no man can prove thus much, as I am willing (relying upon the reasonableness of the conjecture) to suppose: but that praying with the Spirit, in this place, is praying without study, art or deliberation, is not so much as intimated.

42. For, first, it is here implied that they did prepare some of those devotions to which they were helped by the Spirit: ὅταν συνέρχεσθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει: "when you come together each of you, peradventure, hath a psalm:" ἔχει, not ποιεῖ, not every one *makes*, but when you meet, every one *hath*, viz. already, which supposes they had it prepared against the meeting. For the Spirit could help as well at home in their meditation, as in the public upon a sudden; and though it is certain the Holy Spirit loves to bless the public meetings, the communion of saints, with special benedictions, yet I suppose my adversaries are not willing to acknowledge any thing that should do much reputation to the church, and the public authorized conventions; at least not to confine the Spirit to such holy and blessed meetings: they will, I suppose, rather grant the words do probably intimate, "they came prepared with a hymn;" and, therefore, there is nothing in the nature of the thing, but that so also might their other forms of prayer; the assistance of the Spirit (which is the thing in question) hinders not, but that they also might have made them by premeditation.

43. Secondly, in this place, praying with the Spirit signifies no other extraordinary assistance, but that the Spirit helped them to speak their prayer in an unknown tongue: ἐὰν γὰρ προσεύχωμαι γλώσσῃ, τὸ πνεῦμα προσεύχεται, "If I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is without fruit:" what then? "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also." Plainly here, praying in the spirit, which is opposed to praying in understanding, is praying in an unknown tongue; where, by the way, observe, that praying with the spirit, even in the sense of Scripture, is not always most to edification of the people; not always with understanding. And when these two are separated, St. Paul prefers five words with understanding, before ten thousand in the spirit. For this praying with the spirit was indeed then a gift extraordinary and miraculous, like as prophesying with the spirit, and expired with it. But while it did last, it was the lowest of gifts, "inter dona linguarum," it was but

[g] De Extemporali Dicendi Facultate.

a gift of the tongue, and not to the benefit of the church directly or immediately.

44. This also observe in passing by: if St. Paul did so undervalue the praying with the spirit, that he preferred edifying the church a thousand degrees beyond it; I suppose he would have been of the same mind, if the question had been between praying with the spirit and obeying our superiors, as he was when it was between praying with the spirit and edification of the church; because, if I be not mistaken, it is matter of great concernment towards the edification of the church, to obey our superiors, not to innovate in public forms of worship, especially with the scandal and offence of very wise and learned men, and to the disgrace of the dead martyrs, who sealed our liturgy with their blood.

45. But to return. In this place, praying with the spirit, beside the assistance given by the Holy Ghost to speak in a strange tongue, is no more than "my spirit praying;" that is, it implies my co-operation with the assistance of the Spirit of God, insomuch that the whole action may truly be denominated mine, and is called "of the spirit," only by reason of that collateral assistance. For so St. Paul joins them, as terms identical, and expressive one of another's meaning, as you may please to read 1 Cor. xiv. 14, 15. "I will pray with the spirit, and my spirit truly prayeth." It is the act of our inner man, praying holy and spiritual prayers. But then, indeed, at that time, there was something extraordinary adjoined, for it was in an unknown tongue, the practice of which St. Paul there dislikes. This also will be to none of their purposes: for whether it were extempore, or by premeditation, is not here expressed; or if it had, yet that assistance extraordinary in prayer, if there was any beside the "gift of tongues," which is not here or any where else expressed, is no more transmitted to us, than the speaking tongues in the spirit, or prophesying extempore and by the spirit.

46. But I would add also one experiment, which St. Paul also there adds, by way of instance. If praying with the spirit, in this place, be praying extempore, then so is singing too; for they are expressed in the same place, in the same manner, to the same end, and I know no reason why there should be differing senses put upon them to serve purposes. And now let us have some church music too, though the organs be pulled down; and let any the best psalmist of them all compose a hymn in metrical form, (as Antipater Sidonius in Quintilian, and Licinius Archias in Cicero, could do in their verses,) and sing it to a new tune with perfect and true music, and all this extempore; for all this the Holy Ghost can do if he pleases. But if it be said, that the Corinthian christians composed their songs and hymns according to art and rules of music, by study and industry, and that to this they were assisted by the Spirit; and that this, together with the devotion of their spirit, was singing with the Spirit: then say I, so composing set forms of liturgy by skill, and prudence, and human industry, may be as much praying with the Spirit, as the other is singing with the Spirit; plainly enough. In all the senses of praying with the Spirit, and in all its acceptations in Scripture, to pray or sing with the Spirit, neither of them of necessity implies extempore.

47. The sum or collecta of the premises is this: praying with the Spirit is either, first, when the Spirit stirs up our desires to pray, "per motionem actualis auxilii;" or, secondly, when the Spirit teaches us what or how to pray, telling us the matter and manner of our prayers: thirdly, or lastly, dictating the very words of our prayers. There is no other way in the world to pray with the Spirit, or in the Holy Ghost, that is pertinent to this question. And of this last manner the Scripture determines nothing nor speaks any thing expressly of it; and yet suppose it had, we are certain the Holy Ghost hath supplied us with all these; and yet in set forms of prayer, best of all, I mean there where a difference can be; for, 1. as for the desires and actual motions or incitements to pray, they are indifferent to one or the other, to set forms or to extempore.

48. Secondly: but as to the matter or manner of prayer, it is clearly contained in the expresses and set forms of Scriptures, and there it is supplied to us by the Spirit, for he is the great dictator of it.

49. Thirdly. Now then for the very words. No man can assure me that the words of his "extempore" prayer are the words of the Holy Spirit. It is neither reason nor modesty to expect such immediate assistances to so little purpose, he having supplied us with abilities more than enough to express our desires "aliundè," otherwise than by immediate dictate. But if we will take David's psalter, or the other Hymns of holy Scripture, or any of the prayers which are respersed over the Bible, we are sure enough that they are the words of God's Spirit, mediately or immediately, by way of infusion or ecstasy, by vision, or at least by ordinary assistance. And now, then, what greater confidence can any man have for the excellency of his prayers, and the probability of their being accepted, than when he prays his psalter, or the Lord's prayer, or any other office which he finds consigned in Scripture? When God's Spirit stirs us up to an actual devotion, and then we use the matter he hath described and taught, and the very words which Christ, and Christ's Spirit, and the apostles, and other persons full of the Holy Ghost, did use; if in the world there be any praying with the spirit, I mean, in vocal prayer, this is it.

50. And thus I have examined the entire and full scope of this first question, and rifled their objection, which was the only colour to hide the appearance of its natural deformity at the first sight. The result is this: "Scribendum, ergo,, quoties licebit: si id non dabitur, cogitandum: ab utroque exclusi, debent tamen adniti, ut neque deprehensus orator, neque litigator destitutus esse videatur:"[h] "in making our orations and public advocations, we must write what we mean to speak, as often as we can; when we cannot, yet we must deliberate and study; and when the suddenness of the accident prevents both these, we must use all the powers of

[h] Quintil. l. x. c. 7

art and care, that we have a present mind, and call in all our first provisions, that we be not destitute of matter and words apt for the employment." This was Quintilian's rule for the matter of prudence, and in secular occasions; but when the instance is in religion, and especially in our prayers, it will concern us nearer to be curious and deliberate what we speak in the audience of the eternal God, when our lives, and our souls, and the honour of God, and the reputation of religion, are concerned, and whatsoever is greatest in itself, or dearest to us.

QUESTION II.

51. The second question hath in it something more of difficulty; for the men that own it will give leave that "set forms" may be used, so you give leave to them to make them; but if authority shall interpose, and prescribe a liturgy, every word shall breed a quarrel; and if the matter be innocent, yet the very injunction is tyranny, a restraining of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, it leaves the spirit of a man steril and unprofitable, it is not for edification of the church, and is as destitute of comfort as it is of profit. For God hath not restrained his Spirit to those few that rule the church in prelation above others, but if he hath given to them the spirit of government, he hath given to others the spirit of prayer, and the spirit of prophecy. "Now the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; for to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit." And these, and many other gifts, are given to several members, that they may supply one another, and all join to the edification of the body. And, therefore, that must needs be an imprudent sanction, that so determines the offices of the church, that she cannot be edified by that variety of gifts which the Holy Spirit hath given to several men to that purpose; just as if there should be a canon, that but one sermon should be preached in all churches for ever. Besides, it must needs be, that the devotion of the suppliants must be much retarded by the perpetuity and unalterable reiteration of the same form; for since our affections will certainly vary, and suffer great alteration of degrees and inclinations, it is easier to frame words apt to comply with our affections, than to conform our affections, in all varieties, to the same words. When the forms are daily changed, it is more probable that every man shall find something proportionable to his fancy, which is the great instrument of devotion, than to suppose that any one form should be like manna, fitted to every taste; and, therefore, in prayers, as the affections must be natural, sweet, and proper, so also should the words expressing the affections, issue forth by way of natural emanation. "Sed extemporalis audaciæ atque ipsius temeritatis vel præcipua jucunditas est. Nam ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quanquam alia diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen, quæ suâ sponte nascuntur."[i] And a garment may as well be made to fit the moon, as that one form of prayer should be made apt and proportionable to all men or to any man at all times.

52. This discourse relies wholly upon these two grounds: a liberty to use variety of forms for prayer is more for the edification of the church. Secondly it is part of that liberty which the church hath, and part of the duty of the church, to preserve the liberty of the Spirit in various forms.

53. Before I descend to consideration of the particulars, I must premise this, that the gift or ability of prayer, given to the church, is used either in public or in private, and that which is fit enough for one, is inconvenient in the other; and although a liberty in private may be for edification of good people, when it is piously and discreetly used, yet in the public, if it were indifferently permitted, it would bring infinite inconvenience, and become intolerable, as a sad experience doth too much verify.

54. But now then, this distinction evacuates all the former discourse, and since it is permitted that every man, in private, use what forms he please, the Spirit hath all that liberty that is necessary, and as much as can be convenient; the church may be edified by every man's gift, the affections of all men may be complied withal, words may be fitted to their fancies, their devotions quickened, their weariness helped and supported, and whatsoever benefit may be fancied by variety and liberty, all that may be enjoyed, and every reasonable desire, or weake fancy, be fully satisfied.

55. But since these advantages to devotion are accidental, and do consult with weakness and infirmity, and depend upon irregular variety, for which no antecedent rule can make particular provision it is not to be expected, the public constitution and prescribed forms, which are regular, orderly, and determined, can make provision for particulars, for chances, and for infinite varieties. And if this were any objection against public forms, it would also conclude against all human laws, that they did not make provision for all particular accidents and circumstances that might possibly occur. All public sanctions must be of a public spirit and design, and secure all those excellent things which have influence upon societies and communities of men, and public obligations.

56. Thus, if public forms of prayer be described whose matter is pious and holy, whose design is of universal extent, and provisionary for all public probable, feared, or foreseen events, whose frame and composure is prudent, and by authority competent and high, and whose use and exercise is instrumental to peace and public charity, and all these hallowed by intention, and care of doing glory to God, and advantages to religion, expressed in observation of all such rules and precedents, as are most likely to teach us best, and guide us surest such as are Scriptures, apostolical tradition, primitive practice, and precedents of saints and holy persons, the public can do no more; all the duty is performed, and all the care is taken.

[i] Quintil. Dial. de Oratorib.

57. Now, after all this there are personal necessities and private conveniences or inconveniences, which, if men are not so wise as themselves to provide for, by casting off all prejudice, and endeavouring to grow strong in christianity, men in Christ, and not for ever to be babes in religion, but frame themselves to a capacity of receiving the benefit of the public, without needing other provisions, than what will fit the church in her public capacity; the Spirit of God, and the church taught by him, hath permitted us to comply with our own infirmities, while they are innocent, and to pray, in private, in any form of words which shall be most instrumental to our devotion in the present capacity. "Neque hoc ego ago ut ex tempore dicere malit, sed ut possit." [k]

58. And, indeed, sometimes an exuberant and an active affection, and overflowing of devotion, may descend like anointing from above, and our cup run over, and is not to be contained within the margent of prescribed forms; and though this be not of so great consideration as if it should happen to a man in public, that it is then fit for him, or to be permitted to express it in forms unlimited and undetermined. For there was a case in the days of the inundation of the Spirit, when a man, full of the Spirit, was commanded "to keep silence in the church, and to speak to himself and to God;" [l] yet when this grace is given him in private, he may compose his own liturgy; "Pectus est enim, quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Ideoque imperitis quoque, si modò sint aliquo affectu concitati, verba non desunt." [m] Only when, in private devotion, we use forms of our own making or choosing, we are concerned to see, that the matter be pious, apt for edification and the present necessity, and without contempt of public prescriptions, or irreverence to God, and in all the rest we are at liberty; [n] only in the Lord, that is, according to the rule of faith, and the analogy of christian religion. For supposing that our devotion be fervent, our intention pious, and the petition καθ' ὁ δεῖ, "according to the will of God." Whatsoever our expressions are, God reads the petition in the character of the spirit, though the words be "brevia, concisa, et singultantium modo ejecta." But then these accidental advantages and circumstances of profit, which may be provided for in private; as they cannot be taken care of in public, so neither is it necessary they should; for those pleasures of sensible devotion are so far from being necessary to the acceptation of prayer, that they are but compliances with our infirmities, and suppose a great weakness in him that needs them, say the masters of spiritual life; and in the strongest prayers and most effectual devotions, are seldomest found; such as was Moses's prayer when he spake nothing,—and Hannah's,—and our blessed Saviour's, when he called upon his Father κραυγαῖς ἰσχυραῖς, "with strong cries," in that great desertion of spirit when he prayed in the garden; in these prayers, the spirit was bound up with the strictness and violence of intention, but could not ease itself with a flood of language and various expression. A great devotion is like a great grief, not so expressive as a moderate passion; tears spend the grief, and variety of language breathes out the devotion; and, therefore, Christ went thrice, and said the same words; he could just speak his sense in a plain expression, but the greatness of his agony was too big for the pleasure of a sweet and sensible expression of devotion.

59. So that, let the devotion be ever so great, set forms of prayer will be expressive enough of any desire, though importunate as extremity itself; but when the spirit is weak, and the devotion imperfect, and the affections dry, though in respect of the precise duty on our part, and the acceptation on God's part, no advantage is got by a liberty of an indifferent, unlimited, and chosen form; and, therefore, in all cases, the whole duty of prayer is secured by public forms; yet other circumstantial and accidental advantages may be obtained by it, and, therefore, let such persons feast themselves in private with sweetmeats, and less nourishing delicacies, weak stomachs must be cared for; yet they must be confessed to have stronger stomachs, and better health, that can feed upon the wholesome food prepared in the common refectories.

60. So that public forms, it is true, cannot be fitted to every man's fancy and affections, especially in an age wherein all public constitutions are protested against; but yet they may be fitted to all necessities, and to every man's duty; and for the pleasing the affections and fancies of men, that may be sometimes convenient, but it is never necessary; and God that suffers dryness of affections many times in his dearest servants, and in their greatest troubles and most excellent devotions, hath, by that sufferance of his given demonstration, that it is not necessary such affections should be complied withal; for then he would never suffer those sterilities, but himself, by a cup of sensible devotion, would water and refresh those drynesses; and if God himself does not, it is not to be expected the church should.

61. And this also is the case of Scripture, for the many discourses of excellent orators and preachers have all those advantages of meeting with the various affections and dispositions of the hearers, and may cause a tear, when all St. Paul's epistles would not; and yet certainly there is no comparison between them, but one chapter of St. Paul is more excellent, and of better use to the substantial part of religion, than all the sermons of St. Chrysostom; and yet there are some circumstances of advantage which human eloquence may have, which are not observed to be in those other more excellent emanations of the Holy Spirit. And, therefore, if the ob-

[k] Quintil.
[l] 1 Cor. xiv. 28.
[m] Quintil.
[n] Quale est illud apud Tertul. de privatis christianorum precibus, non quidem ab alio dictatis, sed à Scripturarum fontibus derivatis. Illuc suscipientes christiani, manibus expansis, quia innocui; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; denique, sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus; vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt.

jection should be true, and that conceived forms of prayer, in their great variety, might do some accidental advantages to weaker persons, and stronger fancies, and more imperfect judgments, yet, this instance of Scripture is a demonstration that set and composed devotions may be better; and this reason does not prove the contrary, because the sermons in scripture are infinitely to be preferred before those discourses and orations, which do more comply with the fancies of the people. Nay, we see by experience, that the change of our prayers, or our books, or our company, is so delightful to most persons, that though the change be for the worse, it more complies with their affections than the peremptory and unaltered retaining of the better; but yet this is no good argument to prove that change to be for the better.

62. But yet if such compliance with fancies and affections were necessary, what are we the nearer if every minister were permitted to pray his own forms? How can his form comply with the great variety of affections which are amongst his auditors, any more than the public forms described by authority? It may hit casually, and, by accident, be commensurate to the present fancy of some of his congregation, with which, at that time, possibly the public form would not: this may be thus, and it may be otherwise, and at the same time, in which some feel a gust and relish in his prayer, others might feel a greater sweetness in recitation of the public forms. This thing is so by chance, so irregular and uncertain, that no wise man, nor no providence less than Divine, can make any provisions for it.

63. And, after all, it is nothing but the fantastic and imaginative part that is pleased, which, for aught appears, may be disturbed with curiosity, peevishness, pride, spirit of novelty, lightness, and impertinency; and that to satisfy such spirits, and fantastic persons, may be as dangerous and useless to them, as it is troublesome in itself. But then, for the matter of edification, that is considerable upon another stock; for, now-a-days, men are never edified, unless they be pleased, and if they dislike the person, or have taken up a quarrel against any form or institution, presently they cry out, "they are not edified," that is, they are displeased; and the ground of their displeasure is nothing from the thing itself, but from themselves only: they are wanton with their meat, and long for variety, and then they cry out that manna will not nourish them, but prefer the onions of Egypt before the food of angels: the way to cure this inconvenience is to alter the men, not to change the institution; for it is very certain that wholesome meat is of itself nutritive, if the body be disposed to its reception and entertainment. But it is not certain that what a sick man fancies out of the weakness of his spirit, the distemper of his appetite, and wildness of his fancy, that it will become to him either good, or good physic. Now, in the entertainments of religion and spiritual repasts, that is wholesome, nutritive, and apt to edify, which is pious in itself, of advantage to the honour of God, whatsoever is good doctrine, or good prayers, especially when it is prepared by a public hand, and designed for public use, by all the wisdom of those men, who, in all reason, are to be supposed to have received from God all those assistances, which are effects of the spirit of government; and, therefore, it is but weakness of spirit, or strength of passion, impotency in some sense or other, certainly, that first dislikes the public provisions, and then say they are not wholesome.

64. For I demand concerning the public liturgies of a church, whose constitution is principally of the parts and choicest extracts of scripture, lessons and the psalms, and some few hymns and symbols, made by the most excellent persons in the primitive church, and all this in nothing disagreeing from the rules of liturgy given in Scripture, but that the same things are desired, and the same persons prayed for, and to the same end, and by the same great instrument of address and acceptation, "by Jesus Christ," and which gives all the glory that is due to God, and gives nothing of this to a creature, and hath in it many admirable documents; whether there be any thing wanting in such a liturgy towards edification? What is there in prayers that can edify, that is not in such a liturgy, so constituted? or what can there be more in the private forms of any minister, than is in such a public composition?

65. By this time, I suppose, the objection, with all its parts, is disbanded so far as it relates to edification, profit, and compliance with the auditors: as for the matter of liberty, and restraint of the spirit, I shall consider that part. In the mean time, I shall set down those grounds of religion and reason upon which public liturgy relies, and by the strength of which it is to be justified against all opposition and pretences.

66. 1. The church hath a power given to her by the Spirit of God, and a command to describe public forms of liturgy. For I consider that the church is a family, Jesus Christ is the Master of the family, the Holy Spirit is the great dispensator of all such graces the family needs, and are, in order to the performance of their duty; the apostles and their successors, the rulers of the church, are "stewards of the manifold graces of God," whose office is to provide every man's portion, and to dispense the graces and issues evangelical, by way of ministry. "Who is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler of his household?" It was our blessed Saviour's question, and St. Paul answered it: "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God."[o] Now the greatest ministry of the gospel is by way of prayer, most of the graces of the Spirit being obtained by prayer, and such offices which operate by way of impetration, and benediction, and consecration, which are but the several instances of prayer; prayer, certainly, is the most effectual and mysterious ministry; and, therefore, since the Holy Ghost hath made the rulers of the church "stewards of the mysteries," they are, by virtue of their stewardship, presidents of prayer and public offices.

67. 2. Which also is certain, because the priest

[o] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

is to stand between God and the people, and to represent all their needs to the throne of grace: "He is a prophet and shall pray for thee," said God, concerning Abraham, to Abimelech. And, therefore, the apostles appointed inferior officers in the church, that they might not be hindered in their great work: "but we will give ourselves to the word of God and to prayer;" and therefore, in our greatest need, in our sickness and last scene of our lives, we are directed to "send for the elders of the church, that they may pray over us;" and God hath promised to hear them: and if prayer be of any concernment towards the final condition of our souls, certainly it is to be ordered, guided, and disposed, by them who "watch for our souls," ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες, "as they that must give account to God for them."

68. 3. Now, if the rulers of the church are presidents of the rites of religion, and, by consequence of prayer, either they are to order public prayers, or private. For private, I suppose, most men will be so desirous of their liberty, as to preserve that in private, where they have no concernments but their own, for matter of order or scandal: but for public, if there be any such thing as government, and that prayers may be spoiled by disorder, or made ineffectual by confusion, or, by any accident, may become occasion of a scandal, it is certain that they must be ordered as all other things are, in which the public is certainly concerned, that is, by the rulers of the church, who are answerable if there be any miscarriage in the public. Thus far, I suppose, there will not be much question with those who allow set forms, but would have themselves be the composers: they would have the ministers pray for the people, but the ministers shall not be prescribed to; the rulers of the church shall be the presidents of religious rites, but then they will be the rulers; therefore, we must proceed further; and because I will not now enter into the question, who are left by Christ to govern his church, I will proceed upon such grounds which, I hope, may be sufficient to determine this question, and yet decline the other. Therefore,

69. Since the Spirit of God is the Spirit of supplication, they to whom the greatest portion of the Spirit is promised, are most competent persons to pray for the people, and to prescribe forms of prayer. But the promise of the Spirit is made to the church in general, to her in her united capacity, to the whole church first, then to particular churches, then in the lowest seat of the category to single persons; and we have title to the promises by being members of the church, and in the communion of saints; which beside the "stylus curiæ," the form of all the great promises, being in general and comprehensive terms, appears in this, that when any single person is out of this communion, he hath also no title to the promises; which yet he might, if he had any upon his own stock, not derivative from the church. Now, then, I infer, if any single persons will have us to believe without possibility of proof, (for so it must be,) that they pray with the Spirit; (for how shall they be able to prove the Spirit actually to abide in those single persons?) then much rather must we believe it of the church, which, by how much the more general it is, so much the more of the Spirit she is likely to have; and then, if there be no errors in the matter, the church hath the advantage and probability on her side; and if there be an error in matter in either of them, neither of them have the Spirit, or they make not the true use of it. But the public Spirit, in all reason, is to be trusted before the private, when there is a contestation, the church being "prior et potior in promissis," she hath a greater and prior title to the Spirit. And why the church hath not the spirit of prayer in her compositions as well as any of her children, I desire, once for all, to be satisfied upon true grounds either of reason or revelation. And if she have, whether she have not as much as any single person? if she have but as much, then there is as much reason in respect of the Divine assistance, that the church should make the forms, as that any single minister should, and more reason in respect of order and public influence, and care, and charge of souls: but if she have a greater portion of the Spirit than a single person, that is, if the whole be greater than the part, or the public better than the private, then it is evident, that the Spirit of the church in respect of the Divine assistance, is chiefly, and, in respect of order, is only to be relied upon for public provisions and forms of prayer.

70. But now if the church, in her united capacity, makes prayers for the people, they cannot be supposed to be other than limited and determined forms; for it is not practicable, or, indeed, imaginable, that a synod of church governors, be they who they will, so they be of Christ's appointment, should meet in every church, and pray as every man lists; their counsels are united, and their results are conclusions and final determinations, which, like general propositions, are applicable to particular instances: so that, first, since the Spirit being the great dictator of holy prayers: and, secondly, the Spirit is promised to the church in her united capacity; and, thirdly, in proportion to the assembled, "cæteris paribus," so are measures of the Spirit poured out: and, fourthly, when the church is assembled, the prayers which they teach the people, are limited and prescribed forms: it follows, that limited and prescribed forms are, in all reason, emanations from the greatest portion of the Spirit, warranted by special promises, which are made to every man there present, that does his duty as a private member of the christian church, and are due to him as a ruler of the church, and yet more especially, and in a further degree, to all them met together: where, if ever, the Holy Spirit gives such helps and graces which relate to the public government, and have influence upon the communities of christians, that is, will bless their meeting, and give them such assistances as will enable them to do the work for which they convene.

71. But yet if any man shall say, "what need the church meet in public synods, to make forms of prayer, when private ministers are able to do it in their several parishes?" I answer, "it is true,

many can, but they cannot do it better than a council;" and I think no man is so impudent as to say he can do it so well; however, "quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet," "the matter is of public concernment, and therefore should be of public consultation," and the advantages of publicly described forms I shall afterwards specify. In the mean time,

72. Fifthly, And the church, I mean the rulers of the church, are appointed presidents of religious rites, and as the rulers, in conjunction, are enabled to do it best by the advantages of special promises, and double portions of the Spirit; so she always did practise this, either in conjunction or by single dictate, by public persons or united authority; but in all times, as necessity required, they prescribed set forms of prayer.

73. If I should descend to minutes and particulars, I could instance, in the behalf of set forms, that, First, God prescribed to Moses a set form of prayer and benediction to be used when he did bless the people. Secondly, That Moses composed a song or hymn, for the children of Israel to use, to all their generations. Thirdly, That David composed many for the service of the tabernacle, and every company of singers was tied to certain psalms, as the very titles intimate; and the psalms were such limited and determinate prescriptions, that in some, God's Spirit did bind them to the very number of the letters and order of the alphabet. Fourthly, That Solomon, and the holy kings of Judah, brought them in and continued them, in the ministration of the temple. Fifthly, That in the reformation by Hezekiah, the priests and Levites were commanded to praise the Lord, "in the words of David and Asaph."[p] Sixthly, That "all Scripture is written for our learning;" and since all these, and many more set forms of prayer, are left there upon record, it is more than probable, that they were left there for our use and devotion; and certainly it is as lawful, and as prudent, to pray Scriptures, as to read Scriptures; and it were well, if we would use ourselves to the expression of Scripture, and that the language of God were familiar to us, that we spake the words of Canaan, not the speech of Ashdod; and time was, when it was thought the greatest ornament of a spiritual person, and instrument of a religious conversation; but then the consequents would be, that these prayers were the best forms which were in the words of Scripture, and those psalms and prayers there recorded were the best devotions, but these are set forms. 7. To this purpose, I could instance, in the example of St. John the Baptist, who taught his disciples a form of prayer; and that Christ's disciples begged the same favour, and it was granted as they desired it.

74. And here I mean to fix a little, for this ground cannot fail us. I say, Christ prescribed a set form of prayer to be used by all his disciples, as a breviary of prayer, as a rule of their devotions, as a repository of their needs, and as a direct address to God. For in this prayer God did not only command us to make our prayers, as Moses was bid to make the tabernacle, after the pattern which God showed him in the mount, and Christ showed his apostles;[q] but he hath given us the very tables written with his own hand, that we should use them as they are so delivered; this prayer was not only a precedent and pattern, but an instance of address, a perfect form for our practice, as well as imitation. For,

75. First, When Christ was upon the mount, he gave it for a pattern οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς· "*So* pray ye," or *after this manner;* which if we expound only to the sense of becoming a pattern, or a directory, it is observable, that it is not only directory for the matter, but for the manner too; and if we must pray with that matter, and in that manner, what does that differ from praying with that form? however, it is well enough, that it becomes a precedent to us, in any sense, and the church may vary her forms according as she judges best for edification.

76. Secondly, When the apostles, upon occasion of the form which the Baptist taught his disciples, begged of their Master to teach them one, he again taught them this, and added a precept to use these very words;[r] ὅταν προσεύχεσθε, λέγετε, "when ye pray, say, Our Father," ἔδει γὰρ μηδὲν ἴδιον αὐτοὺς λέγειν: when they spake to God, it was fit they should speak in his words, in whose name also their prayers only could be acceptable.[s]

77. Thirdly, For if we must speak this sense, why also are not the very words to be retained? Is there any error or imperfection in the words? Was not Christ master of his language? And were not his words sufficiently expressive of his sense? Will not the prayer do well also in our tongues, which as a duty we are obliged to deposit in our hearts, and preserve in our memories, without which it is in all senses useless, whether it be only a pattern, or a repository of matter?

78. Fourthly, And it is observable, that our blessed Saviour doth not say, "Pray that the name of your heavenly Father may be sanctified, or that your sins may be forgiven," but say, "Hallowed be thy name," &c., so that he prescribes this prayer, not in "massa materiæ," but in "forma verborum," not "in a confused heap of matter," but in "an exact composure of words," it makes it evident he intended it not only "pro regulâ petendorum," "for a direction of what things we are to ask," but also "pro formâ orationis," "for a set form of prayer." Now it is considerable that no man ever had the fulness of the Spirit, but only the holy Jesus, and, therefore, it is also certain, that no man had the Spirit of prayer like to him; and then, if we pray this prayer devoutly, and with pious and actual intention, do we not pray in the Spirit of Christ, as much as if we prayed any other form of words pretended to be taught us by the Spirit? We are sure that Christ and Christ's Spirit taught us this prayer; they only gather by conjectures and opinions, that in their extempore or conceived forms, the Spirit of Christ teacheth them. So much then as certainties are better than uncertainties, and God's word better than man's, so much is this set form, besides the infinite advantages in the matter, better than their

[p] 2 Chron. xxix. 30. [q] Matt. v. 1. and vi. 9.

[r] Luke xi. 2. [s] Proæres. ap. Eunapium.

extempore and conceived forms, in the form itself. And if ever any prayer was, or could be, a part of that "doctrine of faith" by which "we received the Spirit,"[t] it must needs be this prayer, which was the only form our blessed Master taught the christian church immediately, was a part of his great and glorious sermon in the mount, in which all the needs of the world are sealed up as in a treasure-house, and intimated by several petitions, as diseases are, by their proper and proportioned remedies, and which Christ published, as the first emanation of his Spirit, the first perfume of that heavenly anointing, which descended on his sacred head, when he went down into the waters of baptism.

79. This we are certain of, that there is nothing wanting, nothing superfluous and impertinent, nothing carnal or imperfect in this prayer, but as it supplies all needs, so it serves all persons, is fitted for all estates, it meets with all accidents, and no necessity can surprise any man, but if God hears him praying that prayer, he is provided for in that necessity: and yet, if any single person paraphrases it, it is not certain but the whole sense of a petition may be altered by the intervention of one improper word, and there can be no security given against this, but qualified and limited, and just in such a proportion as we can be assured of the wisdom and honesty of the person, and the actual assistance of the Holy Spirit.

80. Now then I demand, whether the prayer of Manasses be so good a prayer as the Lord's prayer? or is the prayer of Judith, or of Tobias, or of Judas Maccabeus, or of the son of Sirach, is any of these so good? Certainly no man will say they are; and the reason is, because we are not sure they are inspired by the Holy Spirit of God; prudent, and pious, and conformable to religion they may be, but not penned by so excellent a Spirit as this prayer. And what assurance can be given, that any minister's prayer is better than the prayers of the son of Sirach, who was a very wise and a very good man, as all the world acknowledges; I know not any one of them that has so large a testimony, or is of so great reputation. But suppose they can make as good prayers, yet surely they are apocryphal at least, and for the same reason that the apocryphal prayers are not so excellent as the Lord's prayer, by the same reason must the best they can be imagined to compose, fall short of this excellent pattern, by how much they partake of a smaller portion of the Spirit, as a drop of water is less than all the waters under or above the firmament.

81. Secondly, I would also willingly know, whether if any man uses the form which Christ taught, supposing he did not tie us to the very prescript words, can there be any hurt in it? Is it imaginable, that any commandment should be broken, or any affront done to the honour of God, or any act of imprudence, or irreligion in it, or any negligence of any insinuation of the Divine pleasure; I cannot yet think of any thing to frame for answer, so much as by way of an antinomy or objection. But then supposing Christ did tie us to use this prayer, "pro loco et tempore," according to the nature and obligation of all affirmative precepts, as it is certain he did, in the preceptive words recorded by St. Luke, "When ye pray, say, Our Father," then it is to be considered that a Divine commandment is broken by its rejection; and therefore, if there were any doubt remaining, whether it be a command or no; yet since, on one side, there is danger of a negligence, and a contempt, and that on the other side the observation and conformity cannot be criminal or imprudent; it will follow, that the retaining of this prayer in practice, and suffering it to do all its intentions, and particularly becoming the great *αὐθεντία*, or "authority" for set forms of prayer, is the safest, most prudent, most christian understanding of those words of Christ, propounding the Lord's prayer to the christian church. And because it is impossible that all particulars should be expressed in any form of prayer, because particulars are not only casual and accidental, but also infinite; Christ, according to that wisdom he had without measure, framed a prayer, which, by a general comprehension, should include all particulars, eminently and virtually; so that there should be no defect in it,—and yet so short, that the most imperfect memories might retain, and use it.

82. And it is not amiss to observe, that our blessed Saviour first taught this prayer to be as a remedy, and a reproof of the vain repetition of the Pharisees; and besides that it was so "à priori," we also, in the event, see the excellent spirit and wisdom in the constitution; for those persons who have laid aside the Lord's prayer, have been noted by common observation, to be very long in their forms, and troublesome and vain enough in their repetitions; they have laid aside the medicine, and the old wound bleeds afresh; the Pharisees did so of old.

83. And after all this, it is strange employment, that any man should be put to justify the wisdom and prudence of any of Christ's institutions; as if any of his servants, who are wise upon his stock, instructed by his wisdom, made knowing by his revelations, and whose all that is good is but a weak ray of the glorious light of the Sun of righteousness, should dare to think that the derivative should be before the primitive, the current above the fountain; and that we should derive all our excellency from him, and yet have some beyond him, that is, some which he never had, or which he was not pleased to manifest; or that we should have a spirit of prayer, able to make productions beyond his prayer, who received the Spirit without measure. But this is not the first time man hath disputed against God.

84. And now let us consider, with sobriety, not only of this excellent prayer, but of all that are deposited in the primitive records of our religion. Are not those prayers and hymns in Holy Scripture excellent compositions, admirable instruments of devotion, full of piety, rare and incomparable addresses to God? Dare any man with his gift of prayer, pretend that he can extempore, or by study, make better? Who dares pretend, that he hath a better spirit than David had? or than the apostles

[t] Gal. iii. 2.

and prophets, and other holy persons in Scripture, whose prayers and psalms are, by God's Spirit, consigned to the use of the church for ever? Or will it be denied, but that they also are excellent directories and patterns for prayer? And if patterns, the nearer we draw to our example, are not the imitations and representments the better? And what then, if we took the samplers themselves? Is there any imperfection in them, and can we mend them, and correct "the Magnificat?" The very matter of these, and the author, no less than Divine, cannot but justify the forms, though set, determined, and prescribed.

85. In a just proportion and commensuration, I argue so concerning the primitive and ancient forms of church-service, which are composed according to those so excellent patterns, which if they had remained pure, as in the first institution, or had always been as they had been reformed by the church of England, they would, against all defiance, put in for the next place to those forms of liturgy, which, "mutatis mutandis," are nothing but the words of Scripture. But I am resolved, at this present, not to enter into question concerning the matter of prayers.

86. Next, we must inquire what the apostles did in obedience to the precept of Christ, and what the church did, in imitation of the apostles. That the apostles did use the prayer their Lord taught them, I think need not much be questioned; they could have no other end of their desire, and it had been a strange boldness to ask for a form which they intended not to use, or a strange levity not to do what they intended. But I consider they had a double capacity, they were of the Jewish religion by education, and now christians by a new institution; in the first capacity, they used those set forms of prayer, which their nation used in their devotions. Christ and his apostles sang a hymn, part of the great Allelujah,[u] which was usually sung at the end of the paschal supper: "After the supper they sang a hymn," says the evangelist. The Jews also used, every sabbath, to sing the 92d psalm, which is therefore entitled, "A song or Psalm for the sabbath;" and they who observed the hours of prayer, and vows, according to the rites of the temple, need not be suspected to have omitted the Jewish forms of prayer. And as they complied with the religious customs of the nation, worshipping according to the Jewish manner, it is also in reason to be presumed, they were worshippers according to the new christian institution, and used that form their Lord taught them.

87. Now, that they tied themselves to recitation of the very words of Christ's prayer "pro loco et tempore," I am therefore easy to believe, because I find they were strict, to a scruple, in retaining th sacramental words which Christ spake, when h instituted the blessed sacrament, insomuch that n only three evangelists, but St. Paul also, not onl making a narrative of the institution, but teachin the Corinthians the manner of its celebration, to tittle, he recites the words of Christ. Now the a tion of the consecrator is not a theatrical represen ment of the action of Christ, but a sacred, solem and sacramental prayer,[x] in which, since the apo tles at first, and the church ever after did, wit reverence, and fear, retain the very words, it is n only a probation of the question in general, in b half of set forms; but also a high probability tha they retained the Lord's prayer, and used it to a ἰῶτα, in the very form of words.

88. And I the rather make this inference from th preceding argument, because of the cognation on hath with the other; for the apostles did also, in th consecration of the eucharist, use the Lord's prayer and that, together with the words of institutio was the only form of consecration, saith St. Gre gory;[y] and St. Jerome affirms, that the apostles, b the command of their Lord, used this prayer[z] in th benediction of the elements.

89. But besides this, when the apostles had re ceived great measures of the Spirit, and, by thei gift of prayer, composed more forms for the hel and comfort of the church, and contrary to th order in the first creation, the light which was in th body of the sun was now diffused over the face o the new heavens and the new earth; it became precept evangelical, that we should praise "God i hymns, and psalms, and spiritual songs,[a] which i so certain that they were compositions of industr and deliberation, and yet were sung in the spirit that he, who denies the last, speaks against Scrip tures,—he who denies the first, speaks agains reason, and would best confute himself, if in th highest of his pretence of the Spirit, he would ven ture at some extempore hymns. And of this, w have the express testimony of St. Austin; "d hymnis et psalmis canendis haberi Domini et apos tolorum documenta, et utilia præcepta."[b] And th church obeyed them; for as an ancient author, unde the name of Dionysius Areopagita, relates, the chie of the clerical and ministering order offer bread upon the altar, "Cum ecclesiastici omnes laudem hymnumque generalem Deo tribuerunt, cum quibus pontifex sacras preces ritè perficit," &c. "They all sing one hymn to God, and the bishop prays 'ritè,' according to the ritual or constitution,"— which in no sense of the church, or of grammar, can be understood without a solemn and determined form; ὑμνεῖν, says Casaubon, is, "cantare, idem sæpiùs dicere, apud Græcos παλιλλογία;[c] they

[u] Vid. Scalig. de emend. tempor. de Judeor. mag. Allelujah.

[x] Imò totus canon consecrationis tam similis est et ferè idem in verbis apud Græcos, Latinos, Arabas, Armenios, Syros, Ægyptios, Æthiopes, ut nisi à communi fonte, qui nisi apostolorum non est, manare non potuerit. Unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat, ut in epistolâ, notum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nullâ morum diversitate variatur. S. Aug. ep. 118.

[y] Greg. l. 7. ep. 63. Hier. lib. contr. Pelag.

[z] Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis, vel penè omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; orationes cum benedicitur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur: quam totam orationem, penè omnis ecclesia Dominicâ oratione concludit. S. Aug. ep. 59. q. 5. ad illud Pauli, "obsecro primum omnium fieri obsecrationes."

[a] Col. iii. 16.

[b] Epist. 119. c. 18.

[c] In Theophrast. charact.

were forms of praising God, used constantly, periodically, and in the daily offices. And the fathers of the council of Antioch complain against Paulus Samosatenus, "Quod psalmos et cantus, qui ad Domini nostri Jesu Christi honorem decantari solent, tanquam recentiores, et à viris recentioris memoriæ editos exploserit:" "The quarrel was, that he said the church had used to say hymns which were made by new men, and not derived from the ancients;"[d] which, if we consider that the council of Antioch was in the twelfth year of Gallienus, the emperor, one hundred and thirty-three years after Christ's ascension, will fairly prove, that the use of prescribed forms of prayer, hymns, and forms of worshipping, were very early in the church; and it is unimaginable it should be otherwise, when we remember the apostolical precept before mentioned. And if we fancy a higher precedent, than what was manifested upon earth, we may please to see one observed to have been made in heaven; for a set form of worship, and address to God, was recorded by St. John,[e] and sung in heaven; and it was composed out of the songs of Moses,[f] of David,[g] and of Jeremy,[h] which certainly is a very good precedent for us to imitate, although but revealed by St. John, by way of vision and ecstasy, that we may see, if we would speak with the tongue of men and angels, we could not praise God in better forms than what are recorded in Holy Scripture.

90. But besides the metrical part, the apostle hath described other parts of liturgy in Scripture, whose composition, though it be in determined forms of words, yet not so bound up with numbers, as hymns: and these St. Paul calls "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks," which are several manners of address distinguished by their subject matter, by their form and manner of address. As appears plainly by "intercessions and giving of thanks;" the other are also by all men distinguished, though in the particular assignment they differ; but the distinction of the words implies the distinction of offices, which together with the τὰ ἀπομνημόνευματα τῶν προφήτων, the "lectionarium" of the church, the books of the apostles and prophets, spoken of by Justin Martyr, and said to be used in the christian congregations, are the constituent parts of liturgy; and the exposition of the words we best learn from the practice of the church, who in all ages, of whose public offices any record is left to us, took their pattern from these places of Scripture, the one for prose, the other for verse; and if we take liturgy into its several parts, or members, we cannot want something to apply to every one of the words of St. Paul, in these present allegations.[i]

91. For the offices of prose we find but small mention of them in the very first time, save only in general terms, and that such there were, and that St. James, St. Mark, St. Peter, and others of the apostles and apostolical men, made liturgies; and if these which we have at this day were not theirs, yet they make probation that these apostles left others, or else they were impudent people that prefixed their names so early, and the churches were very incurious to swallow such a bole, if no pretension could have been reasonably made for their justification. But concerning church hymns, we have clearer testimony in particular, both because there were many of them, and because they were dispersed more, soon got by heart, passed also among the people, and were pious arts of the Spirit, whereby holy things were instilled into their souls by the help of fancy, and a more easy memory. The first civilizing of people used to be by poetry, and their divinity was conveyed by songs and verses;[k] and the apostle exhorted the christians, "To exhort one another in psalms and hymns," for he knew the excellent advantages were likely to accrue to religion by such an insinuation of the mysteries. Thus St. Hilary and St. Ambrose composed hymns for the use of the church, and St. Austin made a hymn against the schism of Donatus; which hymns, when they were publicly allowed of, were used in public offices; not till then; for Paulus Samosatenus had brought women into the church to sing vain and trifling songs, and some bishops took to themselves too great and incurious a license, and brought hymns into the church, whose gravity and piety was not very remarkable; upon occasion of which, the fathers of the council of Laodicea ordained, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, "No psalms of private composition must be brought into the church;" so Gentian Harvet renders it; Isidore translates it "Psalmos ab idiotis compositos," "Psalms made by common persons." "Psalms usually sung abroad:" so Dionysius Exiguus calls them, "Psalmos plebeios:" but I suppose by the following words is meant, that none but Scripture psalms shall be read there; for so the canon adds, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης, "Nothing to be read in the church but books of the Old and New Testament."—And this interpretation agrees well enough with the occasion of the canon which I now mentioned.

92. This only by the way, the reddition of ψαλμοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς by Isidore, to be "psalms made by common persons," whom the Scripture calls ἰδιώτας, "ignorant or unlearned," is agreeable enough with that of St. Paul, who intimates, that prayers, and forms of liturgies, are to be composed "for them, not by them;" they were never thought of to be persons competent to make forms of prayers themselves; for St. Paul[l] speaks of such an one as of a person coming into the church to hear the prophets

[d] Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 24. Et Walast. Strabo. c. 25. de reb. Ecclesiast.

[e] Apoc. xv. 3.

[f] Exod. xv.

[g] Psalm cxlv.

[h] Chap. x. 6, 7.

[i] Δέησις, παράκλησις, ἢ χρεία. Ἔντευξις, ἀπάντησις κατὰ τῶν πλημμελησάντων· ἔνησις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν. Εὔχεσθαι, ἱκετεύειν, καυχᾶσθαι, αὔχειν, λέγειν. Ἱκετήσιος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν Ζεύς, ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐλεῶν. Hesych. vide S. August. ep. 59. q. 5. in hunc locum; descripsi verba ad sect. 86.

[k] Ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere. Tertul. Apolog.

[l] 1 Cor. xiv.

pray, and sing, and interpret, and prophesy, and ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, "He is reproved of all, and judged of all;" and, therefore, the most unfit person in the world to bring any thing that requires great ability, and great authority, to obtrude it upon the church, his rulers, and his judges. And this was not unhandsomely intimated by the word sometimes used by the Εὐχολόγιον of the Greek church, calling the public liturgy κοντάκιον, which signifies "prayers, made for the use of the 'idiotæ,' or private persons," as the word is contradistinguished from the rulers of the church. Κοντὸς signifies "contum," and κοντῷ πλεῖν, is as much as προσηκόντως ζῆν, "to live in the condition of a private person," and in the vulgar Greek, says Arcadius, κοντος and κονταικῆνος ἄνθρωπος signify "a little man, of a low stature," from which two significations κοντάκιον may well enough design "a short form of prayer, made for the use of private persons." And this was reasonable, and part of the religion even of the heathen, as well as christians; the presidents of their religion were to find prayers for the people, and teach them forms of address to their gods.

> Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
> Disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
> Poscit opem chorus, et præsentia numina sentit;
> Cœlestes implorat aquas, docta prece blandus;
> Carmine Di superi placantur, carmine Manes.
> HOR. Ep. l. ep.l.

But this by the way.

93. But, because I am casually fallen upon mention of the Laodicean council, and that it was very ancient, before the Nicene, and of very great reputation, both in the east, and in the west, it will not be a contemptible addition to the reputation of set forms of liturgy, that we find them, so early in the church, reduced to a very regular and composed manner. The fifteenth canon suffers none to sing in the church, but the ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψάλλοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμβῶνα ἀναβαίνοντες, "they that sing by book, and go up into the pulpit;" they were the same persons, and the manner of doing their office was their appellative, which shows plainly, that the known custom of the church was for them who were in the ἀμβὼν, "in the pulpit," to read their offices and devotions. They read them ἀπὸ διφθέρας, that is the word in the canon. Those things which signify the greatest, or first antiquity, are said to be ἐν διφθέρᾳ γραφόμενα. Ἀρχαιότερα διφθέρας λαλεῖς, was spoken proverbially, to signify "ancient things:" and Ζεὺς κατεῖδε Κρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας: so that if these fathers chose these words as grammarians, "the singers ἀπὸ διφθέρας," were "such as sung ancient hymns of primitive antiquity;" which also is the more credible, because the persons were noted and distinguished by their employment, as a thing known by so long a use, till it came to be their appellative. The seventeenth and eighteenth canons command, that lessons and psalms should be said interchangeably καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι, "and the same *liturgy* (that is the word) or office of prayers, to be said always at nones and vespers."—This shows the manner of executing their office of psalmists, and readers; they did not sing or say extempore, but they read prayers and psalms, and sung them out of a book; neither were they brought in fresh and new at every meeting, but it was αὐτὴ λειτουργία πάντοτε, "still the same form of prayers," without variation.

94. But then if we remember how ancient this office was in the church, and that the ἀναγνώσται and ψάλται, "the readers and singers," were clerical offices, deputed for public ministry about prayers and devotions in the church; for so we are told by Simeon Thessalonicensis, in particular, concerning the ἀναγνώστης, καὶ τοὺς θείους προλέγει τοῖς ψάλλουσιν ὕμνους, ἤτοι κανοναρχεῖ, "He does dictate the hymns to the singers;" (and then of the singers there is no question;)—and that these two offices were so ancient in the church, that they were mentioned by St. Ignatius,[n] who was contemporary with the latter times of the apostles; we may well believe that set and described forms of liturgy were as early as the days of the apostles, and continued in the continuation of those and the like offices, in all descending ages. Of the same design and intimation were those known offices in the Greek church, of the Κανονάρχης and the Ὑποβολεὺς, which Socrates speaks of, as of an office in the church of Alexandria, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνώσται καὶ ὑποβολεῖς διάφοροι, εἴτε κατηχούμενοί εἰσιν εἴτε πιστοὶ, &c. Their office was the same with the reader; they did "ex præscripto præire, et ad verbum referre," the same which ab Alexandro notes to have been done in the religious rites of heathen Greece; the first read out of a book the appointed prayers, and the others rehearse them after. Now it is unimaginable that constant officers should be appointed to say an office, and no public office be described.

95. I shall add but this one thing more, and pass on "ad alia." And that is, that I never yet saw any instance, example, or pretence of precedent of any bishop, priest, or lay-person, that ever prayed extempore in the church; and although in some places, single bishops, or peradventure, other persons of less authority, did oftentimes bring prayers of their own[o] into the church; yet ever they were compositions, and premeditations, and were brought thither, there to be repeated often, and added to the liturgy; and although the liturgies, while they were less full than since they have been, were apt to receive the additions of pious and excellent persons, yet the inconvenience grew so great, by permitting any forms but what were approved by a public spirit, that the church, as she always had forms of public prescription, so she resolved to permit no mixture of any thing but what was warranted by an equal power, that the spirits of the prophets might be subject to the prophets, and such spirits, when they are once tried, whether they be of God or no,

[n] Epist. ad Antiochen.: memorantur etiam in 25°. Canone Apostolorum.

[o] De proprio ingenio, de pectore sine monitore, we find once in Tertullian.

tried by a lawful superior, and a competent judge, may then venture into the open air. And it were a strange imprudence, choosingly to entertain those inconveniences which our wiser forefathers felt, and declared, and remedied. For why should we be in love with that evil, against which they so carefully armed their churches, by the provision and defence of laws? For this produced that canon of the council of Milevis, in Africa; "Placuit ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesiâ, nisi quæ à prudentioribus factæ fuerint in Synodo." That is the restraint and prohibition; "public prayers must be such as are publicly appointed and prescribed by our superiors, and no private forms of our conceiving must be used in the church." The reason follows: "Ne fortè aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum:" "Lest through ignorance, or want of deliberation, any thing be spoken in our prayers against faith" and good manners. Their reason is good, and they are witnesses of it, who hear the variety of prayers, before and after sermons, there, where the Directory is practised,—where, to speak most modestly, not only their private opinions, but also human interests, and their own personal concernments, and wild fancies, born perhaps not two days before, are made the objects of the people's hopes, of their desires and their prayers; and all in the mean time pretend to the Holy Spirit.

96. Thus far we are gone. The church hath, 1. power and authority; and, 2. command; 3. and ability, or promise of assistances, to make public forms of liturgy; and 4. the church always did so, in all descents from Moses to Christ, from Christ to the apostles, from them all to all descending ages; for I have instanced till St. Austin's time; and since, there is no question, the people were *ἀντίγραφα ἔχοντες τῶν συνηθῶν ἁγιῶν εὐχῶν ἀπαραλλακτὰ μεταγραφέντα ἐκ κοντακίων*, as Balsamon says of those of the Greek communion; "they used unalterable forms of prayers, described out of the books of public liturgy." It remains only, that I consider upon what reason, and grounds of prudence and religion, the church did so; and whether she did well or no. In order to which, I consider,—

97. First, every man hath personal needs of his own, and he that understands his own condition, and hath studied the state of his soul, in order to eternity,—his temporal estate, in order to justice and charity,—and the constitution and necessities of his body, in order to health,—and his health, in order to the service of God, as every wise and good man does, will find that no man can make such provision for his necessities as he can do for his own; "cæteris paribus," no man "knows the things of a man but the spirit of the man;" and, therefore, if he have proportionable abilities, it is allowed to him, and it is necessary for him, to represent his own conditions to God; and he can best express his own sense, or at least best sigh forth his own meaning; and if he be a good man, the spirit will make intercession for him with those "unutterable groans." Besides this, every family hath needs proper to it, in the capacity of a family, and those are to be represented by the master of the family; whom men of the other persuasion are apt to confess to be a priest in his own family, and a king; and "sacrorum omnium potestas sub regibus esto," they are willing in this sense to acknowledge; and they call upon him to perform family duties, that is, all the public devotions of the family are to be ordered by him.

98. Now, that this is to be done by a set form of words, is acknowledged by Didoclavius: "Nam licet in conclavi pater familiâs verbis exprimere animi affectus, pro arbitrio potest, quia Dominus cor intuetur et affectus, tamen publicè coram totâ familiâ idem absque indecoro non potest."[p] If he prays extempore, without a set form of prayer, he may commit many an indecency; a set and described form of prayer is most convenient in a family, that children and servants may be enabled to remember, and tacitly recite the prayer together with the "major domo." But I rely not upon this, but proceed upon this consideration:—

99. As private persons and as families, so also have churches their special necessities, in a distinct capacity; and, therefore, God hath provided for them "rulers and feeders," priests and presidents of religion, who are to represent all their needs to God, and to make provisions. Now, because the church cannot all meet in one place, but, the harvest being great, it is bound up in several bundles, and divided into many congregations, for all which the rulers and stewards of this great family are to provide, and yet cannot be present in those particular societies, it is necessary that they should have influence upon them by a general provision, and, therefore, that they should take care that their common needs should be represented to God by set forms of prayer, for they only can be provided by rulers, and used by their ministers and deputies; such as must be one in the "principe," and diffused in the execution; and it is a better expression of their care and duty, for the rulers to provide the bread and bless it, and then give it to them, who must minister it in small portions, and to particular companies, (for so Christ did,) than to leave them, —who are not, in the same degree, answerable for the churches as the rulers are,—to provide their food, and break it, and minister it too. The very economy of Christ's family requires, that the dispensations be made according to every man's capacity. The general stewards are to divide to every man his portion of work, and to give them their food in due season, and the under servants are to do that work which is appointed them: so Christ appointed in the gospel, and so the church hath practised in all ages; "Indè enim per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia supra episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur."[q] When the rulers are few, (for the ecclesiastical regiment is not democratical,) and the under offices many, and the companies numerous, for all which those few rulers are bound to provide,

[p] Altare Damascenum.

[q] S. Cyprian. ep. 27.

and prayer and offices of devotion are one of the greatest instances of provision, it is impossible there should be any sufficient care taken, or caution used, by those rulers in the matter of prayers, but for them to make such prescript forms, which may be used by all companies under their charge; that since they are to represent all the needs of all their people, because they cannot be present by their persons in all societies, they may be present by their care and provisions, which is then done best when they make prescript forms of prayer, and provide pious ministers to dispense it.

100. Secondly, it is in the very nature of public prayer, that it be made by a public spirit, and performed by a public consent. For public and private prayer are certainly two distinct duties; but they are least of all distinguished by the place, but most of all by the spirit that dictates the prayer, and the consent in the recitation; and it is a private prayer, which either one man makes, though spoken in public, as the Laodicean council calls ψαλμοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς, "private psalms," or which is not attested by public consent of minds; and it is a public prayer which is made by the public spirit, and consented to by a general acceptation, and, therefore, the "Lord's prayer," though spoken in private, is a public form, and, therefore, represented plurally. And the place is very extrinsical to the nature of prayer: "I will that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands;"[r] and retiring into a closet is only advised for the avoiding of hypocrisy, not for the greater excellency of the duty. So that if public prayer have advantages beyond private prayer, or upon its own stock, besides it,—the more public influences it receives, the more excellent it is. And hence I conclude, that set forms of prayer composed and used by the church; I mean by the rulers in conjunction and union, of heads and councils, and used by the church; I mean the people in union and society of hearts and spirits; hath two very great advantages which other prayers have not.

101. For, first, it is more truly public, and hath the benefit of those helps which God, who never is deficient to supply any of our needs, gives to public persons in order to public necessities, by which I mean its emanation from a public, and, therefore, a more excellent spirit. And, secondly, it is the greatest instance of union in the world; for since God hath made faith, hope, and charity, the ligaments of the communion of saints,—and common prayer, which not only all the governors have propounded as most fit, but in which all the people are united, is a great testimony of the same faith, and a common hope, and mutual charity,—because they confess the same God whom they worship, and the same articles which they recite, and labour towards the same hope, "the mighty price of their high calling," and by praying for each other in the same sense, and to the same purpose, doing the same to them that I desire they should do for me, do testify, and preserve, and increase their charity;—it follows, that common and described prayers are the most excellent instrument, and act and ligament of the communion of saints, and the great common term of the church, in its degrees of catholic capacity. And, therefore, saith St. Ignatius, πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἅμα συνέρχεσθε, "All meet together, and join to common prayers:" μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς ἔστω, "Let there be one mind, and let there be one prayer." That is the true communion of christians.

102. And in pursuance of this, I consider, that if all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve, the catholic communion; and whenever a schism was commenced, and that they called one another heretic, they not only forsook to pray with one another, but they also altered their forms, by interposition of new clauses, hymns, and collects, and new rites and ceremonies. Only those parts that combined, kept the same liturgy: and indeed, the same forms of prayer were so much the instrument of union, that it was the only ligament of their society; for their creeds I reckon as part of their liturgy, for so they ever were. So that this may teach us a little to guess (I will not say into how many churches, but into how many innumerable atoms and minutes of churches, those christians must needs be scattered who alter their forms according to the number of persons, and the number of their meetings, every company having a new form of prayer at every convention. And this consideration will not be vain if we remember how great a blessing unity in churches is, and how hard to be kept with all the arts in the world, and how every thing is powerful enough for its dissolution. But that a public form of liturgy was the great instrument of communion in the primitive church, appears in this, that the καθαίρεσις, or "excommunication," was an exclusion, "à communicatione orationis, et conventûs, et omnis sancti commercii," "from the participation of the public meeting and prayers;" and, therefore the more united the prayer is, still it is the greater instrument of union: the authority and consent, the public spirit, and common acceptation, are so many degrees of a more firm and indissoluble communion.

103. Thirdly; to this I add, that without prescribed forms, issues of the public spirit and authority, public communion cannot be regular and certain, as may appear in one or two plain instances. It is a practice prevailing among those of our brethren that are zealous for extempore, or not enjoined prayers, to pray their sermons over, to reduce their doctrine into devotion and liturgy. I mislike it not for the thing itself, if it were regularly for the manner, and the matter always pious and true. But who shall assure me, when the preacher hath disputed, or rather dogmatically decreed, a point of predestination or of prescience of contingency or of liberty, or any of the most mysterious parts of divinity, and then prays his sermon over, that he then prays with the Spirit? Unless I be sure that he also preached with the Spirit, I cannot be sure that he prays with the Spirit, for all he prays extempore. Nay, if I hear a protestant preach in the morning and an anabaptist in the afternoon, to-day a presbyterian, to-morrow an independent, am I not mos

[r] 1 Tim. ii. 8.

sure that when they have preached contradictories, and all of them pray their sermons over, that they do not all pray with the Spirit? More than one in this case cannot pray with the Spirit; possibly all may pray against him.

104. Fourthly; From whence I thus argue in behalf of "set forms of prayer," that in the case above put, how shall I, or any man else, say "amen" to their prayers, that preach and pray contradictories? At least, I am much hindered in my devotion. For besides that it derives our opinions into our devotions, makes every school-point become our religion, and makes God a party, so far as we can, entitling him to our impertinent wranglings; besides this, I say, while we should attend to our addresses towards God, we are to consider whether the point be true, or no; and by that time we have tacitly discoursed it, we are upon another point, which also perhaps is as questionable as the former; and by this time our spirit of devotion is a little discomposed, and something out of countenance, there is so much other employment for "the spirit, the spirit of discerning and judging." All which inconveniences are avoided in set forms of liturgy: for we know beforehand the conditions of our communion, and to what we are to say "amen," to which, if we like it, we may repair; if not, there is no harm done, your devotion shall not be surprised, nor your communion invaded, as it may be often in your "extempore prayers," and unlimited devotions.

105. Fifthly; And this thing hath another collateral inconvenience, which is of great consideration; for upon what confidence can we solicit any recusants to come to our church, where we cannot promise them, that the devotions, there to be used, shall be innocent, nor can we put him into a condition to judge for himself? If he will venture, he may, but we can use no argument to make him choose our churches, though he would quit his own.

106. Sixthly; So that either the people must have an implicit faith in the priest, and then may most easily be abused; or if they have not, they cannot join in the prayer, it cannot become to them an instrument of communion, but by chance, and irregularly; and "ex post facto," when the prayer is approved of, and after the devotion is spent, for till then they cannot judge; and before they do, they cannot say "amen;" and till "amen" be said, there is no benefit of the prayer, nor any union of hearts and desires, and therefore, as yet, no communion.

107. Seventhly; Public forms of prayer are great advantages to convey an article of faith into the most secret retirement of the spirit, and to establish it with a most firm persuasion, and endear it to us with the greatest affection. For, since our prayers are the greatest instruments and conveyances of blessing and mercy to us, that,—which mingles with our hopes, which we owe to God, which is sent of an errand to fetch a mercy for us,—in all reason, will become the dearer to us for all these advantages. And just so is an article of belief inserted into our devotions, and made a part of prayer; it is extremely confirmed by that confidence and πληροφορία, "fulness of persuasion," that must exclude all doubting from our prayers; and it insinuates itself into our affection, by being mingled with our desires; and we grow bold in it, by having offered it to God, and made so often acknowledgment of it to him, who "is not to be mocked."

108. And, certainly, it were a very strange liturgy in which there were no public confession of faith, for as it were deficient in one act of God's worship, which is offering the understanding up to God, bringing it in subjection to Christ, and making public profession of it, it also loses a very great advantage, which might accrue to faith, by making it a part of our liturgic devotions; and this was so apprehended by the ancients in the church, our fathers in Christ, that commonly they used to oppose a hymn, or a collect, or a doxology, in defiance of a new-sprung heresy. The fathers of Nice framed the "Gloria Patri" against the Arians. St. Austin composed a hymn against the Donatists. St. Jerome added the "sicut erat in principio," against the Macedonians. St. Ambrose framed the "Te Deum" upon occasion of St. Austin's baptism, but took care to make the hymn to be of most solemn adoration, and yet of prudent institution and public confession, that, according to the advice of St. Paul, we might "sing with grace in our hearts to the Lord," and, at the same time, "teach and admonish one another" too: now this cannot be done but in set forms of prayer; for, in new devotions and uncertain forms, we may also have an ambulatory faith, and new articles may be offered before every sermon, and at every convention; the church can have no security to the contrary, nor the article any stable foundation of advantageous insinuation either into judgment or memory of the persons to be informed or persuaded; but, like Abraham's sacrifice, as soon as his back is turned, the birds shall eat it up. "Quid, quod hæc oratio, quæ sanandis mentibus adhibetur, descendere in nos debet? Remedia non prosunt, nisi immorentur."[s] A cursory prayer shall have a transient effect; when the hand is off, the impression also is gone.

109. Eighthly; Without the description of public forms of prayer, there can be no security given in the matter of our prayers, but we may burn assafœtida for incense, and the marrow of man's bones instead of the fat of rams; and of all things in the world, we should be most curious that our prayers be not turned into sin; and yet, if they be not prescribed and preconsidered, nothing can secure them antecedently; the people shall go to church, but without confidence that they shall return with a blessing,—for they know not whether God shall have a present made of a holy oblation, or else whether the minister will stand in the gap, or make the gap wider. But this I touched upon before.

110. Ninthly; They preserve the authority and sacredness of government, and, possibly, they are therefore decried, that the reputation of authority may decline together. For as God hath made it the great cancel between the clergy and the people, that they are deputed to speak to God for them, so is it the great distinction of the persons in that

[s] Seneca, l. 5. ep. 40.

order, that the rulers shall judge between the ministers and the people, in relation to God, with what addresses they shall come before God, and intercede for the people; for so St. Paul enjoins, that "the spirits of the prophets should be submitted to the prophets," viz. to be discerned and judged by them; which thing is not practicable in permissions of every minister to pray what forms he pleases every day.

111. Tenthly; Public forms of liturgy are also the great securities and basis to the religion and piety of the people; for circumstances govern them most, and the very determination of a public office, and the appointment of that office at certain times, engages their spirits, the first to an habitual, the latter to an actual devotion. It is all that the οἱ πολλοὶ, "many men" know of their religion; and they cannot, any way, know it better, than by those forms of prayer which publish their faith, and their devotion to God, and all the world, and which, by an admirable expedient, reduces their faith into practice, and places their religion in their understanding and affections. And, therefore, St. Paul, when he was to give an account of his religion, he did it, not by a mere recitation of the articles, but by giving account of his liturgy, and the manner of his worship. "After that way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers."—And the best worship is the best religion, and, therefore, I am not to trust any man to make my manner of worshipping, unless I durst trust him to be the dictator of my religion; and a form of prayer made by a private man, is also my religion made by a private man. So that we must say "after the manner that G., the minister of B., shall conceive and speak, "so worship I the God of my fathers;" and if that be reasonable or pious, let all the world judge.

112. Eleventhly; But when authority shall consider and determine upon a form of liturgy, and this be used and practised in a church, there is an admirable conjunction in the religion, and great cooperation towards the glory of God. The authority of the injunction adds great reputation to the devotion, and takes off the contempt, which, from the no-authority of single and private persons, must be consequent to their conceived prayers; and the public practice of it, and union of spirits in the devotion, satisfies the world in the nature of it, and the religion of the church.

113. Twelfthly; But nothing can answer for the great scandal, which all wise persons, and all good persons in the world, must needs receive, when there is no public testimony consigned, that such a whole nation, or a church, hath any thing that can be called religion, and those little umbrages that are, are casual as chance itself, alterable as time; and shall be good when those infinite numbers of men, that are trusted with it, shall please to be honest, or shall have the good luck not to be mistaken.

114. Thirteenthly; I will not now instance in the vain-glory that is appendant to these new-made, every-day forms of prayer, and that some have been so vain, like the orators Quintilian speaks of, "ut verbum petant quo incipiant," that they have published their extempore faculty upon experimen and scenical bravery, you shall name the instanc and they shall compose the form: amongst whon also, the gift of the man is more than the devotio of the man; nor will I consider that then this gi is esteemed best, when his prayer is longest; an if he takes a complacency in his gift, (as who is n apt to do it?) he will be sure to extend his praye till a suspicious and scrupulous man would be a to say, "his prayer pressed hard upon that whic our blessed Saviour reprehended in the Pharisee 'who thought to be heard for their much babbling.' I know it was observed by a very wise man, tha the vanity of spirit and popular opinion tha grows great, and talks loudly of his abilities tha can speak extempore, may not only be the incentiv but a helper of the faculty, and make a man n only to love it, but to be the more able to do i "Ad dicendum etiam pudor stimulos addit et dicer dorum expectata laus; mirumque videri potes quod, cum stilus secreto gaudeat, atque omnes a bitros reformidet, extemporalis actio auditorum fr quentiâ, ut miles congestu signorum, excitatu Namque et difficiliorem cogitationem exprimit e expellit dicendi necessitas, et secundos impetu auget placendi cupido. Adeò præmium omnia spe tant, ut eloquentia quoque, quanquam plurimu habeat in se voluptatis maximè tamen præsen fructu laudis opinionisque ducatur."[t] It may s happen that the opinion of the people, as it is a to actuate the faculty, so also may encourage th practice, and spoil the devotion. But these thing are accidental to the nature of the thing, and, there fore, though they are too certainly consequent to th person, yet I will not be too severe, but preserv myself on the surer side of a charitable constru tion, which truly I desire to keep, not only to thei persons whom I much reverence, but also to thei actions. But yet I durst not do the same thing even for these last reasons, though I had no other.

115. In the next place, we must consider th next great objection, that is, with much clamou pretended, viz. that in set forms of prayer, we re strain and confine the blessed Spirit,—and in con ceived forms, when every man is left to his liberty then the Spirit is free, unlimited, and unconstrained

116. I answer, either their conceived forms (use their own words, though indeed the expressio is very inartificial) are premeditate and described or they are extempore. If they be premeditate an described, then the Spirit is as much limited in thei conceived forms, as in the church's conceived form For as to this particular, it is all one who describe and limits the form, whether the church or a singl man does it, still the Spirit is in constraint an limit. So that in this case they are not angry a set forms of prayer, but that they do not mak them. And if it be replied, that if a single perso composes a set form, he may alter it if he pleas and so his spirit is at liberty; I answer, so may th church, if she see cause for it; and unless there b cause, the single person will not alter it, unless h

[t] Quintil. lib. x. cap. 7.

do things unreasonable, and without cause. So that it will be an unequal challenge, and a peevish quarrel to allow of set forms of prayer made by private persons, and not of set forms made by the public spirit of the church. It is evident that the Spirit is limited in both alike.

117. But if, by "conceived forms" in this objection, they mean extempore prayers, (for so they would be thought most generally to practise it,) and that in the use of these, the liberty of the Spirit is best preserved; to this I answer, that the being extempore, or premeditate, will be wholly impertinent to this question of limiting the Spirit. For there may be great liberty in set forms, even when there is much variety; and there may be great restraint in extempore prayers, even then when it shall be called unlawful to use set forms. That the Spirit is restrained, or that it is free in either, is accidental to them both; for it may be either free, or not free, in both, as it may happen.

118. But the restraint is this, that every one is not left to his liberty to pray how he list, (with premeditation or without, it makes not much matter,) but that he is prescribed unto by the spirit of another. But if it be a fault thus to restrain the Spirit, I would fain know, is not the Spirit restrained when the whole congregation shall be confined to the form of this one man's composing? Or shall it be unlawful, or at least a disgrace and disparagement, to use any set forms, especially of the church's composition? More plainly thus:

119. Secondly; Doth not the minister confine and restrain the spirit of the Lord's people, when they are tied to his form? It would sound of more liberty to their spirits, that every one might make a prayer of his own, and all pray together, and not be forced or confined to the minister's single dictate and private spirit. It is true, it would breed confusions, and, therefore, they might pray silently till the sermon began, and not for the avoiding one inconvenience run into a greater, and to avoid the disorder of a popular noise restrain the blessed Spirit; for even in this case, as well as in the other, where the Spirit of God is, there must be liberty.

120. Thirdly; If the spirit must be at liberty, who shall assure us this liberty must be in forms of prayer? And if so, whether also it must be in public prayer, and will it not suffice that it be in private? and if in public prayers, is not the liberty of the spirit sufficiently preserved, that the public spirit is free? That is, the church hath power, upon occasion, to alter and increase her litanies. By what argument shall any man make it so much as probable, that the Holy Ghost is injured, if every private minister's private spirit shall be guided (and therefore, by necessary consequence, limited) by the authority of the church's public spirit?

121. Fourthly; Does not the Directory that thing, which is here called restraining of the Spirit,—does it not appoint every thing but the words? And after this, is it not a goodly palladium that is contended for, and a princely liberty they leave unto the Spirit, to be free only in the supplying the place of a vocabulary, and a "copia verborum?" For as for the matter, it is all there described and appointed; and to those determined senses the Spirit must assist, or not at all, only for the words he shall take his choice. Now I desire it may be considered sadly and seriously, is it not as much injury to the Spirit to restrain his matter, as to appoint his words? Which is the more considerable of the two, sense or language, matter or words? I mean when they are taken singly, and separately. For so they may very well be, for as, if men prescribe the matter only, the Spirit may cover it with several words and expressions; so, if the Spirit prescribe the words, I may still abound in variety of sense, and preserve the liberty of my meaning: we see that true, in the various interpretations of the same words of Scripture. So that, in the greater of the two, the Spirit is restrained when his matter is appointed; and to make him amends, for not trusting him with the matter without our directions and limitations, we trust him to say what he pleases, so it be to our sense, to our purposes. A goodly compensation surely.

122. Fifthly; Did not Christ restrain the spirit of his apostles, when he taught them to pray the Lord's prayer, whether his precept to his disciples concerning it was, "Pray this," or "Pray thus;" "Pray these words," or "Pray after this manner?" Or though it had been less than either, and been only a directory for the matter, still it is a thing which our brethren, in all other cases of the same nature, are resolved perpetually to call a restraint. Certainly then, this pretended restraint is no such formidable thing. These men themselves do it by directing all of the matter, and much of the manner, and Christ himself did it, by prescribing both the matter and the words too.

123. Sixthly; These restraints, as they are called, or determinations of the spirit, are made by the Spirit himself. For I demand, when any assembly of divines appoint the matter of prayers to all particular ministers, as this hath done, is that appointment by the Spirit or no? if no, then for aught appears, this directory, not being made by God's Spirit, may be an enemy to it. But if this appointment be by the Spirit, then the determination and limitation of the spirit is by the Spirit himself; and such indeed is every pious and prudent constitution of the church, in matters spiritual. Such as was that of St. Paul to the Corinthians, when he prescribed orders for public prophesying, and interpretation, and speaking with tongues. The spirit of some he so restrained, that he bound them to hold their peace; he permitted but two or three to speak at one meeting, the rest were to keep silence, though possibly six or seven might, at that time, have the spirit.

124. Seventhly; Is it not a restraint of the spirit to sing a psalm in metre, by appointment? Clearly, as much as appointing forms of prayer, or eucharist; and yet that we see done daily, and no scruple made. Is not this to be partial in judgment, and inconsiderate of what we do?

125. Eighthly; And now after all this strife, what harm is there in restraining the spirit in the present sense? What prohibition? What law?

What reason or revelation is against it? What inconvenience in the nature of the thing? For, can any man be so weak as to imagine a despite is done to the Spirit of grace, when the gifts given to his church are used regularly, and by order? As if prudence was no gift of God's Spirit, as if helps in government, and the ordering spiritual matters, were none of those graces, which Christ, when "he ascended up on high," gave unto men. But this whole matter is wholly a stranger to reason, and never seen in Scripture.

126. For, divinity never knew any other vicious restraining the spirit, but either suppressing those holy incitements to virtue and good life, which God's Spirit ministers to us externally, or internally, or else a forbidding by public authority the ministers of the word and sacraments, to speak such truths as God hath commanded, and so taking away the liberty of prophesying. The first is directly vicious "in materia speciali:" the second is tyrannical and antichristian. And to it persecution of true religion is to be reduced. But as for this pretended limiting or restraining the spirit, viz. by appointing a regular form of prayer, it is so very a "chimæra," that it hath no footing or foundation upon any ground, where a wise man may build his confidence.

127. Ninthly; But lastly, how if the spirit must be restrained, and that by precept apostolical? That calls us to a new account. But if it be not true, what means St. Paul by saying, "The spirits of the prophets must be subject to the prophets?" What greater restraint than subjection? If subjected, then they must be ruled; if ruled, then limited; prescribed unto, and as much under restraint, as the spirits of the superior prophets shall judge convenient. I suppose by this time, this objection will trouble us no more. But perhaps another will.

128. For, why are not the ministers to be left as well to their liberty in making their prayers, as their sermons? I answer, the church may if she will, but whether she doth well or no, let her consider. This I am sure, there is not the same reason, and I fear the experience the world hath already had of it, will make demonstration enough of the inconvenience. But, however, the differences are many.

129. First; Our prayers offered up by the minister, are in behalf and in the name of the people; and, therefore, great reason they should know beforehand what is to be presented, that if they like not the message they may refuse to communicate, especially since people are so divided in their opinions, in their hopes, and in their faiths; it being a duty to refuse communion with those prayers, which they think to have in them the matter of sin or doubting. Which reason, on the other part, ceases. For the minister being to speak from God to the people, if he speaks what he ought not, God can right himself, however, is not a partner of the sin,—as, in the other case, the people possibly may be.

130. Secondly; It is more fit a liberty be left in preaching than praying, because the address of our discourses and exhortations is to be made according to the understanding and capacity of the audience, their prejudices are to be removed, all advantages to be taken, and they are to be surprised that way they lie most open; "But being crafty I caught you," saith St. Paul to the Corinthians. And discourses and arguments "ad hominem," upon their particular principles and practices, may more move them than the most polite and accurate that do not comply, and wind about their fancies and affections. St. Paul, from the absurd practice of being baptized for the dead, made an excellent argument to convince the Corinthians of the resurrection. But this reason also ceases in our prayers. For God understandeth what we say sure enough; he hath no prejudices to be removed, no infirmities to be wrought upon, and a fine figure of rhetoric, a pleasant cadence and a curious expression, move not him at all: no other twinings and compliances stir him, but charity, and humility, and zeal, and importunity, which all are things internal and spiritual. It was observed by Pliny, "Deos ipsos, non tam accuratis adorantium precibus, quàm innocentiâ, et sanctitate lætari: gratioremque existimari qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem, quàm qui meditatum carmen intulerit."[u] And, therefore of necessity, there is to be great variety of discourses to the people, and permissions accordingly; but not so to God,—with whom a "Deus miserere" prevails, as soon as the great office of forty hours not long since invented in the church of Rome, or any other prayers spun out to a length beyond the extension of the office of a pharisee.

131. Thirdly; I fear it cannot stand with our reverence to God, to permit to every spirit a liberty of public address to him, in behalf of the people. Indeed, he that is not fit to pray, is not always fit to preach; but it is more safe to be bold with the people, than with God, if the persons be not so fit. In that there may be indiscretion, but there may be impiety and irreligion in this. The people may better excuse and pardon an indiscretion, or a rudeness, if any such should happen, than we may venture to offer it to God.

132. Fourthly; There is a latitude of theology much whereof is left to us, so without precise and clear determination, that without breach either of faith or charity, men may differ in opinion: and if they may not be permitted to abound in their own sense, they will be apt to complain of tyranny over consciences, and that men lord it over their faith. In prayer this thing is so different, that it is imprudent, and full of inconvenience, to derive such things into our prayers, which may with good profit be matter of sermons. Therefore, here a liberty may well enough be granted, when there it may better be denied.

133. Fifthly; But indeed, if I may freely declare my opinion, I think it were not amiss, if the liberty of making sermons were something more restrained than it is, and that either such persons only were intrusted with the liberty, for whom the church herself may safely be responsive, that is, to men

[u] Plin. Panegyr. Trajan. dictum.

learned and pious, and that the other part the "vulgus cleri" should instruct the people out of the fountains of the church, and the public stock, till by so long exercise and discipline in the schools of the prophets, they may also be intrusted to minister of their own unto the people. This, I am sure, was the practice of the primitive church; when preaching was as ably and religiously performed as now it is; but in this I prescribe nothing. But truly I think the reverend divines of the assembly are many of them of my mind in this particular, and that they observe a liberty indulged to some persons to preach, which, I think, they had rather should hold their peace, and yet think the church better edified in their silence, than their sermons.

134. Sixthly; But yet methinks the argument objected so far as the extempore men make use of it, if it were turned with the edge the other way, would have more reason in it; and instead of arguing, "Why should not the same liberty be allowed to their spirit in praying as in preaching?" it were better to substitute this: "If they can pray with the Spirit, why do they not also preach with the Spirit?" And, it may be, there may be in reason or experience, something more for preaching and making orations by the excellency of a man's spirit and learning, than for the other, which, in the greatest abilities, it may be unfit to venture to God, without public approbation: but for sermons, they may be fortunate and safe, if made extempore. "Si calor ac spiritus tulit, frequenter accidit, ut successum extemporalem consequi cura non possit; Deum tunc adfuisse, cum id evenisset, veteres oratores, 'ut Cicero ait," dictitabant."[x] Now let them make demonstration of their spirit, by making excellent sermons extempore: that it may become an experiment of their other faculty, that after they are tried and approved in this, they may be considered for the other: and if praying with the Spirit be praying extempore, why shall not they preach extempore too, or else confess they preach without the Spirit, or that they have not the gift of preaching? For to say that the gift of prayer is a gift extempore, but the gift of preaching is with study and deliberation, is to become vain and impertinent. "Quis enim discrevit?" "Who hath made them of a different consideration?" I mean as to this particular, as to their efficient cause? Nor reason, nor revelation, nor God, nor man.

135. To sum up all. If any man hath a mind to exercise his gift of prayer, let him set himself to work, and compose books of devotion; (we have need of them in the church of England, so apparent need, that some of the church of Rome have made it an objection against us;) and this his gift of prayer will be to edification. But, otherwise, I understand it is more fit for ostentation, than any spiritual advantage. For God hears us not the sooner for our extempore, long, or conceived prayers, possibly they may become a hinderance, as in the cases before instanced. And I am sure, if the people be intelligent, and can discern, they are hindered in their devotion; for they dare not say "Amen," till they have considered, and many such cases will occur in extempore or unlicensed prayers, that need much considering before we attest them. But if the people be not intelligent, they are apt to swallow all the inconveniences which may multiply in so great a license: and therefore it were well that the governors of the church, who are to answer for their souls, should judge for them, before they say "Amen;" which judgment cannot be without set forms of liturgy. My sentence therefore is, ἵνα μένωμεν ὥσπερ ἐσμὲν, "let us be as we are already;" few changes are for the better.

136. For if it be pretended, that in the liturgy of the church of England,—which was composed with much art and judgment, by a church that hath as much reason to be confident,—she hath the spirit and gift of prayer, as any single person hath; and each learned man, that was at its first composition, can as much prove that he had the Spirit, as the objectors now-a-days (and he that boasts most, certainly hath the least): if, I say, it be pretended, that there are many errors and inconveniences, both in the order and in the matter of the common prayer-book, made by such men, with so much industry: how much more, and with how much greater reason, may we all dread the inconveniences and disorders of extempore and conceived prayers? Where respectively there is neither conjunction of heads, nor premeditation, nor industry, nor method, nor art, nor any of those things, or at least, not in the same degree, which were likely to have exempted the common prayer-book from errors and disorders. "If these things be done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?"

137. But if it be said, the extempore and conceived prayers will be secured from error by the Directory, because that chalks them out the matter; I answer, it is not sufficient, because, if when men study both the matter and the words too, they may be, and, it is pretended, are actually, deceived, —much more may they, when the matter is left much more at liberty, and the words under no restraint at all. And no man can avoid the pressure and the weight of this, unless the compilers of the Directory were infallible, and that all their followers are so too, of the certainty of which I am not yet fully satisfied.

138. And after this, I would fain know, what benefit and advantages the church of England, in her united capacity, receives by this new device? For the public, it is clear, that whether the ministers pray before they study, or study before they pray, there must needs be infinite deformity in the public worship, and all the benefits which before were the consequents of conformity and unity, will be lost; and if they be not valuable, I leave it to all them to consider, who know the inconveniences of public disunion, and the public disunion that is certainly consequent to them, who do not communicate in any common forms of worship; and to think that the Directory will bring conformity, is as if one should say, that all who are under the same hemisphere, are joined "in communi patriâ," and will love like countrymen. For under the Directory

[x] Quintilian. 10 7. 11.

there will be as different religions, and as different desires, and as differing forms, as there are several varieties of men and manners under the one half of heaven, who yet breathe under the same half of the globe.

139. But ask again, what benefit can the public receive by this form, or this no form? For I know not whether to call it. Shall the matter of prayers be better in all churches? shall God be better served? shall the word of God, and the best patterns of prayers, be always exactly followed? It is well if it be. But there is no security given us by the Directory; for the particulars, and special instances of the matter, are left at every man's dispose for all that, and we must depend upon the honesty of every particular for it: and if any man proves a heretic, or a knave, then he may introduce what impiety he please into the public forms of God's worship: and there is no law made to prevent it, and it must be cured afterward, if it can, but beforehand it is not prevented at all by the Directory, which trusts every man.

140. But I observe that all the benefit which is pretended, is, that it will make an able ministry. "Maximus verò studiorum fructus est, et præmium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris, *extempore dicendi facultas*," said an excellent person.[y] And it is very true; to be able to speak excellent things, without long considering, is an effect of a long industry, and greatest learning; but, certainly, the greatest enemy in the world to its production: much learning, and long use of speaking, may enable a man to speak upon sudden occasions, but speaking without consideration will never make much learning. "Nec quisquam tantum fidi ingenio, ut sibi speret incipienti statim posse contingere, sed sicut in cogitatione præcipimus, ita facilitatem quoque extemporalem à parvis initiis paulatim perducemus ad summam:"[z] And to offer that, as a means of getting learning, which cannot be done at all as it ought, but after learning is already gotten, in a very great degree, is highest mistaking. I confess I am very much from believing the allegation, and so will every man be, that considers what kind of men they are that have been most zealous for that way of conceived prayer. I am sure that very few of the learnedest, very many ignorants, most those who have the least abode in the schools of the prophets. And that I may disgrace no man's person, we see tradesmen of the most illiberal arts, and women, pretend to it, and do it with as many words, (and that is the main thing,) with as much confidence, and speciousness of spirit, as the best among them.[a]—"Sed nec tumultuarii nec fortuiti sermonis contextum mirabor unquam, quem jurgantibus etiam mulierculis superfluere video;" said Quintilian.[b] And it is but a small portion of learning that will serve a man to make conceived forms of prayer, which they may have easily upon the stock of other men, or upon their own fancy, or upon any thing in which no learning is required. He that knows not thi knows nothing of the craft that may be in th preacher's trade. But what? Is God better served I would fain see any authority, or any reason, any probability for that. I am sure, ignorant me offer him none of the best sacrifices extempore, an learned men will be sure to deliberate and kno God is then better served when he is served by public, than when by a private spirit. I cann imagine what accruements will hence come to th public: it may be some advantages may be to th private interests of men. For there are a sort men, whom our blessed Saviour noted, "Who devo widows' houses, and for a pretence make lon prayers."—They "make prayers," and they "mak them long;" by this means they receive doubl advantages, for they get reputation to their abilit and to their piety. And although the commo prayer-book, in the Preface to the Directory, b charged with unnecessary length, yet we see tha most of these men, they that are most eminent, would be thought so, make their prayers longe and will not lose the benefits which their cred gets, and they, by their credit, for making the prayers.

141. Add this, that there is no promise in Scri ture, that he who prays extempore shall be hea the better, or that he shall be assisted at all to suc purposes; and, therefore, to innovate in so high matter, without a warrant to command us, or a pr mise to warrant us, is no better than vanity the thing, and presumption in the person. H therefore, that considers that this way of prayer without all manner of precedent in the primitiv church, against the example of all famous church in all christendom, in the whole descent of fiftee ages, without all command or warrant of Scri ture; that it is unreasonable in the nature of th thing, against prudence and the best wisdom humanity, because it is without deliberation; tha it is innovation in a high degree, without that au thority which is truly, and by inherent and ancie right, to command and prescribe to us in extern forms of worship; that it is much to the disgrac of the first reformers of our religion; that it give encouragement to the church of Rome to quarre with some reason, and more pretence, against ou reformation, as being by the Directory confessed t have been done in much blindness, and, therefor might err in the excess as well as in the defec throwing out too much, as casting off too litt (which is the more likely, because they wanted n zeal to carry them far enough): he that consider the universal deformity of public worship, and th no means of union, no symbol of public communio being publicly consigned; that all heresies may with the same authority, be brought into our prayer and offered to God in the behalf of the people, wit the same authority that any truth may, all the pa ticular matter of our prayers being left to th

[y] Quint. l. 10. c. 7.

[z] Idem, ibid.

[a] Κόμιζε τοίνυν τὸ μέγιστον μὲν τὴν ἀμαθίαν, εἶτα θράσος ἐπὶ τούτοις· καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τόλμαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν. αἰδῶ δὲ, ἢ ἐπιείκειαν, ἢ μετριότητα, ἢ ἐρύθημα, οἵκοι ἀπόλιπε· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ βοὴν ὅτι μεγίστην. Lucian. Rhetor. Præcept.

[b] Quint. l. x. 7.

choice of all men of all persuasions,—and then observes, that actually there are in many places heresy, and blasphemy, and impertinency, and illiterate rudenesses, put into the devotion of the most solemn days and the most public meetings; and then, lastly, that there are divers parts of liturgy for which no provision at all is made in the Directory, and the very administration of the sacraments left so loosely, that if there be any thing essential in the forms of sacraments, the sacrament may become ineffectual for want of due words, and due administration;—I say, he that considers all these things (and many more he may consider) will find that particular men are not fit to be intrusted to offer in public with their private spirit to God, for the people, in such solemnities, in matters of so great concernment, where the honour of God,—the benefit of the people, the interest of kingdoms,—the being of a church,—the unity of minds,—the conformity of practice,—the truth of persuasion,—and the salvation of souls,—are so much concerned as they are in the public prayers of a whole national church. An unlearned man is not to be trusted, and a wise man dare not trust himself: he that is ignorant cannot, he that is knowing will not.

ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ,

OR,

A DISCOURSE

OF

THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING,

WITH

ITS JUST LIMITS AND TEMPER:

SHOWING THE UNREASONABLENESS OF PRESCRIBING TO OTHER MEN'S FAITH, AND THE INIQUITY OF PERSECUTING DIFFERING OPINIONS.

Δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα πάντες προφητεύειν.—1 Cor. xiv. 31.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHRISTOPHER LORD HATTON,

BARON HATTON OF KIRBY, COMPTROLLER OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

My Lord,

In this great storm, which hath dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, I have been cast up the coast of Wales, and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness, which, in En land, in a greater, I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm f lowed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor; and here again I w exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish thin nor persons. And but that he who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and t madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or t gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy: *Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπί ἡμῖν· ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν, προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψύχ* And now since I have come ashore, I have been gathering a few sticks to warm me, a few books entertain my thoughts, and divert them from the perpetual meditation of my private troubles and t public dyscrasy: but those which I could obtain were so few, and so impertinent, and unuseful any great purposes, that I began to be sad upon a new stock, and full of apprehension that I shou live unprofitably, and die obscurely, and be forgotten, and my bones thrown into some common charn house, without any name or note to distinguish me from those who only served their generation, filling the number of citizens, and who could pretend to no thanks or reward from the public, beyo "jus trium liberorum." While I was troubled with these thoughts, and busy to find an opportunity doing some good, in my small proportion, still the cares of the public did so intervene, that it w as impossible to separate my design from relating to the present, as to exempt myself from the participati of the common calamity; still half my thoughts was, in spite of all my diversions and arts of avocatio fixed upon, and mingled with, the present concernments; so that besides them I could not go. N because the great question is concerning religion, and in that also my scene lies, I resolved here to fix m considerations; especially when I observed the ways of promoting the several opinions, which n are busy, to be such, as besides that they were most troublesome to me, and such as I could, by means, be friends withal, they were also such as, to my understanding, did the most apparently disser their ends, whose design in advancing their own opinions was pretended for religion. For as co

trary as cruelty is to mercy, as tyranny to charity, so is war and bloodshed to the meekness and gentleness of christian religion. And however that there are some exterminating spirits, who think God to delight in human sacrifices, as if that oracle—Καὶ κεφαλὰς ἄδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα had come from the Father of spirits; yet if they were capable of cool and tame homilies, or would hear men of other opinions give a quiet account, without invincible resolutions never to alter their persuasions, I am very much persuaded it would not be very hard to dispute such men into mercies, and compliances, and tolerations mutual, such, I say, who are zealous for Jesus Christ, than whose doctrine never was any thing more merciful and humane, whose lessons were softer than nard or the juice of the Candian olive. Upon the first apprehension, I designed a discourse to this purpose, with as much greediness as if I had thought it possible, with my arguments, to have persuaded the rough and hard-handed soldiers to have disbanded presently: for I had often thought of the prophecy that in the gospel "our swords should be turned into plow-shares, and our spears into pruning-hooks:" I knew that no tittle spoken by God's Spirit could return unperformed and ineffectual; and I was certain that such was the excellency of Christ's doctrine, that if men could obey it, christians should never war one against another: in the mean time, I considered not that it was "prædictio consilii, non eventûs," till I saw what men were now doing, and ever had done, since the heats and primitive fervours did cool, and the love of interests swelled higher than the love of christianity: but then, on the other side, I began to fear, that whatever I could say would be as ineffectual as it could be reasonable. For if those excellent words which our blessed Master spake, could not charm the tumult of our spirits, I had little reason to hope that one of the meanest and most ignorant of his servants could advance the end of that which he calls his great, and his old, and his new commandment, so well as the excellency of his own Spirit and discourses could. And yet since he who knew every event of things, and the success and efficacy of every doctrine, and that very much of it to most men, and all of it to some men, would be ineffectual, yet was pleased to consign our duty, that it might be a direction to them that would, and a conviction and a testimony against them that would not obey: I thought it might not misbecome my duty and endeavours to plead for peace and charity, and forgiveness and permissions mutual; although I had reason to believe, that such is the iniquity of men, and they so indisposed to receive such impresses, that I had as good plough the sands, or till the air, as persuade such doctrines, which destroy men's interests, and serve no end but the great end of a happy eternity, and what is in order to it. But because the events of things are in God's disposition, and I knew them not,—and because if I had known, my good purposes would be totally ineffectual as to others, yet my own designation and purposes would be of advantage to myself, who might, from God's mercy, expect the retribution which he is pleased to promise to all pious intendments: I resolved to encounter with all objections, and to do something to which I should be determined by the consideration of the present distemperatures and necessities, by my own thoughts, by the questions and scruples, the sects and names, the interests and animosities, which at this day, and for some years past, have exercised and disquieted christendom.

Thus far I discoursed myself into employment, and having come thus far, I knew not how to get further; for I had heard of a great experience, how difficult it was to make brick without straw: and here I had even seen my design blasted in the bud, and I despaired, in the calends, of doing what I purposed in the ides before. For I had no books of my own here, nor any in the voisinage: and but that I remembered the result of some of those excellent discourses I had heard your Lordship make, when I was so happy as, in private, to gather up what your temperance and modesty forbids to be public, I had come "in prælia inermis," and, like enough, might have fared accordingly. I had this only advantage besides, that I have chosen a subject, in which, if my own reason does not abuse me, I needed no other books or aids than what a man carries with him on horseback, I mean, the common principles of christianity, and those ἀξιώματα, which men use in the transactions of the ordinary occurrences of civil society: and upon the strength of them, and some other collateral assistances, I have run through it "utcunque;" and the sum of the following discourses is nothing but the sense of these words of Scripture, that since "we know in part, and prophesy in part, and that now we see through a glass darkly,"[a] we should not despise or contemn persons not so knowing as ourselves, but "him that is weak in the faith, we should receive, but not to doubtful disputations:"[b] therefore, certainly to charity, and not to vexations, not to those which are the idle effects of impertinent wranglings. And provided they keep close to the foundation, which is faith and obedience, let them build upon this foundation matter more or less precious, yet if the foundation be entire, they shall be saved with or without loss. And since we profess ourselves servants of so meek a Master, and disciples of so charitable an institute, "Let us walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love:"[c] for this is the best endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, when it is fast tied in the bond of peace. And although it be a duty of christianity, "that we all speak the same thing, that there be no divisions among us, but that we be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment:"[d] yet this unity is to be estimated according to the unity of faith, in things necessary, in matters of creed, and articles fundamental: for as for other things, it is more to be wished than to be hoped for. There are some

[a] 1 Cor. xiii. [b] Rom. xiv. [c] Ephes. iv. 2, 3. [d] 1 Cor. i. 10.

"doubtful disputations,"[e] and in such "the scribe, the wise, the disputer of this world," are, mo commonly, very far from certainty, and, many times, from truth. There are diversity of persuasions matters adiaphorous, as meats, and drinks, and holy days, &c. and both parties, the affirmative and t negative, affirm and deny with innocence enough; for the observer, and he that observes not, inte both to God; and God is our common Master, we are all fellow-servants, and not the judge of ea other in matters of conscience or doubtful disputation; and every man that "hath faith, must have it himself before God," but no man must, in such matters, either "judge his brother or set him at nought but "let us follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another And the way to do that is not by knowledge, but by charity; for "knowledge puffeth up, but chari edifieth."[f] And since there is not in "every man the same knowledge, but the consciences of some a weak;"[g] as "my liberty must not be judged of another man's weak conscience,"[h] so must not I plea myself so much in my right opinion, but I must also take order that his "weak conscience be not offend or despised:" for no man must "seek his own, but every man another's wealth."[i] And although "must contend earnestly for the faith," yet "above all things, we must put on charity, which is the bo of perfectness." And, therefore, this contention must be with arms fit for the christian warfare, "t sword of the Spirit, and the shield of faith, and preparation of the gospel of peace, instead of shoes, a a helmet of salvation."[k] But not with other arms; for a churchman must not be πληκτικὸς, "a striker; for "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual," and the persons that use them ought be "gentle, and easy to be entreated; and we must give an account of our faith to them that ask us, wi meekness and humility, for so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignoran of foolish men." These, and thousands more to the same purpose, are the doctrines of christianity, who sense and intendment I have prosecuted in the following discourse, being very much displeased that so ma opinions and new doctrines are commenced among us; but more troubled, that every man that hath opinion, thinks his own and other men's salvation is concerned in its maintenance; but most of all, th men should be persecuted and afflicted for disagreeing in such opinions, which they cannot, with sufficie grounds, obtrude upon others necessarily, because they cannot propound them infallibly, and because th have no warrant from Scripture so to do. For if I shall tie other men to believe my opinion, because think I have a place of Scripture, which seems to warrant it to my understanding, why may not he ser up another dish to me in the same dress, and exact the same task of me to believe the contradictory And then, since all the heretics in the world have offered to prove their articles by the same means which true believers propound theirs, it is necessary that some separation, either of doctrine or of perso be clearly made, and that all pretences may not be admitted, nor any just allegations be rejected; and y that in some other questions, whether they be truly or falsely pretended, if not evidently or demonstr tively, there may be considerations had to the persons of men, and to the laws of charity, more than to t triumphing in any opinion or doctrine not simply necessary. Now, because some doctrines are clear not necessary, and some are absolutely necessary, why may not the first separation be made upon th difference, and articles necessary be only urged as necessary, and the rest left to men indifferently, as th were by the Scripture indeterminately? And it were well if men would as much consider themselves the doctrines, and think that they may as well be deceived by their own weakness, as persuaded by t arguments of a doctrine, which other men, as wise, call inevident. For it is a hard case that we shou think all papists, and anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to be fools and wicked persons: certainly, amo all these sects, there are very many wise men and good men, as well as erring. And although some zea are so hot, and their eyes so inflamed with their ardours, that they do not think their adversaries look li other men; yet certainly we find by the results of their discourses, and the transactions of their affairs civil society, that they are men that speak and make syllogisms, and use reason, and read Scripture: a although they do no more understand all of it than we do, yet they endeavour to understand as much concerns them, even all that they can, even all that concerns repentance from dead works, and faith in o Lord Jesus Christ. And, therefore, methinks this also should be another consideration distinguishing t persons: for, if the persons be christians in their lives, and christians in their profession, if they ackno ledge the eternal Son of God for their Master and their Lord, and live in all relations as becomes perso making such professions, why then should I hate such persons whom God loves, and who love God, w are partakers of Christ, and Christ hath a title to them, who dwell in Christ, and Christ in them, becau their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same masters, they have n met with the same books, nor the same company, or have not the same interest, or are not so wise, else are wiser; that is, for some reason or other, which I neither do understand nor ought to blame,— have not the same opinions that I have, and do not determine their school-questions to the sense of m sect or interest?

But now, I know beforehand, that those men who will endure none but their own sect, will make a manner of attempts against these purposes of charity and compliance, and, say I or do I what I can, wi tell all their proselytes that I preach indifferency of religion; that I say it is no matter how we believ nor what they profess, but that they may comply with all sects, and do violence to their own consciences that they may be saved in all religions, and so make way for a "colluvies" of heresies, and by cons quence destroy all religion. Nay, they will say worse than all this; and, but that I am not used to the

[e] Rom. xiv. [f] 1 Cor. viii. 1. [g] Ver. 7. [h] 1 Cor. x. 29. [i] Ibid. ver. 33. [k] Col. iii. 14.

phrases and forms of declamation, I am persuaded I might represent fine tragedies beforehand. And this will be such an objection, that although I am most confident I shall make it apparent to be as false and scandalous as the objectors themselves are zealous and impatient; yet, besides that I believe the objection will come where my answers will not come, or not be understood, I am also confident, that, in defiance and incuriousness of all that I shall say, some men will persist pertinaciously in the accusation, and deny my conclusion in despite of me. Well, but however, I will try.

And, first, I answer, that whatsoever is against the foundation of faith, or contrary to good life and the laws of obedience, or destructive to human society, and the public and just interests of bodies politic, is out of the limits of my question, and does not pretend to compliance or toleration: so that I allow no indifferency, nor any countenance, to those religions whose principles destroy government, nor to those religions (if there be any such) that teach ill life; nor do I think that any thing will now excuse from belief of a fundamental article, except stupidity or sottishness, and natural inability. This alone is sufficient answer to this vanity; but I have much more to say.

Secondly; the intendment of my discourse is, that permissions should be in questions speculative, indeterminable, curious, and unnecessary; and that men would not make more necessities than God made, which indeed are not many. The fault I find, and seek to remedy, is, that men are so dogmatical and resolute in their opinions, and impatient of others disagreeing, in those things wherein is no sufficient means of union and determination; but that men should let opinions and problems keep their own forms, and not be obtruded as axioms, nor questions in the vast collection of the system of divinity be adopted into the family of faith. And, I think, I have reason to desire this.

Thirdly; it is hard to say that he who would not have men put to death, or punished corporally, for such things for which no human authority is sufficient, either for cognizance or determination, or competent for infliction, that he persuades to an indifferency, when he refers to another judicatory, which is competent, sufficient, infallible, just, and highly severe. No man, or company of men, can judge or punish our thoughts or secret purposes, whilst they so remain. And yet it will be unequal to say, that he who owns this doctrine, preaches it lawful for men to think or purpose what they will. And so it is in matters of doubtful disputation, such as are the distinguishing articles of most of the sects of christendom; so it is in matters intellectual, which are not cognizable by a secular power; in matters spiritual, which are to be discerned by spiritual authority, which cannot make corporal inflictions; and in questions indeterminate, which are doubtfully propounded, or obscurely, and, therefore, may be, "in utramque partem," disputed or believed. For God alone must be Judge of these matters, who alone is Master of our souls, and hath a dominion over human understanding; and he that says this, does not say that indifferency is persuaded, because God alone is Judge of erring persons.

Fourthly; no part of this discourse teaches or encourages variety of sects, and contradiction in opinions, but supposes them already in being: and, therefore, since there are, and ever were, and ever will be, variety of opinions, because there is variety of human understandings, and uncertainty in things, no man should be too forward in determining all questions, nor so forward in prescribing to others, nor invade that liberty which God hath left to us entire, by propounding many things obscurely, and by exempting our souls and understandings from all power externally compulsory. So that the restraint is laid upon men's tyranny, but no license given to men's opinions; they are not considered in any of the conclusions, but in the premises only, as an argument to exhort to charity. So that if I persuade a license of discrediting any thing which God hath commanded us to believe, and allow a liberty where God hath not allowed it, let it be shown, and let the objection press as hard as it can: but to say that men are too forward in condemning, where God hath declared no sentence, nor prescribed any rule, is to dissuade from tyranny, not to encourage licentiousness; is to take away a license of judging, not to give a license of dogmatizing what every one please, or as may best serve his turn. And for the other part of the objection:

Fifthly; this discourse is so far from giving leave to men to profess any thing, though they believe the contrary, that it takes order that no man shall be put to it: for I earnestly contend that another man's opinion shall be no rule to mine, and that my opinion shall be no snare and prejudice to myself; that men use one another so charitably and so gently, that no error or violence tempt men to hypocrisy: this very thing being one of the arguments I use to persuade permissions, lest compulsion introduce hypocrisy, and make sincerity troublesome and unsafe.

Sixthly; if men would not call all opinions by the name of religion, and superstructures by the name of fundamental articles, and all fancies by the glorious appellative of faith, this objection would have no pretence or footing: so that it is the disease of the men, not any cause that is ministered by such precepts of charity, that makes them perpetually clamorous. And it would be hard to say that such physicians are incurious of their patients, and neglectful of their health, who speak against the unreasonableness of such empirics, that would cut off a man's head, if they see but a wart upon his cheek, or a dimple upon his chin, or any lines in his face to distinguish him from another man: the case is altogether the same, and we may as well decree a wart to be mortal, as a various opinion, "in re alioqui non necessariâ," to be capitable and damnable.

For I consider that there are but few doctrines of christianity that were ordered to be preached to all the world, to every single person, and made a necessary article of his explicit belief. Other doctrines, which are all of them not simply necessary, are either such as are not clearly revealed, or such

as are. If they be clearly revealed, and that I know so too, or may, but for my own fault,—I am not to be excused: but for this I am to be left to God's judgment, unless my fault be externally such as to be cognizable and punishable in human judicatory. But then if it be not so revealed, but that wise men and good men differ in their opinions, it is a clear case it is not "inter dogmata necessaria simpliciter;" and then it is certain I may, therefore, safely disbelieve it, because I may be safely ignorant of it. For if I may, with innocence, be ignorant, then to know it, or believe it, is not simply obligatory; ignorance is absolutely inconsistent with such an obligation, because it is destructive and a plain negative to its performance; and if I do my honest endeavour to understand it, and yet do not attain it, it is certain that it is not obligatory to me so much as by accident; for no obligation can press the person of a man, if it be impossible; no man is bound to do more than his best, no man is bound to have an excellent understanding, or to be infallible, or to be wiser than he can; for these are things that are not in his choice and therefore not a matter of a law, nor subject to reward and punishment. So that where ignorance of the article is not a sin, there, disbelieving it in the right sense, or believing it in the wrong, is not a breach of any duty essentially or accidentally necessary, either in the thing itself, or to the person; that is, he is neither bound to the article, nor to any endeavours or antecedent acts of volition and choice; and that man who may safely be ignorant of the proposition, is not tied at all to search it out; and if not at all to search it, then certainly not to find it. All the obligation we are capable of is, not to be malicious or voluntarily criminal in any kind: and, then, if by accident we find out a truth, we are obliged to believe it; and so will every wise or good man do; indeed he cannot do otherwise. But if he disbelieves an article, without malice or design, or involuntarily or unknowingly, it is a contradiction to say it is a sin to him, who might totally have been ignorant of it; for, that he believes it in the wrong sense, it is his ignorance; and it is impossible that where he hath heartily endeavoured to find out a truth, that his endeavour should make him guilty of a sin, which would never have been laid to his charge, if he had taken no pains at all. His ignorance, in this case, is not a fault at all; possibly it might, if there had been no endeavour to have cured it.

So that there is wholly a mistake in this proposition. For true it is, there are some propositions, which if a man never hear of, they will not be required by him; and they who cannot read, might safely be ignorant that Melchisedec was king of Salem; but he who reads it in the Scripture, may not safely contradict it, although before that knowledge did arrive to him, he might safely have been ignorant of it. But this, although it be true, is not pertinent to our question; for, "in sensu diviso," this is true, that which, at one time, a man may be ignorant of, at some other time he may not disbelieve; but, "in sensu conjuncto," it is false; for, at what, and in what circumstance soever, it is no sin to be ignorant,—at that time, and in that conjuncture, it is no sin to disbelieve. And such is the nature of all questions disputable, which are, therefore, not required of us to be believed, in any one particular sense, because the nature of the thing is such as not to be necessary to be known at all, simply and absolutely; and such is the ambiguity and cloud of its face and representment, as not to be necessary, so much as by accident, and, therefore, not to the particular sense of any one person.

And yet, such is the iniquity of men, that they suck in opinions as wild asses do the wind, without distinguishing the wholesome from the corrupted air, and then live upon it at a venture; and when all their confidence is built upon zeal and mistake, yet, therefore, because they are zealous and mistaken, they are impatient of contradiction.

But, besides that against this I have laid prejudice enough, from the dictates of Holy Scripture, it is observable that this, with its appendant degrees, I mean restraint of prophesying, imposing upon other men's understanding, being masters of their consciences, and lording it over their faith, came in with the retinue and train of antichrist; that is, they came as other abuses and corruptions of the church did, by reason of the iniquity of times, and the cooling of the first heats of christianity, and the increase of interest, and the abatements of christian simplicity when the church's fortune grew better, and her sons grew worse, and some of her fathers worst of all. For, in the first three hundred years, there was no sign of persecuting any man for his opinion, though, at that time, there were very horrid opinions commenced, and such which were exemplary and parallel enough to determine this question; for they then were assaulted by new sects, which destroyed the common principles of nature, of christianity, of innocence, and public society; and they who used all the means, christian and spiritual, for their disimprovement and conviction, thought not of using corporal force, otherwise than by blaming such proceedings. And, therefore, I do not only urge their not doing it, as an argument of the unlawfulness of such proceeding, but their defying it, and speaking against such practices, as unreasonable, and destructive of christianity. For so Tertullian[1] is express: "Humani juris et naturalis potestatis, unicuique quod putaverit, colere; sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ suscipi debet sponte, non vi." The same is the doctrine of St. Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Hilary, Minutius Felix, Sulpitius Severus, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin, Damascen, Theophylact, Socrates Scholasticus, and St. Bernard, as they are severally referred to and urged, upon occasion, in the following discourse.

To which I add, that all wise princes, till they were overborne with faction, or solicited by peevish persons, gave toleration to differing sects, whose opinions did not disturb the public interest. But, at first, there were some heretical persons that were also impatient of an adversary, and they were

[1] Ad Scapul.

the men, who at first entreated the emperors to persecute the catholics: but till four hundred years after Christ, no catholic persons, or very few, did provoke the secular arm, or implore its aid against the heretics, save only that Arius behaved himself so seditiously and tumultuarily, that the Nicene fathers procured a temporary decree for his relegation; but it was soon taken off, and God left to be his judge; who indeed did it to some purpose, when he was trusted with it, and the matter wholly left to him.

But as the ages grew worse, so men grew more cruel and unchristian: and in the Greek church, Atticus, and Nestorius of Constantinople, Theodosius of Synada, and some few others, who had forgotten the mercies of their great Master, and their own duty, grew implacable, and furious, and impatient of contradiction. It was a bold and an arrogant speech, which Nestorius made in a sermon before Theodosius the younger, "Da mihi, O imperator, terram ab hæreticis repurgatam, et ego tibi vicissim cœlum dabo: Disperde mecum hæreticos, et ego tecum disperdam Persas."—It was as groundless and unwarrantable, as it was bloody and inhuman.

And we see the contrary events prove truer than this groundless and unlearned promise: for Theodosius and Valentinian were prosperous princes, and have, to all ages, a precious memory, and the reputation of a great piety; but they were so far from doing what Nestorius had suggested, that they restrained him from his violence and immanity; and Theodosius did highly commend the good bishop Proclus, for his sweetness of deportment towards erring persons, far above the cruelty of his predecessor Atticus. And the experience which christendom hath had in this last age, is argument enough that toleration of different opinions is so far from disturbing the public peace, or destroying the interest of princes and commonwealths, that it does advantage to the public, it secures peace, because there is not so much as the pretence of religion left to such persons to contend for it, being already indulged to them. When France fought against the Huguenots, the spilling of her own blood was argument enough of the imprudence of that way of promoting religion; but since she hath given permission to them, the world is witness how prosperous she hath been ever since. But the great instance is in the differing temper, government, and success, which Margaret of Parma and the Duke of Alva had. The clemency of the first had almost extinguished the flame: but when she was removed, D'Alva succeeded, and managed the matter of religion with fire and sword: he made the flame so great, that his religion and his prince too have both been almost quite turned out of the country. "Pelli è medio sapientiam, quoties vi res agitur," said Ennius: and therefore the best of men, and the most glorious of princes, were always ready to give toleration, but never to make executions for matters disputable. Eusebius, in his second book of the life of Constantine, reports these words of the emperor, "Parem cum fidelibus, ii qui errant, pacis et quietis fruitionem gaudentes accipiant: ipsa siquidem communicationis et societatis restitutio ad rectam etiam veritatis viam perducere potest. Nemo cuiquam molestus sit; quisque quod animo destinat, hoc etiam faciat."

And indeed there is great reason for princes to give toleration to disagreeing persons, whose opinions, by fair means, cannot be altered. For if the persons be confident, they will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be publicly prohibited, they will privately convene: and then all these inconveniences, and mischiefs, which are arguments against the permission of conventicles, are arguments for the public permissions of differing religions, because the denying of the public worship will certainly produce private conventicles, against which all wise princes and commonwealths have, upon great reasons, made edicts and severe sanctions. "Quicquid enim agitur, absente rege, in caput ejus plerumque redundat," say the politics. For the face of a king is as the face of a lion, and scatters all base machinations, which breathe not but in the dark. It is a proverbial saying, "Quòd nimia familiaritas servorum est conspiratio adversùs Dominum:" and they who, for their security, run into grots, and cellars, and retirements, think that, they being upon the defensive, those princes and those laws that drive them to it, are their enemies, and, therefore, they cannot be secure, unless the power of the one, and the obligation of the other, be lessened and rescinded: and then, the being restrained, and made miserable, endears the disconcerted persons mutually, and makes more hearty and dangerous confederations. King James, of blessed memory, in his letters to the States of the United Provinces, dated 6th March, 1613, thus wrote,—"Magis autem è re fore, si sopiantur auctoritate publicâ ità ut prohibeatis ministros vestros, nè eas disputationes in suggestum aut ad plebem ferant: ac districtè imperetis ut pacem colant, se invicem tolerando in ista opinionum ac sententiarum discrepantia.—Eòque justiùs videmur vobis hoc ipsum suadere debere, quòd neutram comperimus adeò deviam, ut non possint, et cum fidei Christianæ veritate, et cum animarum salute, consistere," &c. The like counsel, in the divisions of Germany, at the first reformation, was thought reasonable by the emperor Ferdinand, and his excellent son Maximilian. For they had observed, that violence did exasperate, was unblessed, unsuccessful, and unreasonable: and, therefore, they made decrees of toleration, and appointed tempers and expedients to be drawn up by discreet persons: and George Cassander was designed to this great work, and did something towards it. And Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, repenting of his war, undertaken for religion, against the Pedemontans, promised them toleration, and was as good as his word. As much is done by the nobility of Polonia. So that the best princes and the best bishops gave toleration and impunities: but it is known, that the first persecutions of disagreeing persons were, by the Arians, by the Circumcellians and Donatists: and from them they of the church took examples, who, in small numbers, did sometimes persuade it, sometimes practise it. And among the Greeks, it became a public and authorized practice, till the question of

images grew hot and high: for then the worshippers of images, having taken their example from the empress Irene, who put her son's eyes out for making an edict against images, began to be as cruel as they were deceived; especially being encouraged by the popes of Rome, who then blew the coals to some purpose.

And that I may, upon this occasion, give account of this affair in the church of Rome, it is remarkable, that, till the time of Justinian the emperor, A. D. 525, the Catholics and Novatians had churches, indifferently permitted, even in Rome itself; but the bishops of Rome, whose interest was much concerned in it, spoke much against it, and laboured the eradication of the Novatians, and at last, when they got power into their hands, they served them accordingly: but it is observed by Socrates, that when the first persecution was made against them at Rome, by Pope Innocent I., at the same instant the Goths invaded Italy, and became lords of all; it being just in God to bring a persecution upon them for true belief, who, with an incompetent authority and insufficient grounds, do persecute an error less material in persons agreeing with them, in the profession of the same common faith. And I have heard it observed, as a blessing upon St. Austin, (who was so merciful to erring persons, as, the greatest part of his life, in all senses, even when he had twice changed his mind, yet to tolerate them, and never to endure they should be given over to the secular power to be killed,) that the very night the Vandals set down before his city of Hippo, to besiege it, he died and went to God, being, as a reward of his merciful doctrine, taken from the miseries to come. And yet that very thing was also a particular issue of the Divine Providence upon that city, who, not long before, had altered their profession into truth by force, and now were falling into their power, who afterward, by a greater force, turned them to be Arians.

But, in the church of Rome, the popes were the first preachers of force and violence, in matters of opinion, and that so zealously, that Pope Vigilius suffered himself to be imprisoned and handled roughly by the emperor Justinian, rather than he would consent to the restitution and peace of certain disagreeing persons. But as yet it came not so far as death. The first that preached that doctrine was Dominic, the founder of the begging orders of friars, the friar-preachers; in memory of which the inquisition is intrusted only to the friars of his order. And if there be any force in dreams, or truth in legends, (as there is not much in either,) this very thing might be signified by his mother's dream, who, the night before Dominic was born, dreamed she was brought to bed of a huge dog, with a fire-brand in his mouth. Sure enough, however his disciples expound the dream, it was a better sign that he should prove a rabid, furious incendiary than any thing else: whatever he might be in the other parts of his life, in his doctrine he was not much better, as appears in his deportment toward the Albigenses, against whom he so preached, "adeo quidem ut centum hæreticorum millia ab octo millibus catholicorum fusa et interfecta fuisse perhibeantur," saith one of him; and of those who were taken, one hundred and eighty were burnt to death, because they would not abjure their doctrine.[m] This was the first example of putting erring persons to death that I find in the Roman church. For about one hundred and seventy years before, Berengarius fell into opinion, concerning the blessed sacrament, which they called heresy, and recanted, and relapsed, and recanted again, and fell again two or three times, saith Gerson, writing against, "Romant of the Rose," and yet he died "siccâ morte," "his own natural death," and with hope of heaven, and yet Hildebrand was once his judge: which shows that, at that time, Rome was not come to so great heights of bloodshed. In England, although the pope had as great power here as any where, yet there were no executions for matter of opinion known till the time of Henry IV., who, because he usurped the crown, was willing by all means to endear the clergy by destroying their enemies, that so he might be sure of them, to all his purposes. And indeed, it may become them well enough, who are wiser in their generations than the children of light,—it may possibly serve the policies of evil persons, but never the pure and chaste designs of christianity, which admits no blood but Christ's, and the imitating blood of martyrs, but knows nothing how to serve her ends by persecuting any of her erring children.

By this time, I hope it will not be thought reasonable to say, he that teaches mercy to erring persons teaches indifferency in religion; unless so many fathers, and so many churches, and the best of emperors, and all the world (till they were abused by tyranny, popery, and faction) did teach indifferency. For I have shown that christianity does not punish corporally persons erring spiritually, but indeed popery does; the Donatists, and Circumcellians and Arians, and the Itaciani, they of old did: in the middle ages the patrons of images did, and the papists at this day do, and have done, ever since they were taught it by their St. Dominic.

Seventhly; and yet after all this, I have something more to exempt myself from the clamour of this objection. For let all errors be as much and as zealously suppressed as may be (the doctrine of the following discourse contradicts not that); but let it be done by such means as are proper instruments of their suppression, by preaching and disputation, (so that neither of them breed disturbance,) by charity and sweetness, by holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, by the word of God and prayer.

For these ways are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable, and effectual. Only let not men be hasty in calling every disliked opinion by the name of heresy; and when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a brother, not beat him like a dog, or convince him with a gibbet, or vex him out of his understanding and persuasions.

And now if men will still say, "I persuade to indifferency," there is no help for me, for I have given

[m] Bruno Bereginos è sua diœcesi expulit, non morti aut suppliciis corporalibus tradidit.

reasons against it; I must bear it as well as I can; I am not yet without remedy, as they are; for patience will help me, and reason will not cure them: let them take their course, and I will take mine.

Only I will take leave to consider this, and they would do well to do so too, that unless faith be kept within its own latitude, and not called out to patrocinate every less necessary opinion, and the interest of every sect or peevish person; and if damnation be pronounced against Christians believing the creed, and living good lives, because they are deceived, or are said to be deceived, in some opinions less necessary; there is no way in the world to satisfy unlearned persons, in the choice of their religion, or to appease the unquietness of a scrupulous conscience. For suppose an honest citizen, whose employment and parts will not enable him to judge the disputes and arguings of great clerks, sees factions commenced and managed with much bitterness, by persons, who might, on either hand, be fit enough to guide him; when if he follows either, he is disquieted, and pronounced damned by the other, (who also, if he be the most unreasonable in his opinion, will perhaps be more furious in his sentence) what shall this man do? where shall he rest the sole of his foot? Upon the doctrine of the church where he lives? Well, but that he hears declaimed against perpetually, and other churches claim highly and pretend fairly for truth, and condemn his church. If I tell him that he must live a good life, and believe the creed, and not trouble himself with their disputes, or interest himself in sects and factions, I speak reason; because no law of God ties him to believe more than what is of essential necessity, and whatsoever he shall come to know to be revealed by God: now if he believes his creed, he believes all that is necessary to all, or of itself; and if he does his moral endeavour beside, he can do no more toward finding out all the rest, and then he is secured. But then, if this will secure him, why do men press further, and pretend every opinion as necessary, and that in so high a degree, that if they all said true, or any two indeed of them, in five hundred sects which are in the world, (and for aught I know there may be five thousand,) it is five hundred to one but that every man is damned; for every sect damns all but itself, and that is damned of four hundred and ninety-nine, and it is excellent fortune then if that escape. And there is the same reason in every one of them, that is, it is extreme unreasonableness, in all of them, to pronounce damnation against such persons, against whom clearly and dogmatically Holy Scripture hath not. "In odiosis, quod minimum est sequimur: in favoribus, quod est maximum," saith the law; and therefore we should say any thing, or make any excuse, that is in any degree reasonable, rather than condemn all the world to hell: especially if we consider these two things,—that we ourselves are as apt to be deceived as any are; and that they who are deceived when they used their moral industry, that they might not be deceived, if they perish for this, they perish for what they could not help.

But, however, if the best security in the world be not in neglecting all sects and subdivisions of men, and fixing ourselves on points necessary and plain, and on honest and pious endeavours according to our several capacities and opportunities for all the rest,—if, I say, all this be not, through the mercies of God, the best security to all unlearned persons, and learned too, where shall we fix? where shall we either have peace or security? If you bid me follow your doctrine, you must tell me why; and perhaps when you have, I am not able to judge; or if I be as able as other people are, yet, when I have judged, I may be deceived too, and so may you, or any man else you bid me follow; so that I am not a whit the nearer truth or peace.

And then, if we look abroad, and consider how there is scarce any church but is highly charged by many adversaries in many things, possibly we may see a reason to charge every one of them, in some things; and what shall we do then? The church of Rome hath spots enough, and all the world is inquisitive enough to find out more, and to represent these to her greatest disadvantage. The Greek churches deny the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. If that be false doctrine, she is highly to blame; if it be not, then all the western churches are to blame for saying the contrary. And there is no church that is in prosperity, but alters her doctrine every age, either by bringing in new doctrines, or by contradicting her old; which shows that none are satisfied with themselves, or with their own confessions. And since all churches believe themselves fallible, that only excepted, which all other churches say is most of all deceived,—it were strange if, in so many articles, which make up their several bodies of confessions, they had not mistaken, every one of them, in some thing or other. The Lutheran churches maintain consubstantiation, the Zuinglians are sacramentaries, the Calvinists are fierce in the matters of absolute predetermination, and all these reject episcopacy; which the primitive church would have made no doubt to have called heresy. The Socinians profess a portentous number of strange opinions; they deny the Holy Trinity, and the satisfaction of our blessed Saviour. The anabaptists laugh at pædobaptism: the Ethiopian churches are Nestorian. Where then shall we fix our confidence, or join communion? To pitch upon any one of these is to throw the dice, if salvation be to be had only in one of them, and that every error that by chance hath made a sect, and is distinguished by a name, be damnable.

If this consideration does not deceive me, we have no other help in the midst of these distractions and disunions, but all of us to be united in that common term, which as it does constitute the church in its being such, so it is the medium of the communion of saints; and that is the creed of the apostles; and, in all other things an honest endeavour to find out what truths we can,[1] and a charitable and mutual per-

[1] Clem. Alex. strom. 1. ait philosophiam liberam esse præstantissimam, quæ scilicet versatur in perspiciendis dogmatis omnium sectarum. Polemo Alexandrinus philosophatus est, ut ait Laertius in proœmio, unde cognominatus est ἐκλεξάμενος, scilicet, τὰ ἀρίσαντα ἐξ ἑκάστης τῶν αἱρέσεων.

mission to others that disagree from us and our opinions. I am sure this may satisfy us, for it will secure us ; but I know not any thing else that will : and no man can be reasonably persuaded or satisfied in any thing else, unless he throws himself upon chance, or absolute predestination, or his own confidence ; in every one of which it is two to one, at least, but he may miscarry.

Thus far I thought I had reason on my side, and I suppose I have made it good, upon its proper grounds, in the pages following. But then, if the result be, that men must be permitted in their opinions, and that christians must not persecute christians, I have also as much reason to reprove all those oblique arts which are not direct persecutions of men's persons, but they are indirect proceedings, ungentle and unchristian, servants of faction and interest, provocations to zeal and animosities, and destructive of learning and ingenuity. And these are, suppressing all the monuments of their adversaries, forcing them to recant, and burning their books.

For it is a strange industry and an importune diligence that was used by our forefathers ; of all those heresies which gave them battle and employment, we have absolutely no record or monument, but what themselves, who are adversaries, have transmitted to us; and we know that adversaries, especially such who observed all opportunities to discredit both the persons and doctrines of the enemy, are not always the best records or witnesses of such transactions. We see it now in this very age, in the present distemperatures, that parties are no good registers of the actions of the adverse side : and if we cannot be confident of the truth of a story now, now I say that it is possible for any man, and likely that the interested adversary will discover the imposture, it is far more unlikely that after-ages should know any other truth, but such as serves the ends of the representers. I am sure such things were never taught us by Christ and his apostles : and if we were sure that ourselves spoke truth, or that truth were able to justify herself, it were better if, to preserve a doctrine, we did not destroy a commandment, and out of zeal, pretending to christian religion, lose the glories and rewards of ingenuity and christian simplicity.

Of the same consideration is mending of authors, not to their own mind, but to ours, that is, to mend them so as to spoil them ; forbidding the publication of books in which there is nothing impious or against the public interest, leaving out clauses in translations, disgracing men's persons, charging disavowed doctrines upon men, and the persons of the men with the consequents of their doctrine, which they deny either to be true or to be consequent; false reporting of disputations and conferences, burning books by the hand of the hangman, and all such arts, which show that we either distrust God for the maintenance of his truth, or that we distrust the cause, or distrust ourselves and our abilities. I will say no more of these, but only concerning the last I shall transcribe a passage out of Tacitus, in the life of Julius Agricola, who gives this account of it : Veniam non petissem, nisi incursaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cùm Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse : neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato Triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet, illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatûs, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret."—It is but an illiterate policy to think that such indirect and uningenuous proceedings can, among wise and free men, disgrace the authors, and disrepute their discourses. And I have seen that the price hath been trebled upon a forbidden, or a condemned book ; and some men in policy have got a prohibition, that their impression might be the more certainly vendible, and the author himself thought considerable.

The best way is to leave tricks and devices, and to fall upon that way which the best ages of the church did use. With the strength of argument, and allegations of Scripture, and modesty of deportment, and meekness and charity to the persons of men, they converted misbelievers, stopped the mouths of adversaries, asserted truth, and discountenanced error ; and those other stratagems and arts of support and maintenance to doctrines, were the issues of heretical brains. The old catholics had nothing to secure themselves but the ἓν μέγα of truth and plain dealing.

Fidem munitis dissecant ambagibus,
  Ut quisque lingua est nequior.
Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula
  Per syllogismos plectiles.
Væ captiosis sycophantarum strophis,
  Væ versipelli astutiæ.
Nodos tenaces recta rumpit regula,
  Infesta discertantibus:
Ideirco mundi stulta deligit Deus,
  Ut concidant sophistica.

And, to my understanding, it is a plain art and design of the devil, to make us so in love with our own opinions, as to call them faith and religion, that we may be proud in our understanding : and besides that, by our zeal in our opinions, we grow cool in our piety and practical duties ; he also by this earnest contention, does directly destroy good life, by engagement of zealots to do any thing rather than be overcome, and lose their beloved propositions. But I would fain know, why is not any vicious habit as bad, or worse than a false opinion? Why are we so zealous against those we call heretics, and yet great friends with drunkards, fornicators, and swearers, and intemperate and idle persons? Is it because we are commanded

by the apostle to "reject a heretic after two admonitions, and not bid such a one God speed?" It is good reason why we should be zealous against such persons, provided we mistake them not. For those of whom these apostles speak, are such as deny Christ to be come in the flesh, such as deny an article of creed; and in such odious things, it is not safe, nor charitable, to extend the gravamen and punishment beyond the instances the apostles make, or their exact parallels. But then also it would be remembered that the apostles speak as fiercely against communion with fornicators, and all disorders practical, as against communion with heretics: "If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one no not to eat." I am certain that a drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the laws of christianity, as a heretic; and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is: but I am not sure that such an opinion is heresy; neither would other men be so sure as they think for, if they did consider it aright, and observe the infinite deceptions, and causes of deceptions, in wise men, and in most things, and in all doubtful questions, and that they did not mistake confidence for certainty.

But, indeed, I could not but smile at those jolly friars; two Franciscans offered themselves to the fire, to prove Savonarola to be a heretic; but a certain Jacobine[o] offered himself to the fire to prove that Savonarola had true revelations, and was no heretic: in the mean time Savonarola preached, but made no such confident offer, nor durst he venture at that new kind of fire-ordeal. And, put case all four had passed through the fire, and died in the flames, what would that have proved? Had he been a heretic or no heretic, the more or less, for the confidence of these zealous idiots? If we mark it, a great many arguments whereon many sects rely, are no better probation than this comes to. Confidence is the first, and the second, and the third part, of a very great many of their propositions.

But now if men would a little turn the tables, and be as zealous for a good life, and all the strictest precepts of christianity, (which is a religion the most holy, the most reasonable, and the most consummate that ever was taught to man,) as they are for such propositions in which neither the life nor the ornament of christianity is concerned, we should find that, as a consequent of this piety, men would be as careful as they could to find out all truths, and the sense of all revelations which may concern their duty; and where men were miserable and could not, yet others that lived good lives too, would also be so charitable, as not to add affliction to this misery: and both of them are parts of good life. To be compassionate, and to help to bear one another's burdens, not to destroy the weak, but to entertain him meekly, that is a precept of charity: and to endeavour to find out the whole will of God, that also is a part of the obedience, the choice and the excellency of faith: and he lives not a good life that does not do both these.

But men think they have more reason to be zealous against heresy, than against a vice in manners; because heresy is infectious and dangerous, and the principle of much evil. Indeed, if by a heresy we mean that which is against an article of creed, and breaks part of the covenant made between God and man, by the mediation of Jesus Christ, I grant it to be a very grievous crime, a calling God's veracity into question, and a destruction also of good life: because, upon the articles of creed, obedience is built, and it lives, or dies, as the effect does, by its proper cause,—for faith is the moral cause of obedience. But then heresy, that is such as this, is also a vice, and the person criminal, and so the sin is to be esteemed in its degrees of malignity; and let men be as zealous against it as they can, and employ the whole arsenal of the spiritual armour against it: such as this is worse than adultery or murder, inasmuch as the soul is more noble than the body, and a false doctrine is of greater dissemination and extent than a single act of violence or impurity. Adultery or murder is a duel: but heresy (truly and indeed such) is an unlawful war,—it slays thousands. The losing of faith is like digging down a foundation; all the superstructures of hope, and patience, and charity, fall with it. And besides this, heresy of all crimes is the most inexcusable, and of least temptation: for true faith is most commonly kept with the least trouble of any grace in the world: and heresy of itself hath not only no pleasure in it, but is a very punishment; because faith, as it opposes heretical or false opinions, and distinguishes from charity, consists in mere acts of believing: which, because they are of true propositions, are natural and proportionable to the understanding, and more honourable than false. But then, concerning those things which men now-a-days call heresy, they cannot be so formidable as they are represented; and if we consider that drunkenness is certainly a damnable sin, and that there are more drunkards than heretics, and that drunkenness is parent of a thousand vices, it may better be said of this vice than of most of those opinions which we call heresies, "it is infectious and dangerous, and the principle of much evil:" and, therefore, as fit an object for a pious zeal to contest against, as is any of those opinions which trouble men's ease or reputation, for that is the greatest of their malignity.

But if we consider that sects are made, and opinions are called heresies upon interest, and the grounds of emolument, we shall see that a good life would cure much of this mischief. For first, the church of Rome, which is the great dictatrix of dogmatical resolutions, and the declarer of heresy, and calls heretic more than all the world besides, hath made that the rule of heresy, which is the conservatory of interest, and the ends of men. For, to recede from the doctrine of the church, with them, makes heresy; that is, to dispute their authority, and not to obey them, not to be their subjects, not to give them the empire of our conscience, is the great *κριτήριον* of heresy.

[o] Commin. l. viii. c. 19.

So that, with them, heresy is to be esteemed clearly by human ends, not by Divine rules; that is formal heresy, which does materially disserve them. And it would make a suspicious man a little inquisitive into their particular doctrines: and when he finds that indulgences, and jubilees, and purgatories, and masses, and offices for the dead, are very profitable,—that the doctrine of primacy, of infallibility, of superiority over councils, of indirect power in temporals, are great instruments of secular honour; he would be apt enough to think that if the church of Rome would learn to lay her honour at the feet of the crucifix, and despise the world, and prefer Jerusalem before Rome, and heaven above the Lateran, that these opinions would not have in them any native strength to support them against the perpetual assaults of their adversaries, that speak so much reason and Scripture against them, I have instanced in the Roman religion, but I wish it may be considered also, how far men's doctrines, in other sects, serve men's temporal ends; so far that it would not be unreasonable or unnecessary to attempt to cure some of their distemperatures or mispersuasions, by the salutary precepts of sanctity and holy life. Sure enough, if it did not more concern their reputation, and their lasting interest, to be counted true believers rather than good livers, they would rather endeavour to live well, than to be accounted of a right opinion in things beside the creed.

For my own particular, I cannot but expect that God, in his justice, should enlarge the bounds of the Turkish empire, or some other way punish christians, by reason of their pertinacious disputing about things unnecessary, undeterminable, and unprofitable, and for their hating and persecuting their brethren, which should be as dear to them as their own lives, for not consenting to one another's follies and senseless vanities. How many volumes have been written about angels, about immaculate conception, about original sin, when that all that is solid reason or clear revelation, in all these three articles, may be reasonably enough comprised in forty lines? And in these trifles and impertinencies men are curiously busy, while they neglect those glorious precepts of christianity and holy life, which are the glories of our religion, and would enable us to a happy eternity.

My Lord, thus far my thoughts have carried me, and then I thought I had reason to go further, and to examine the proper grounds upon which these persuasions might rely and stand firm, in case any body should contest against them. For, possibly, men may be angry at me, and my design: for I do all them great displeasure, who think no end is then well served, when their interest is disserved; and but that I have written so untowardly and heavily, that I am not worth a confutation, possibly some or other might be writing against me. But then I must tell them, I am prepared of an answer beforehand: for I think I have spoken reason in my book, and examined it with all the severity I have; and if after all this I be deceived, this confirms me in my first opinion, and becomes a new argument to me that I have spoken reason; for it furnishes me with a new instance that it is necessary there should be a mutual compliance and toleration, because even then when a man thinks he hath most reason to be confident, he may easily be deceived.

For I am sure I have no other design but the prosecution and advantage of truth, and I may truly use the words of Gregory Nazianzen, "Non studemus paci in detrimentum veræ doctrinæ,—ut facilitatis et mansuetudinis famam colligamus:" but I have written this, because I thought it was necessary, and seasonable, and charitable, and agreeable to the great precepts and design of christianity, consonant to the practice of the apostles, and of the best ages of the church, most agreeable to Scripture and reason, to revelation and the nature of the thing; and it is such a doctrine, that, if there be variety in human affairs, if the event of things be not settled in a durable consistence, but is changeable, every one of us all may have need of it. I shall only, therefore, desire that they who will read it, may come to the reading it with us much simplicity of purposes and unmixed desires of truth, as I did to the writing it; and that no man trouble himself with me or my discourse, that thinks beforehand that his opinion cannot be reasonably altered. If he thinks me to be mistaken before he tries, let him also think that he may be mistaken too,—and that he who judges before he hears, is mistaken, though he gives a right sentence.

Οὐ δεῖ σχετλιάζειν καὶ βοᾶν, πρὶν ἂν μάθῃς, ARISTOPH. in Pluto.

was good counsel. But at a venture, I shall leave this sentence of Solomon to his consideration, "A wise man feareth, and departeth from evil; but a fool rageth, and is confident."—Πάντα εἰδέναι οἴεσθαι καὶ διϊσχυρίζεσθαι "is a trick of boys, and bold young fellows," says Aristotle; but they who either know themselves, or things, or persons, προστιθέασιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἴσως, καὶ τὸ τάχα. Peradventure yea, peradventure no, is very often the wisest determination of a question. For there are μωραὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι ζητήσεις, as the apostle notes, "foolish and unlearned questions."[r] And it were better to stop the current of such fopperies by silence, than, by disputing them, convey them to posterity. And many things there are of more profit, which yet are of no more certainty; and, therefore, boldness of assertion (except it be in matters of faith and clearest revelation) is an argument of the vanity of the man, never of the truth of the proposition: for, to such matters, the saying of Xenophanes, in Varro, is pertinent and applicable, "Hominis est hæc opinari, Dei scire;" "God only knows them, and we conjecture."

Μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

[r] 2 Tim. ii.

And although I be as desirous to know what I should, and what I should not, as any of my brethren, the sons of Adam; yet I find that the more I search, the further I am from being satisfied, and make but few discoveries, save of my own ignorance; and, therefore, I am desirous to follow the example of a very wise personage, Julius Agricola, of whom Tacitus gave this testimony, "Retinuitque (quod est difficillimum) ex scientiâ modum:" or, that I may take my precedent from within the pale of the church, it was the saying of St. Austin, "Mallem quidem eorum, quæ à me quæsivisti, habere scientiam quam ignorantiam; sed quia id nondum potui, magis eligo cautam ignorantiam confiteri, quam falsam scientiam profiteri." And these words do very much express my sense. But if there be any man so confident as Luther sometime was, who said that he could expound all Scripture; or so vain as Eckius, who, in his Chrysopassus, ventured upon the highest and most mysterious question of predestination, "ut in ea juveniles possit calores exercere;" such persons as these, or any that is furious in his opinion, will scorn me and my discourse; but I shall not be much moved at it, only I shall wish that I had as much knowledge as they think me to want, and they as much as they believe themselves to have. In the mean time, modesty were better for us both, and indeed for all men. For when men indeed are knowing, amongst other things they are able to separate certainties from uncertainties: if they be not knowing, it is pity that their ignorance should be triumphant, or discompose the public peace, or private confidence.

And now, my Lord, that I have inscribed this book to your Lordship, although it be a design of doing honour to myself, that I have marked it with so honoured and beloved a name, might possibly need as much excuse as it does pardon, but that your Lordship knows your own; for out of your mines I have digged the mineral; only I have stamped it with my own image, as you may perceive by the deformities which are in it. But your great name in letters will add so much value to it, as to make it obtain its pardon amongst all them that know how to value you, and all your relatives and dependants, by the proportion of relation. For others I shall be incurious, because the number of them that honour you, is the same with them that honour learning and piety, and they are the best theatre, and the best judges; amongst which the world must needs take notice of my ambition, to be ascribed by my public pretence to be what I am in all heartiness of devotion, and for all the reason of the world,

My honoured Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

And most affectionate servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΗ,

OR,

A DISCOURSE OF THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING,

WITH

ITS JUST LIMITS AND TEMPER.

The infinite variety of opinions, in matters of religion, as they have troubled christendom with interests, factions, and partialities, so have they caused great divisions of the heart, and variety of thoughts and designs amongst pious and prudent men. For they all, seeing the inconveniences which the disunion of persuasions and opinions have produced, directly or accidentally, have thought themselves obliged to stop this inundation of mischiefs, and have made attempts accordingly. But it hath happened to most of them, as to a mistaken physician, who gives excellent physic, but misapplies it, and so misses of his cure: so have these men; their attempts have, therefore, been ineffectual: for they put their help to a wrong part, or they have endeavoured to cure the symptoms, and have let the disease alone till it seemed incurable. Some have endeavoured to reunite these fractions, by propounding such a guide which they were all bound to follow; hoping that the unity of a guide would have persuaded unity of minds; but who this guide should be, at last, became such a question, that it

was made part of the fire that was to be quenched, so far was it from extinguishing any part of the flame. Others thought of a rule, and this must be the means of union, or nothing could do it. But supposing all the world had been agreed of this rule, yet the interpretation of it was so full of variety, that this also became part of the disease for which the cure was pretended. All men resolved upon this, that, though they yet had not hit upon the right, yet some way must be thought upon to reconcile differences in opinion, thinking so long as this variety should last, Christ's kingdom was not advanced, and the work of the gospel went on but slowly. Few men, in the mean time, considered, that so long as men had such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers, and distempers, hopes, interests, and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it was impossible all should be of one mind. And what is impossible to be done, is not necessary it should be done. And, therefore, although variety of opinions was impossible to be cured (and they who attempted it did like him who claps his shoulder to the ground to stop an earthquake); yet the inconveniences arising from it, might possibly be cured, not by uniting their beliefs, —that was to be despaired of, but by curing that which caused these mischiefs, and accidental inconveniences of their disagreeings. For although these inconveniences which every man sees and feels, were consequent to this diversity of persuasions, yet it was but accidentally and by chance; inasmuch as we see that in many things, and they of great concernment, men allow to themselves and to each other a liberty of disagreeing, and no hurt neither. And, certainly, if diversity of opinions were, of itself, the cause of mischiefs, it would be so ever, that is, regularly and universally: but that we see it is not. For there are disputes in christendom concerning matters of greater concernment than most of those opinions, that distinguish sects and make factions; and yet, because men are permitted to differ in those great matters, such evils are not consequent to such differences, as are to the uncharitable managing of smaller and more inconsiderable questions. It is of greater consequence to believe right, in the question of the validity or invalidity of a death-bed repentance, than to believe aright in the question of purgatory; and the consequences of the doctrine of pre-determination are of deeper and more material consideration, than the products of the belief of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of private masses: and yet these great concernments, where a liberty of prophesying in these questions hath been permitted, have made no distinct communion, no sects of christians, and the others have; and so have these too, in those places where they have peremptorily been determined on either side. Since, then, if men are quiet and charitable in some disagreeings, that then and there the inconvenience ceases: if they were so in all others, where lawfully they might, (and they may in most,) christendom should be no longer rent in pieces, but would be redintegrated in a new pentecost. And although the Spirit of God did rest upon us in divided tongues, yet, so long as those tongues were of fire, not to kindle strife, but to warm our affections and inflame our charities, we should find that this variety of opinions, in several persons, would be looked upon as an argument only of diversity of operations, while the Spirit is the same: and that another man believes not so well as I, is only an argument that I have a better and a clearer illumination than he, that I have a better gift than he, received a special grace and favour, and excel him in this, and am, perhaps, excelled by him in many more. And if we all impartially endeavour to find a truth, since this endeavour and search only is in our power, that we shall find it being "ab extra," a gift and an assistance extrinsical, I can see no reason why this pious endeavour to find out truth shall not be of more force to unite us in the bonds of charity, than the misery in missing it shall be to disunite us. So that since a union of persuasion is impossible to be attained, if we would attempt the cure by such remedies as are apt to enkindle and increase charity, I am confident we might see a blessed peace would be the reward and crown of such endeavours.

But men are, now-a-days, and, indeed, always have been, since the expiration of the first blessed ages of christianity, so in love with their own fancies and opinions, as to think faith and all christendom is concerned in their support and maintenance; and whoever is not so fond, and does not dandle them like themselves, it grows up to a quarrel which, because it is in "materiâ theologiæ," is made a quarrel in religion, and God is entitled to it; and then if you are once thought an enemy to God, it is our duty to "persecute you even to death"—we do God good service in it: when, if we should examine the matter rightly, the question is either in "materiâ non revelatâ," or "minus evidenti," or "non necessariâ," either it is not revealed, or not so clearly, but that wise and honest men may be of different minds; or else it is not of the foundation of faith, but a remote superstructure; or else of mere speculation; or perhaps, when all comes to all, it is a false opinion, or a matter of human interest, that we have so zealously contended for; for to one of these heads most of the disputes of christendom may be reduced; so that I believe the present fractions, or the most, are from the same cause which St. Paul observed in the Corinthian schism: "When there are divisions among you, are ye not carnal?" It is not the differing opinions that is the cause of the present ruptures, but want of charity; it is not the variety of understandings, but the disunion of wills and affections; it is not the several principles, but the several ends, that cause our miseries; our opinions commence, and are upheld, according as our turns are served, and our interests are preserved, and there is no cure for us but piety and charity. A holy life will make our belief holy, if we consult not humanity, and its imperfections, in the choice of our religion, but search for truth without designs, save only of acquiring heaven, and then be as careful to preserve charity, as we were to get a point of faith; I am as much persuaded we shall find out more truths by this means; or however, which is

the main of all, we shall be secured though we miss them; and then we are well enough.

For if it be evinced, that one heaven shall hold men of several opinions, if the unity of faith be not destroyed by that which men call differing religions, and if a unity of charity be the duty of us all, even towards persons that are not persuaded of every proposition we believe, then I would fain know to what purpose are all those stirs and great noises in christendom; those names of faction, the several names of churches not distinguished by the division of kingdoms, "ut ecclesia sequatur imperium," which was the primitive rule and canon,[z] but distinguished by names of sects and men; these are all become instruments of hatred; thence come schisms and parting of communions, and then persecutions, and then wars and rebellion, and then the dissolutions of all friendships and societies. All these mischiefs proceed not from this, that all men are not of one mind, for that is neither necessary nor possible,—but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is a ground of a quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatsoever is for God cannot be too much; we, by this time, are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother, and we have not the virtue of religion, unless we persecute all religions but our own; for lukewarmness is so odious to God and man, that we, proceeding furiously upon these mistakes, by supposing we preserve the body, we destroy the soul of religion, or, by being zealous for faith, or, which is all one, that which we mistake for faith, we are cold in charity, and so lose the reward of both.

All these errors and mischiefs must be discovered and cured, and that is the purpose of this discourse.

SECTION I.

Of the Nature of Faith, and that its Duty is completed in believing the Articles of the Apostles' Creed.

1. FIRST, then, it is of great concernment to know the nature and integrity of faith, for there begins our first and great mistake; for faith, although it be of great excellency, yet, when it is taken for a habit intellectual, it hath so little room, and so narrow a capacity, that it cannot lodge thousands of those opinions which pretend to be of her family.

2. For although it be necessary for us to believe whatsoever we know to be revealed of God, and so every man does, that believes there is a God; yet it is not necessary, concerning many things, to know that God hath revealed them; that is, we may not be ignorant of or doubt concerning the propositions, and indifferently maintain either part, when the question is not concerning God's veracity, but whether God hath said so or no: that which is of the foundation of faith, that only is necessary; and the knowing or not knowing of that, the believing or disbelieving it, is that only which, in "genere credendorum," is in immediate and necessary order to salvation or damnation.

3. Now, all the reason and demonstration of the world convinces us, that this foundation of faith, or the great adequate object of the faith that saves us, is that great mysteriousness of christianity which Christ taught with so much diligence,—for the credibility of which he wrought so many miracles,—for the testimony of which the apostles endured persecutions,—that which was a folly to the gentiles, and a scandal to the Jews; this is that which is the object of a christian's faith: all other things are implicitly in the belief of the articles of God's veracity, and are not necessary, in respect of the constitution of faith, to be drawn out, but may there lie in the bowels of the great articles, without danger to any thing or any person, unless some other accident or circumstance makes them necessary. Now, the great object which I speak of, is "Jesus Christ crucified;" "Constitui enim apud vos nihil scire præter Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum;" so said St. Paul to the church of Corinth. This is the article, upon the confession of which Christ built his church, viz. only upon St. Peter's creed, which was no more but this simple enunciation, "We believe, and are sure, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God:"[a] and to this, salvation particularly is promised, as in the case of Martha's creed.[b] To this the Scripture gives the greatest testimony, and to all them that confess it; "For every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and whoever confesseth that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God."[c] The believing this article is the end of writing the four Gospels: "For all these things are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God;" and then that this is sufficient follows, and that "believing, viz. this article, for this was only instanced in, "ye might have life through his name."[d] This is that great article which, in "genere credendorum," is sufficient disposition to prepare a catechumen to baptism, as appears in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch, whose creed was only this, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" and upon this confession, saith the story, they both went into the water, and the Ethiop was washed, and became as white as snow.

4. In these particular instances there is no variety of articles, save only that in the annexes of the several expressions, such things are expressed, as besides that Christ is come, they tell from whence, and to what purpose; and whatsoever is expressed, or is, to these purposes, implied, is made articulate and explicate in the short and admirable mysterious creed of St. Paul: "This is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe, in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."[e] This is the great and entire complexion of a christian's faith, and since salvation is promised

[z] Optat. lib. iii. [a] John vi. 69. [b] John xi. 27. [c] 1 John iv. 2, 15. [d] John xx. 31. [e] Rom. x. 1.

to the belief of this creed, either a snare is laid for us, with a purpose to deceive us, or else nothing is of prime and original necessity to be believed, but this, "Jesus Christ, our Redeemer;" and all that which is the necessary parts, means, or main actions, of working this redemption for us, and the honour for him, is in the bowels and fold of the great article, and claims an explicit belief, by the same reason that binds us to the belief of its first complexion, without which neither the thing could be acted, nor the proposition understood.

5. For the act of believing propositions is not for itself, but in order to certain ends; as sermons are to good life and obedience; for (excepting that it acknowledges God's veracity, and so is a direct act of religion) believing a revealed proposition hath no excellency in itself, but in order to that end for which we are instructed in such revelations. Now God's great purpose being to bring us to him by Jesus Christ, Christ is our medium to God,—obedience is the medium to Christ,—and faith the medium to obedience, and, therefore, is to have its estimate in proportion to its proper end; and those things are necessary which necessarily promote the end, without which obedience cannot be encouraged, or prudently enjoined: so that those articles are necessary, that is, those are fundamental points, upon which we build our obedience; and as the influence of the article is to the persuasion or engagement of obedience, so they have their degrees of necessity. Now all that Christ, when he preached, taught us to believe, and all that the apostles, in their sermons, propound, all aim at this,—that we should acknowledge Christ for our Lawgiver and our Saviour; so that nothing can be necessary, by a prime necessity, to be believed explicitly, but such things which are, therefore, parts of the great article, because they either encourage our services, or oblige them,—such as declare Christ's greatness in himself, or his goodness to us: so that, although we must neither deny, nor doubt of any thing, which we know our great Master hath taught us, yet salvation is, in special and by name, annexed to the belief of those articles only, which have in them the endearments of our services, or the support of our confidence, or the satisfaction of our hopes; such as are, Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, forgiveness of sins by his blood, resurrection of the dead, and life eternal; because these propositions qualify Christ for our Saviour and our Lawgiver, the one to engage our services, the other to endear them; for so much is necessary as will make us to be his servants and his disciples; and what can be required more? This only:—Salvation is promised to the explicit belief of those articles, and, therefore, those only are necessary, and those are sufficient; but thus, to us, in the formality of christians, which is a formality superadded to a former capacity, we, before we are christians, are reasonable creatures, and capable of a blessed eternity; and there is a creed, which is the gentiles' creed, which is so supposed in the christian's creed, as it is supposed in a christian to be a man, and that is, "oportet accedentem ad Deum credere Deum esse, et esse remuneratorem quærentium eum."

6. If any man will urge further, that whatsoever is deducible from these articles by necessary consequence, is necessary to be believed explicitly,—I answer: It is true, if he sees the deduction and coherence of the parts; but it is not certain that every man shall be able to deduce whatsoever is either immediately or certainly deducible from these premises; and then, since salvation is promised to the explicit belief of these, I see not how any man can justify the making the way to heaven narrower than Jesus Christ hath made it, it being already so narrow, that there are few that find it.

7. In the pursuance of this great truth, the apostles, or the holy men their contemporaries and disciples, composed a creed, to be a rule of faith to all christians, as appears in Irenæus, Tertullian,[f] St. Cyprian,[g] St. Austin,[h] Ruffinus,[i] and divers others;[k] which creed, unless it had contained all the entire object of faith, and the foundation of religion, it cannot be imagined to what purpose it should serve; and that it was so esteemed by the whole church of God, in all ages, appears in this,—that since faith is a necessary predisposition to baptism in all persons capable of the use of reason, all catechumens in the Latin church, coming to baptism, were interrogated concerning their faith, and gave satisfaction in the recitation of this creed. And in the east they professed exactly the same faith, something differing in words, but of the same matter, reason, design, and consequence; and so they did at Jerusalem, so at Aquileia. This was that ὀρθὴ καὶ ἀμώμητος πίστις, ἥνπερ κηρύττει ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον καινισμὸν δεξαμένη. These articles were τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνων διατριψάντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, διδάγματα.[l] Now since the apostles, and apostolical men, and churches, in these their symbols, did recite particular articles to a considerable number, and were so minute in their recitation, as to descend to circumstances, it is more than probable that they omitted nothing of necessity; and that these articles are not general principles, in the bosom of which many more articles, equally necessary to be believed explicitly, and more particular, are enfolded; but that it is as minute an explication of those "prima credibilia" I before reckoned, as is necessary to salvation.

8. And, therefore, Tertullian calls the creed "Regulam fidei, quâ salvâ, et formâ ejus manente in suo ordine, possit in Scripturâ tractari et inquiri si quid videtur, vel ambiguitate pendere, vel obscuritate obumbrari."—"Cordis signaculum, et nostræ militiæ sacramentum," St. Ambrose calls it;[m] "Comprehensio fidei nostræ atque perfectio,"—by St.

[f] Apol. contr. Gent. c. 47. de Veland. Virg. c. 1.
[g] In exposit. Symbol. [h] Serm. v. de Tempore, c. 2.
[i] In Symbol. apud Cyprian.
[k] Omnes Orthodoxi Patres affirmant Symbolum ab ipsis Apostolis conditum, Sext. Senensis, lib. ii. bibl. 5. Vide Genebr. lib. iii. de Trin.
[l] Cod. de S. Trinit. ad Fid. Cath. cùm Recta. lib. 5.
[m] De Velandis Virgin. lib. iii.

Austin;[n] "Confessio, expositio, regula fidei," generally by the ancients. The profession of this creed was the exposition of that saying of St. Peter, Συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεὸν, "The answer of a good conscience towards God." For of the recitation and profession of this creed in baptism, it is that Tertullian says,[o] "Anima non lotione sed responsione sancitur."—And of this was the prayer of Hilary,[p] "Conserva hanc conscientiæ meæ vocem, ut quod in regenerationis meæ symbolo, baptizatus in Patre, Filio, Spiritu Sancto, professus sum, semper obtineam." And according to the rule and reason of this discourse (that it may appear that the creed hath in it all articles "primò et per se," primely and universally necessary) the creed is just such an explication of that faith which the apostles preached, viz. the creed which St. Paul recites, as contains in it all those things which entitle Christ to us, in the capacities of our Lawgiver and our Saviour, such as enable him to the great work of redemption, according to the predictions concerning him, and such as engage and encourage our services. For, taking out the article of Christ's descent into hell, (which was not in the old creed, as appears in some of the copies I before referred to, in Tertullian, Ruffinus, and Irenæus; and, indeed, was omitted in all the confessions of the eastern churches, in the church of Rome, and in the Nicene creed, which, by adoption, came to be the creed of the Catholic church,) all other articles are such as directly constitute the parts and work of our redemption, such as clearly derive the honour to Christ, and enable him with the capacities of our Saviour and Lord. The rest engage our services by proposition of such articles, which are rather promises than propositions; and the whole creed, take it in any of the old forms, is but an analysis of that which St. Paul calls "the word of salvation, whereby we shall be saved," viz. that "we confess Jesus to be Lord, and that God raised him from the dead:" by the first whereof he became our Lawgiver and our Guardian; by the second he was our Saviour: the other things are but parts and main actions of those two. Now what reason there is in the world that can inwrap any thing else within the foundation, that is, in the whole body of articles, simply and inseparably necessary, or in the prime original necessity of faith, I cannot possibly imagine. These do the work; and therefore, nothing can, upon the true grounds of reason, enlarge the necessity to the enclosure of other articles.

9. Now if more were necessary than the articles of the creed, I demand why was it made the characteristic[q] note of a christian from a heretic, or a Jew, or an infidel? or to what purpose was it composed? or if this was intended as sufficient, did the apostles, or those churches which they founded, know any thing else to be necessary? If they did not, then either nothing more is necessary, (I speak of matters of mere belief,) or they did not know all the will of the Lord, and so were unfit dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom; or if they did know more was necessary, and yet would not insert it, they did an act of public notice, and consigned it to all ages of the church, to no purpose, unless to beguile credulous people, by making them believe their faith was sufficient, having tried it by that touchstone apostolical, when there was no such matter.

10. But, if this was sufficient to bring men to heaven then, why not now? If the apostles admitted all to their communion that believed this creed, why shall we exclude any that preserve the same entire? Why is not our faith of these articles of as much efficacy for bringing us to heaven, as it was in the churches apostolical, who had guides more infallible, that might, without error, have taught them superstructures enough, if they had been necessary? And so they did; but that they did not insert them into the creed, when they might have done it with as much certainty as these articles, makes it clear to my understanding, that other things were not necessary, but these were; that whatever profit and advantages might come from other articles, yet these were sufficient, and however certain persons might accidentally be obliged to believe much more, yet this was the one and only foundation of faith, upon which all persons were to build their hopes of heaven; this was, therefore, necessary to be taught to all, because of necessity to be believed by all: so that, although other persons might commit a delinquency "in genere morum," if they did not know, or did not believe much more, because they were obliged to further disquisitions in order to other ends, yet none of these who held the creed entire, could perish for want of necessary faith, though possibly he might for supine negligence or affected ignorance, or some other fault which had influence upon his opinions, and his understanding, he having a new supervening obligation, "ex accidente," to know and believe more.

11. Neither are we obliged to make these articles more particular and minute than the creed. For since the apostles, and, indeed, our blessed Lord himself, promised heaven to them who believed him to be the Christ that was to come into the world, and that he who believes in him should be partaker of the resurrection and life eternal, he will be as good as his word. Yet, because this article was very general, and a complexion rather than a single proposition, the apostles and others, our fathers in Christ, did make it more explicit; and though they have said no more than what lay entire, and ready formed in the bosom of the great article, yet they made their extracts to great purpose, and absolute sufficiency; and, therefore, there needs no more deductions, or remoter consequences, from the first great article, than the creed of the apostles. For although whatsoever is certainly deduced from any of these articles, made already so explicit, is as certainly true, and as much to be believed, as the article itself, because "ex veris possunt nil nisi vera sequi:"

[n] Serm. cxv. [o] De Resur. Carnis. [p] De Trinit. lib. xii.

[q] Vide Isidor. de Eccl. Offic. lib. i. cap. 20. Suidan. Turnebum. lib. ii. c. 30. advers. Venant. For. in Exag. Symb. Fevardent. in Iren. lib. i. c. 2.

yet because it is not certain that our deductions from them are certain, and what one calls evident is so obscure to another, that he believes it is false, it is the best and only safe course to rest in that explication the apostles have made; because, if any of these apostolical deductions were not demonstrable, evidently to follow from that great article to which salvation is promised,—yet the authority of them who compiled the symbol, the plain description of the articles from the words of Scriptures, the evidence of reason, demonstrating these to be the whole foundation, are sufficient upon great grounds of reason to ascertain us: but if we go further, besides the easiness of being deceived, we relying upon our own discourses,—which though they may be true, and then bind us to follow them, but yet no more than when they only seem truest,—yet they cannot make the thing certain to another, much less necessary in itself. And since God would not bind us, upon pain of sin and punishment, to make deductions ourselves, much less would he bind us to follow another man's logic as an article of our faith; I say, much less another man's, for our own integrity (for we will certainly be true to ourselves, and do our own business heartily) is as fit and proper to be employed as another man's ability: he cannot secure me that his ability is absolute and the greatest, but I can be more certain that my own purposes and fidelity to myself are such. And since it is necessary to rest some where, lest we should run to an infinity, it is best to rest there, where the apostles and the churches apostolical rested: when, not only they who are able to judge, but others who are not, are equally ascertained of the certainty and of the sufficiency of that explication.

12. This, I say, not that I believe it unlawful or unsafe for the church, or any of the "antistites religionis," or any wise man, to extend his own creed to any thing which may certainly follow from any one of the articles; but I say that no such deduction is fit to be pressed on others as an article of faith; and that every deduction which is so made, unless it be such a thing as is at first evident to all, is but sufficient to make a human faith; nor can it amount to a divine, much less can be obligatory to bind a person of a differing persuasion to subscribe, under pain of losing his faith, or being a heretic. For it is a demonstration, that nothing can be necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation, but such propositions of which it is certain that God hath spoken and taught them to us, and of which it is certain that this is their sense and purpose; for if the sense be uncertain, we can no more be obliged to believe it in a certain sense, than we are to believe it at all, if it were not certain that God delivered it. But if it be only certain that God spake it, and not certain to what sense, our faith of it is to be as indeterminate as its sense; and it can be no other in the nature of the thing, nor is it consonant to God's justice to believe of him that he can or will require more. And this is of the nature of those propositions which Aristotle calls θέσεις, to which, without any further probation all wise men will give assent at its first publication. And therefore deductions, inevident from the evident and plain letter of faith, are as great recession from the obligation, as they are from the simplicity and certainty of the article. And this I also affirm, although the church of any one denomination, or represented in a council, shall make the deduction or declaration. For unless Christ had promised his Spirit to protect every particular church from all errors less material, unless he had promised an absolute universal infallibility "etiam in minutioribus," unless superstructures be of the same necessity with the foundation, and that God's Spirit doth not only preserve his church in the being of a church but in a certainty of not saying any thing that is less certain; and that too, whether they will or no we may be bound to peace and obedience, to silence and to charity, but have not a new article of faith made; and a new proposition, though consequent (as it is said) from an article of faith, becomes not therefore, a part of the faith, nor of absolute necessity. "Quid unquam aliud ecclesia conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut quod antea simplicite credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentiùs crederetur," said Vincentius Lirinensis:[r] whatsoever was of necessary belief, is so still, and hath a new decree added by reason, of a new light, or a clear explication; but no propositions can be adopted into the foundation. The church hath power to intend our faith, but not to extend it; to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive. For Christ and his apostles concealed nothing that was necessary to the integrity of christian faith, or salvation of our souls: Christ declared all the will of his Father, and the apostles were stewards and dispensers of the same mysteries, and were faithful in all the house, and therefore concealed nothing, but taught the whole doctrine of Christ, so they said themselves. And indeed, if they did not teach all the doctrine of faith, an angel or a man might have taught us other things than what they taught, without deserving an anathema, but not without deserving a blessing, for making up that faith entire which the apostles left imperfect. Now, if they taught all the whole body of faith, either the church, in the following ages, lost part of the faith;—and then, where was their infallibility and the effect of those glorious promises to which she pretends, and hath certain title? for she may as well introduce a falsehood as lose a truth, it being as much promised to her that the Holy Ghost shall lead her into all truth, as that she shall be preserved from all errors; as appears, John xvi. 13.: or, if she retained all the faith which Christ and his apostles consigned and taught, then no age can, by declaring any point, make that be an article of faith, which was not so in all ages of christianity before such declaration. And, indeed, if the church, by declaring an article can make that to be necessary, which before was not necessary, I do not see

[r] Contra Hæres. cap. 32.

[s] Vide Jacob. Almain. in 3. Sent. d. 25. Q. Unic. Dub. 3. Patet ergo, quod nulla veritas est catholica ex approbatione ecclesiæ vel papæ. Gabr. Biel. in 3 Sent. Dist. 25. q. Unic. art. 3. Dub. 3. ad finem.

how it can stand with the charity of the church so to do, especially after so long experience she hath had, that all men will not believe every such decision or explication; for, by so doing, she makes the narrow way to heaven narrower, and chalks out one path more to the devil than he had before, and yet the way was broad enough, when it was at the narrowest. For, before, differing persons might be saved in diversity of persuasions; and now, after this declaration, if they cannot, there is no other alteration made, but that some shall be damned, who before, even in the same dispositions and belief, should have been beatified persons. For, therefore, it is well for the fathers of the primitive church, that their errors were not discovered; for if they had been contested, (for that would have been called discovery enough,) "vel errores emendâssent, vel ab ecclesiâ ejecti fuissent."[t] But it is better as it was; they went to heaven by that good fortune, whereas otherwise they might have gone to the devil. And yet there were some errors; particularly that of St. Cyprian, that was discovered; and he went to heaven, it is thought: possibly they might so too, for all this pretence. But suppose it true, yet, whether that declaration of an article, of which, with safety, we either might have doubted, or been ignorant, does more good than the damning of those many souls occasionally, but yet certainly and foreknowingly, does hurt, I leave it to all wise and good men to determine. And yet, besides this, it cannot enter into my thoughts, that it can possibly consist with God's goodness, to put it into the power of man so palpably and openly to alter the paths and inlets to heaven, and to straiten his mercies, unless he had furnished these men with an infallible judgment, and an infallible prudence, and a never-failing charity, that they should never do it but with great necessity, and with great truth, and without human ends and designs; of which I think no arguments can make us certain what the primitive church hath done in this case. I shall afterwards consider, and give an account of it; but, for the present, there is no insecurity in ending there where the apostles ended, in building where they built, in resting where they left us, unless the same infallibility which they had, had still continued, which, I think, I shall hereafter make evident it did not. And, therefore, those extensions of creed, which were made in the first ages of the church, although, for the matter, they were most true, yet because it was not certain that they should be so, and they might have been otherwise,—therefore, they could not be in the same order of faith, nor in the same degrees of necessity to be believed with the articles apostolical; and, therefore, whether they did well, or no, in laying the same weight upon them, or whether they did lay the same weight or no, we will afterwards consider.

13. But to return. I consider that a foundation of faith cannot alter; unless a new building be to be made, the foundation is the same still; and this foundation is no other but that which Christ and his apostles laid, which doctrine is like himself, yesterday and to-day, and the same for ever. So that the articles of necessary belief to all, (which are the only foundation,) they cannot be several in several ages, and to several persons. Nay, the sentence and declaration of the church cannot lay this foundation, or make any thing of the foundation, because the church cannot lay her own foundation; we must suppose her to be a building, and that she relies upon the foundation, which is, therefore, supposed to be laid before, because she is built upon it; or, to make it more explicit, because a cloud may arise from the allegory of building and foundation, it is plainly thus: the church being a company of men obliged to the duties of faith and obedience, the duty and obligation, being of the faculties of will and understanding, to adhere to such an object, must pre-suppose the object made ready for them; for as the object is before the act, in order of nature, and, therefore, not to be produced or increased by the faculty, which being receptive, cannot be active upon its proper object; so the object of the church's faith is, in order of nature, before the church, or before the act and habit of faith, and therefore cannot be enlarged by the church, any more than the act of the visive faculty can add visibility to the object. So that if we have found out what foundation Christ and his apostles did lay, that is, what body and system of articles simply necessary they taught and required of us to believe, we need not, we cannot go any farther for foundation, we cannot enlarge that system or collection. Now then, although all that they said is true, and nothing of it to be doubted or disbelieved, yet, as all that they said is neither written or delivered, (because all was not necessary,) so we know that of those things which are written, some things are as far off from the foundation as those things which were omitted; and, therefore, although now accidentally they must be believed by all that know them, yet it is not necessary all should know them; and that all should know them in the same sense and interpretation, is neither probable nor obligatory; but, therefore, since these things are to be distinguished by some differences of necessary and not necessary,—whether or no, is not the declaration of Christ and his apostles, affixing salvation to the belief of some great comprehensive articles, and the act of the apostles rendering them as explicit as they thought convenient, and consigning that creed, made so explicit, as a tessera of a christian, as a comprehension of the articles of his belief, as a sufficient disposition and an express of the faith of a "catechumen," in order to baptism: whether or no, I say, all this be not sufficient probation that these only are of absolute necessity, that this is sufficient for mere belief in order to heaven, and that, therefore, whosoever believes these articles heartily and explicitly, Θεὸς *μένει ἐν αὐτῷ*, as St. John's expression is, "God dwelleth in him,"—I leave it to be considered and judged of from the premises. Only this: if the old doctors had been made judges in these questions, they would have passed their affirmative; for to instance in one for all,—of this it was said by Tertullian,[u] "Regula

[t] Bell. de Laic. l. iii. c. 20. sect. ad Primam Confirmationem.

[u] Lib. de Veland. Virg.

quidem fidei una omnino est sola immobilis et irreformabilis," &c. " Hâc lege fidei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet, et proficiente usque in finem gratiâ Dei :" " This symbol is the one sufficient, immovable, unalterable, and unchangeable rule of faith, that admits no increment or decrement; but if the integrity and unity of this be preserved, in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God."

SECTION II.

Of Heresy, and the Nature of it; and that it is to be accounted according to the strict capacity of Christian Faith, and not in Opinions speculative, nor ever to pious Persons.

1. And thus I have represented a short draught of the object of faith, and its foundation. The next consideration, in order to our main design, is to consider what was, and what ought to be, the judgment of the apostles concerning heresy: for although there are more kinds of vices than there are of virtues, yet the number of them is to be taken by accounting the transgressions of their virtues, and by the limits of faith: we may also reckon the analogy and proportions of heresy, that as we have seen who were called faithful by the apostolical men, we may also perceive who were listed by them in the catalogue of heretics, that we, in our judgments, may proceed accordingly.

2. And, first, the word heresy is used in Scripture indifferently; in a good sense, for a sect or division of opinion, and men following it; or sometimes in a bad sense, for a false opinion, signally condemned: but these kind of people were then called antichrists and false prophets, more frequently than heretics, and then there were many of them in the world. But it is observable that no heresies are noted " signanter" in Scripture, but such as are great errors practical, " in materiâ pietatis," such whose doctrines taught impiety, or such who denied the coming of Christ directly or by consequence, not remote or withdrawn, but prime and immediate; and, therefore, in the code " de Sanctâ Trinitate et Fide Catholicâ," heresy is called ἀσεβὴς δόξα, καὶ ἀθέμιτος διδασκαλία, " a wicked opinion, and an ungodly doctrine."

3. The first false doctrine we find condemned by the apostles, was the opinion of Simon Magus, who thought the Holy Ghost was to be bought with money: he thought very dishonourably to the Blessed Spirit; but yet his followers are rather noted of a vice neither resting in the understanding, nor derived from it, but wholly practical; it is simony, not heresy; though in Simon it was a false opinion, proceeding from a low account of God, and promoted by his own ends of pride and covetousness. The great heresy that troubled them, was the doctrine of the necessity of keeping the law of Moses, the necessity of circumcision against which doctrine they were therefore zealous because it was a direct overthrow to the very end and excellency of Christ's coming. And this was an opinion most pertinaciously and obstinately maintained by the Jews, and had made a sect among the Galatians: and this was, indeed, wholly in opinion; and against it the apostles opposed two articles of the creed, which served, at several times according as the Jews changed their opinion, and left some degrees of their error; " I believe in Jesus Christ, and I believe the holy catholic church:" for they, therefore, pressed the necessity of Moses's law, because they were unwilling to forego the glorious appellative of being God's own peculiar people; and that salvation was of the Jews, and that the rest of the world were capable of that grace not otherwise but by adoption into their religion, and becoming proselytes. But this was so ill a doctrine, as that it overthrew the great benefits of Christ's coming; for, " if they were circumcised Christ profited them nothing:" meaning this, that Christ will not be a Saviour to them, who do not acknowledge him for their Lawgiver; and they neither confess him their Lawgiver, nor their Saviour, that look to be justified by the law of Moses and observation of legal rites: so that this doctrine was a direct enemy to the foundation, and, therefore, the apostles were so zealous against it. Now then, that other opinion, which the apostles met at Jerusalem to resolve, was but a piece of that opinion: for the Jews and proselytes were drawn off from their lees and sediment by degrees, step by step. At first, they would not endure any should be saved but themselves and their proselytes. Being wrought off from this height by miracles, and preaching of the apostles, they admitted the gentiles to a possibility of salvation, but yet so as to hope for it by Moses's law. From which foolery when they were, with much ado, persuaded, and told that salvation was by faith in Christ, not by works of the law, yet they resolved to plough with an ox and an ass still, and join Moses with Christ; not as shadow and substance, but in an equal confederation, Christ should save the gentiles, if he was helped by Moses,—but, alone, christianity could not do it. Against this the apostles assembled at Jerusalem, and made a decision of the question, tying some of the gentiles (such only who were blended by the Jews " in communi patria") to observation of such rites, which the Jews had derived by tradition from Noah, intending, by this, to satisfy the Jews, as far as might be, with a reasonable compliance and condescension; the other gentiles who were unmixed, in the mean while remaining free, as appears in the liberty St. Paul gave the church of Corinth of eating idol sacrifices, (expressly against the decree at Jerusalem,) so it were without scandal. And yet, for all this care and curious discretion, a little of the leaven still remained: all this they thought did so concern the gentiles, that it was totally impertinent to the

Jews; still they had a distinction to satisfy the letter of the apostles' decree, and yet to persist in their old opinion; and this so continued, that fifteen christian bishops in succession were circumcised, even until the destruction of Jerusalem, under Adrian, as Eusebius reports.[a]

4. First, by the way, let me observe, that never any matter of question in the christian church was determined with greater solemnity, or more full authority of the church, than this question concerning circumcision; no less than the whole college of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and that with a decree of the highest sanction, "Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis." Secondly; Either the case of the Hebrews, in particular, was omitted, and no determination concerning them, whether it were necessary or lawful for them to be circumcised, or else it was involved in the decree, and intended to oblige the Jews. If it was omitted since the question was "de re necessariâ," (for "dico vobis," "I, Paul, say unto you, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing,") it is very remarkable, how the apostles, to gain the Jews, and to comply with their violent prejudice in behalf of Moses's law, did, for a time, tolerate their dissent "etiam in re alioquin necessariâ," which I doubt not but was intended as a precedent for the church to imitate for ever after: but if it was not omitted, either all the multitude of the Jews, (which St. James, then their bishop, expressed by ποσαὶ μυριάδες· "Thou seest how many myriads of Jews that believe, and yet are zealots for the law:[b]—and Eusebius,[c] speaking of Justus, says, he was one "ex infinitâ multitudine eorum, qui ex circumcisione in Jesum credebant,") I say all these did perish, and their believing in Christ served them to no other ends, but, in the infinity of their torments, to upbraid them with hypocrisy and heresy; or if they were saved, it is apparent how merciful God was, and pitiful to human infirmities, that, in a point of so great concernment, did pity their weakness, and pardon their errors, and love their good mind; since their prejudice was little less than insuperable, and had fair probabilities, at least, and was such as might abuse a wise and good man, (and so it did many,) they did "bono animo errare." And, if I mistake not, this consideration St. Paul urged as a reason why God forgave him, who was a persecutor of the saints, because he did it "ignorantly in unbelief,"[d] that is, he was not convinced in his understanding of the truth of the way which he persecuted, he, in the mean while, remaining in that incredulity, not out of malice or ill ends, but the mistakes of humanity and a pious zeal; therefore "God had mercy on him;" and so it was in this great question of circumcision; here only was the difference, the invincibility of St. Paul's error, and the honesty of his heart, caused God so to pardon him, as to bring him to the knowledge of Christ, which God therefore did because it was necessary, "necessitate medii;" no salvation was consistent with the actual remanency of that error; but in the question of circumcision, although they, by consequence, did overthrow the end of Christ's coming; yet, because it was such a consequence, which they, being hindered by a prejudice non-impious, did not perceive, God tolerated them in their error, till time, and a continual dropping of the lessons and dictates apostolical, did wear it out, and then the doctrine put on its apparel, and became clothed with necessity; they, in the mean time, so kept to the foundation, that is, Jesus Christ crucified and risen again, that although this did make a violent concussion of it, yet they held fast with their heart what they ignorantly destroyed with their tongue,—which Saul, before his conversion, did not,—that God upon other titles, than an actual dereliction of their error, did bring them to salvation.

5. And in the descent of so many years, I find not any one anathema past, by the apostles or their successors, upon any of the bishops of Jerusalem, or the believers of the circumcision, and yet it was a point as clearly determined, and of as great necessity, as any of those questions that, at this day, vex and crucify christendom.

6. Besides this question, and that of the resurrection, commenced in the church of Corinth, and promoted with some variety of sense, by Hymenæus and Philetus, in Asia, who said that the resurrection was past already, I do not remember any other heresy named in Scripture, but such as were errors of impiety, "seductiones in materiâ practicâ;" such as was, particularly, forbidding to marry,—and the heresy of the Nicolaitans, a doctrine that taught the necessity of lust and frequent fornication.

7. But in all the animadversions against errors made by the apostles in the New Testament, no pious person was condemned, no man that did invincibly err, or "bonâ mente;" but something that was amiss "in genere morum," was that which the apostles did redargue. And it is very considerable, that even they of the circumcision, who, in so great numbers, did heartily believe in Christ, and yet most violently retain circumcision, and, without question, went to heaven in great numbers;—yet, of the number of these very men, they came deeply under censure, when, to their error, they added impiety; so long as it stood with charity, and without human ends and secular interests, so long it was either innocent or connived at; but when they grew covetous, and for filthy lucre's sake taught the same doctrine which others did in the simplicity of their hearts, then they turned heretics,—then they were termed seducers; and Titus was commanded to look to them, and to silence them; "For there are many that are intractable and vain babblers, seducers of minds, especially they of the circumcision, who seduce whole houses, teaching things that they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake." These, indeed, were not to be endured; but to be silenced by the conviction of sound doctrine, and to be rebuked sharply, and avoided.

8. For heresy is not an error of the understanding, but an error of the will. And this is clearly insinuated in the Scripture, in the style whereof faith and a good life are made one duty, and vice

[a] Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5. [b] Acts xxi. 20. [c] Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. c. 32. [d] 1 Tim. i.

is called opposite to faith, and heresy opposed to holiness and sanctity. So in St. Paul: "For," saith he, "the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned;" "à quibus quòd aberrârunt quidam," "from which charity, and purity, and goodness, and sincerity, because some have wandered," "deflexerunt ad vaniloquium."[e] And immediately after, he reckons the oppositions to faith and sound doctrine; and instances only in vices that stain the lives of christians, "the unjust, the unclean, the uncharitable, the liar, the perjured person, 'et si quis alius qui sanæ doctrinæ adversatur;'" these are the enemies of the true doctrine. And, therefore, St. Peter, having given in charge, "to add to our virtue patience, temperance, charity, and the like," gives this for a reason,—for "if these things be in you, and abound, ye shall be fruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."—So that knowledge and faith is "inter præcepta morum," is part of a good life.[f] And St. Paul calls faith, or the form of sound words, *κατ' εὐσεβείαν διδασκαλίαν*, "the doctrine that is according to godliness."[g] And "veritati credere," and "in injustitiâ sibi complacere," are, by the same apostle, opposed,[h] and intimate that piety and faith is all one thing; faith must be *ὑγιὴς καὶ ἄμωμος*, "entire and holy too," or it is not right. It was the heresy of the Gnostics, that it was no matter how men lived, so they did but believe aright; which wicked doctrine Tatianus, a learned christian, did so detest, that he fell into a quite contrary, "Non est curandum quod quisque credat; id tantum curandum est, quod quisque faciat;" and thence came the sect Encratites: both these heresies sprang from the too nice distinguishing the faith from the piety and good life of a christian; they are both but one duty. However they may be distinguished if we speak like philosophers,—they cannot be distinguished when we speak like christians. For to believe what God hath commanded, is in order to a good life; and to live well is the product of that believing, and as proper emanation from it, as from its proper principle, and as heat is from the fire. And therefore, in Scripture, they are used promiscuously in sense, and in expression, as not only being subjected in the same person, but also in the same faculty; faith is as truly seated in the will as in the understanding, and a good life as merely derives from the understanding as the will. Both of them are matters of choice and of election,—neither of them an effect natural and invincible, or necessary antecedently; "necessaria ut fiant, non necessariò facta." And, indeed, if we remember that St. Paul reckons heresy amongst the works of the flesh, and ranks it with all manner of practical impieties, we shall easily perceive, that if a man mingles not a vice with his opinion, if he be innocent in his life, though deceived in his doctrine,—his error is his misery, not his crime; it makes him an argument of weakness, and an object of pity, but not a person sealed up to ruin and reprobation.

9. For as the nature of faith is, so is the nature of heresy, contraries having the same proportion and commensuration. Now faith, if it be taken for an act of the understanding merely, is so far from being that excellent grace that justifies us, that it is not good at all, in any kind but "in genere naturæ," and makes the understanding better in itself, or pleasing to God, just as strength doth the arm, or beauty the face, or health the body; these are natural perfections indeed, and so knowledge and a true belief is to the understanding. But this makes us not at all more acceptable to God; for then the unlearned were certainly in a damnable condition, and all good scholars should be saved; whereas, I am afraid, too much of the contrary is true. But unless faith be made moral by the mixtures of the choice and charity, it is nothing but a natural perfection, not a grace or a virtue; and this is demonstrably proved in this,—that by the confession of all men, of all interests and persuasions, in matters of mere belief, invincible ignorance is our excuse if we be deceived; which could not be, but that neither to believe aright is commendable, nor to believe amiss is reprovable; but where both one and the other is voluntary, and chosen antecedently or consequently, by prime election, or "ex post facto," and so comes to be considered in morality, and is part of a good life or a bad life respectively. Just so it is in heresy; if it be a design of ambition, and making of a sect, (so Erasmus expounds St. Paul, *αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον*, "sectarum auctorem,"[i]) if it be for filthy lucre's sake, as it was in some that were of the circumcision; if it be of pride and "love of pre-eminence," as it was in Diotrephes, *ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων*; or out of peevishness and indocibleness of disposition, or of a contentious spirit, that is, that their feet are not shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;—in all these cases the error is just so damnable, as is its principle; but, therefore, damnable not of itself, but by reason of its adherency. And if any shall say any otherwise, it is to say that some men shall be damned when they cannot help it, perish without their own fault, and be miserable for ever because of their unhappiness to be deceived, through their own simplicity, and natural or accidental, but inculpable, infirmity.

8. For it cannot stand with the goodness of God, who does so know our infirmities, that he pardons many things in which our wills indeed have the least share, (but some they have,) but are overborne with the violence of an impetuous temptation; I say, it is inconsistent with his goodness to condemn those who err, where the error hath nothing of the will in it; who, therefore, cannot repent of their error, because they believe it true; who, therefore, cannot make compensation, because they

[e] 1 Tim. i.

[f] Quid igitur credulitas vel fides? Opinor, fideliter hominem Christo credere, id est, fidelem Deo esse, hoc est fideliter Dei mandata servare. So Salvian.

[g] 1 Tim. vi. 3.

[h] *Εὐσεβὴς τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκεία.* That is our religion, or faith, the whole manner of serving God.—C. de Sanctâ Trinit. et Fide Cathol.

[i] Alieni sunt à veritate, qui se obarment multitudine.—Chrys.

know not that they are tied to dereliction of it. And although all heretics are in this condition, that is, they believe their errors to be true; yet there is a vast difference between them who believe so out of simplicity, and them who are given over to believe a lie, as a punishment, or an effect of some other wickedness or impiety. For all have a concomitant assent to the truth of what they believe; and no man can, at the same time, believe what he does not believe; but this assent of the understanding in heretics is caused, not by force of argument, but the argument is made forcible by something that is amiss in his will; and although a heretic may, peradventure, have a stronger argument for his error, than some true believer for his right persuasion, yet it is not considerable how strong his argument is, (because, in a weak understanding, a small motive will produce a great persuasion, like gentle physic in a weak body,) but that which here is considerable, is, what it is that made his argument forcible. If his invincible and harmless prejudice, if his weakness, if his education, if his mistaking piety, if any thing that hath no venom nor a sting in it, there the heartiness of his persuasion is no sin, but his misery and his excuse: but if any thing that is evil "in genere morum," did incline his understanding; if his opinion did commence upon pride, or is nourished by covetousness, or continues through stupid carelessness, or increases by pertinacy, or is confirmed by obstinacy,—then the innocency of the error is disbanded, his misery is changed into a crime, and begins its own punishment. But, by the way, I must observe, that when I reckoned "obstinacy" amongst those things, which make a false opinion criminal, it is to be understood with some discretion and distinction. For there is an obstinacy of will, which is, indeed, highly guilty of misdemeanour; and when the school makes pertinacy or obstinacy to be the formality of heresy, they say not true at all, unless it be meant the obstinacy of the will and choice; and if they do, they speak imperfectly and inartificially, this being but one of the causes that makes error become heresy; the adequate and perfect formality of heresy is whatsoever makes the error voluntary and vicious, as is clear in Scripture, reckoning covetousness, and pride, and lust, and whatsoever is vicious, to be its causes:—and in habits, or moral changes and productions, whatever alters the essence of a habit, or gives it a new formality, is not to be reckoned the efficient, but the form:—but there is also an obstinacy you may call it, but, indeed, it is nothing but a resolution and confirmation of understanding, which is not in a man's power honestly to alter, and it is not all the commands of humanity, that can be argument sufficient to make a man leave believing that for which he thinks he hath reason, and for which he hath such arguments as heartily convince him. Now, the persisting in an opinion finally, and against all the confidence and imperiousness of human commands, that makes not this criminal obstinacy, if the erring person have so much humility of will as to submit to whatsoever God says, and that no vice in his will hinders him from believing it. So that we must carefully distinguish continuance in opinion from obstinacy, confidence of understanding from peevishness of affection, a not being convinced from a resolution never to be convinced, upon human ends and vicious principles: "Scimus quosdam, quod semel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare; sed, salvo inter collegas pacis et concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; quâ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus," saith St. Cyprian.[k] And he himself was such a one; for he persisted in his opinion of rebaptization, until death; and yet his obstinacy was not called criminal, or his error turned to heresy. But to return.

11. In this sense it is that a heretic is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, "self-condemned," not by an immediate express sentence of understanding, but by his own act or fault, brought into condemnation. As it is in the canon law, "Notorius percussor clerici" is "ipso jure" excommunicate, not "per sententiam latam ab homine," but "à jure." No man hath passed sentence "pro tribunali," but law hath decreed it "pro edicto:" so it is in the case of a heretic. The understanding, which is judge, condemns him not by an express sentence; for he errs with as much simplicity in the result, as he had malice in the principle; but there is "sententia lata à jure;" his will, which is his law, that hath condemned him. And this is gathered from that saying of St. Paul, "But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived."[l] First, they are evil men; malice and peevishness is in their wills; then they turn heretics, and seduce others; and while they grow worse and worse, the error is master of their understanding, they are deceived themselves, "given over to believe a lie," saith the apostle: they first play the knave, and then play the fool; they first sell themselves to the purchase of vain-glory or ill ends; and then they become possessed with a lying spirit, and believe those things heartily, which, if they were honest, they should, with God's grace, discover and disclaim. So that now we see that "bona fides in falso articulo," "a hearty persuasion in a false article," does not always make the error to be esteemed involuntary, but then only when it is as innocent in the principle, as it is confident in the present persuasion. And such persons, who, by their ill lives and vicious actions, or manifest designs, (for "by their fruits ye shall know them,") give testimony of such criminal indispositions, so as competent judges, by human and prudent estimate, may so judge them, then they are to be declared heretics, and avoided. And if this were not true, it were vain that the apostle commands us to avoid a heretic: for no external act can pass upon a man for a crime that is not cognoscible.

12. Now every man that errs, though in a matter of consequence, so long as the foundation is entire, cannot be suspected justly guilty of a crime to give his error a formality of heresy; for we see many a good man miserably deceived, as we shall make it

[k] Epist. lib. ii. 1.

[l] 2 Tim. iii. 13.

appear afterwards; and he that is the best amongst men, certainly hath so much humility to think he may be easily deceived, and, twenty to one, but he is in some thing or other; yet, if his error be not voluntary, and part of an ill life, then, because he lives a good life, he is a good man, and, therefore, no heretic: no man is a heretic against his will. And if it be pretended that every man that is deceived, is therefore proud, because he does not submit his understanding to the authority of God or man respectively, and so his error becomes a heresy;—to this I answer, that there is no christian man but will submit his understanding to God, and believes whatsoever he hath said; but always, provided he knows that God hath said so, else he must do his duty by a readiness to obey when he shall know it. But for obedience or humility of the understanding towards men, that is a thing of another consideration, and it must first be made evident that his understanding must be submitted to men; and who those men are, must also be certain, before it will be adjudged a sin not to submit. But if I mistake not Christ's saying,—"Call no man master upon earth,"—is so great a prejudice against this pretence, as I doubt it will go near wholly to make it invalid. So that, as the worshipping of angels is a humility indeed, but it is voluntary and a will-worship to an ill sense, not to be excused by the excellency of humility, nor the virtue of religion:—so is the relying upon the judgment of a man a humility too, but such as comes not under that ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, that "obedience of faith," which is the duty of every christian; but intrenches upon that duty, which we owe to Christ as an acknowledgment that he is our great Master, and the Prince of the catholic church. But whether it be or be not, if that be the question, whether the disagreeing person be to be determined by the dictates of men, I am sure the dictates of men must not determine him in that question, but it must be settled by some higher principle: so that if of that question the disagreeing person does opine, or believe, or err "bonâ fide,—he is not therefore to be judged a heretic, because he submits not his understanding; because, till it be sufficiently made certain to him, that he is bound to submit, he may innocently and piously disagree: and this not submitting is, therefore, not a crime, and so cannot make a heresy, because, without a crime, he may lawfully doubt, whether he be bound to submit or no;—for that is the question. And if in such questions, which have influence upon a whole system of theology, a man may doubt lawfully, if he doubts heartily, because the authority of men being the thing in question, cannot be the judge of this question, and, therefore, being rejected, or, which is all one, being questioned, that is, not believed, cannot render the doubting person guilty of pride, and, by consequence, not of heresy;—much more may particular questions be doubted of, and the authority of men examined, and yet the doubting person be humble enough, and, therefore, no heretic for all this pretence. And it would be considered that humility is a duty in great ones as well as in idiots. And as inferiors must not disagree without reason, so neither must superiors subscribe to other without sufficient authority, evidence, and necessit too: and if rebellion be pride, so is tyranny; and being "in materiâ intellectuali," both may be guilt of pride of understanding,—sometimes the one i imposing, sometimes the other in a causeless dis agreeing; but in the inferiors, it is then only th want of humility, when the guides impose or pre scribe what God hath also taught; and then it i the disobeying God's dictates, not man's, that make the sin. But then this consideration will also in tervene: that as no dictate of God obliges men t believe it, unless I know it to be such; so neithe will any of the dictates of my superiors engage m faith, unless I also know, or have no reason to dis believe, but that they are warranted to teach ther to me; therefore, because God hath taught th same to them, which if I once know, or have n reason to think the contrary, if I disagree, my si is not in resisting human authority, but Divine And, therefore, the whole business of submittin our understanding to human authority, comes t nothing; for either it resolves into the direct duty o submitting to God, or, if it be spoken of abstract ly, it is no duty at all.

13. But this pretence of a necessity of humblin the understanding, is none of the meanest art whereby some persons have invaded, and hav usurped a power over men's faith and consciences and, therefore, we shall examine the pretence after wards, and try if God hath invested any man, o company of men, with such a power. In the mea time, he that submits his understanding to all tha he knows God hath said, and is ready to submit t all that he hath said, if he but know it, denying hi own affections, and ends, and interests, and huma persuasions, laying them all down at the foot of hi great Master, Jesus Christ,—that man hath brough his understanding into subjection, and every prou thought unto the obedience of Christ, and this i ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, "the obedience of faith," which i the duty of a christian.

14. But to proceed: Besides these heresies note in Scripture, the age of the apostles, and that whic followed, was infested with other heresies; but such as had the same formality and malignity with th precedent, all of them, either such as taught practi cal impieties, or denied an article of the creed Hegesippus, in Eusebius, reckons seven only prim heresies, that sought to deflower the purity of th church:—that of Simon,—that of Thebutes,—o Cleobius,—of Dositheus,—of Gortheus,—of Masbo theus; I suppose Cerinthus to have been th seventh man, though he express him not: but o these, except the last, we know no particulars; bu that Hegesippus says, they were false Christs, and that their doctrine was directly against God and his blessed Son. Menander also was the first of a sect but he bewitched the people with his sorceries Cerinthus's doctrine pretended enthusiasm, or a new revelation, and ended in lust and impious theorems in matter of uncleanness. The Ebionites[m] denied Christ to be the Son of God, and affirmed him

[m] Vid. Hilar. lib. i. de Trin.

ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον, begot by natural generation, (by occasion of which, and the importunity of the Asian bishops, St. John wrote his Gospel,) and taught the observation of Moses's law. Basilides taught it lawful to renounce the faith, and take false oaths, in time of persecution. Carpocrates was a very bedlam, half-witch and quite madman; and practised lust, which he called the secret operations to overcome the potentates of the world. Some more there were, but of the same nature and pest, not of a nicety in dispute, not a question of secret philosophy, not of atoms and undiscernible propositions, but open defiances of all faith, of all sobriety, and of all sanctity, excepting only the doctrine of the millenaries, which, in the best ages, was esteemed no heresy, but true catholic doctrine, though it since hath justice done to it, and hath suffered a just condemnation.

15. Hitherto, and in these instances, the church did esteem and judge of heresies, in proportion to the rules and characters of faith. For faith being a doctrine of piety as well as truth, that which was either destructive of fundamental verity, or of christian sanctity, was against faith, and if it made a sect, was heresy; if not it ended in personal impiety, and went no further. But those, who, as St. Paul says, "not only did such things, but had pleasure in them that do them," and, therefore, taught others to do what they impiously did dogmatize,—they were heretics, both in matter and form, in doctrine and deportment, towards God, and towards man, and judicable in both tribunals.

16. But the Scripture and apostolical sermons, having expressed most high indignation against these masters of impious sects, leaving them under prodigious characters and horrid representments, as calling them "men of corrupt minds,—reprobates concerning the faith,—given over to strong delusions to the belief of a lie,—false apostles,—false prophets,—men already condemned, and that by themselves,—antichrists,—enemies to God;"—and heresy itself, "a work of the flesh, excluding from the kingdom of heaven;" left such impressions in the minds of all their successors, and so much zeal against such sects, that if any opinion commenced in the church, not heard of before, it oftentimes had this ill luck to run the same fortune with an old heresy. For because the heretics did bring in new opinions in matters of great concernment, every opinion, "de novo," brought in, was liable to the same exception; and because the degree of malignity, in every error, was oftentimes undiscernible, and most commonly indemonstrable, their zeal was alike against all; and those ages, being full of piety, were fitted to be abused with an over active zeal, as wise persons and learned are, with too much indifferency.

17. But it came to pass, that the further the succession went from the apostles, the more forward men were in numbering heresies, and that upon slighter and more uncertain grounds. Some footsteps of this we shall find, if we consider the sects that are said to have sprung in the first three hundred years, and they were pretty and quick in their springs and falls; fourscore and seven of them are reckoned. They were indeed reckoned afterward; and though, when they were alive, they were not condemned with as much forwardness as after they were dead, yet, even then, confidence began to mingle with opinions less necessary,—and mistakes in judgment were oftener, and more public, than they should have been. But if they were forward in their censures, (as sometimes some of them were,) it is no great wonder they were deceived. For what principle or κριτήριον had they then to judge of heresies, or condemn them, besides the single dictates or decretals of private bishops? for Scripture was indifferently pretended by all; and concerning the meaning of it, was the question: now there was no general council all that while, no opportunity for the church to convene; and if we search the communicatory letters of the bishops and martyrs, in those days, we shall find but few sentences decretory, concerning any question of faith, or new-sprung opinion. And in those that did, for aught appears, the persons were misreported, or their opinions mistaken, or at most, the sentence of condemnation was no more than this; such a bishop who hath had the good fortune, by posterity, to be reputed a catholic, did condemn such a man of such an opinion, and yet himself erred in as considerable matters; but meeting with better neighbours in his life-time, and a more charitable posterity, hath his memory preserved in honour. It appears plain enough, in the case of Nicholas, the deacon of Antioch, upon a mistake of his words, whereby he taught παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ, "to abuse the flesh," viz. by acts of austerity, and self-denial, and mortification; some wicked people that were glad to be mistaken and abused into a pleasing crime, pretended that he taught them to abuse the flesh by filthy commixtures and pollutions. This mistake was transmitted to posterity with a full cry, and acts afterwards found out, to justify an ill opinion of him. For by St. Jerome's time it grew out of question, but that he was the vilest of men, and the worst of heretics; "Nicolaus, Antiochenus, omnium immunditiarum conditor choros duxit fœmineos."[n] And again, "Iste Nicolaus diaconus ita immundus exstitit, ut etiam in præsepi Domini nefas perpetravit:"[o] Accusations that, while the good man lived, were never thought of; for his daughters were virgins, and his sons lived in holy celibate all their lives, and himself lived in chaste wedlock; and yet his memory had rotted in perpetual infamy, had not God (in whose sight the memory of the saints is precious) preserved it, by the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus,[p] and, from him, of Eusebius and Nicephorus.[q] But in the catalogue of heretics, made by Philastrius, he stands marked with a black character, as guilty of many heresies: by which one testimony we may guess what trust is to be given to those catalogues. Well, this good man had ill luck to fall into unskilful hands, at first; but Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Lactantius,—to name no more, had better fortune; for it being still extant in their writings that they were of the millenary

[n] Ad Ctesiph. [o] Epist. de Fabiano lapso.

[p] Lib. iv. Stromat. [q] Lib. iii. c. 25. Hist.

opinion, Papius before, and Nepos after, were censured hardly, and the opinion put into the catalogue of heresies; and yet these men were never suspected as guilty, but like the children of the captivity, walked in the midst of the flame, and not so much as the smell of fire passed on them. But the uncertainty of these things is very memorable, in the story of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, contesting with Eusebius Pamphilus: Eustathius accused Eusebius for going about to corrupt the Nicene creed, "of which slander he then acquitted himself," saith Socrates;[r] and yet he is not cleared by posterity, for still he is suspected, and his fame not clear: however Eusebius, then scaped well, but to be quit with his adversary, he recriminates and accuses him to be "a favourer of Sabellius, rather than of the Nicene canons;" an imperfect accusation, God knows, when the crime was a suspicion, provable only by actions capable of divers constructions, and at the most, made but some degrees of probability; and the fact itself did not consist "in indivisibili," and, therefore, was to stand or fall, to be improved or lessened, according to the will of the judges, whom in this cause, Eustathius, by his ill fortune and a potent adversary, found harsh towards him, insomuch that he was for heresy deposed in the synod of Antioch; and though this was laid open in the eye of the world, as being most ready at hand, with the greatest ease charged upon every man, and with greatest difficulty acquitted by any man; yet there were other suspicions raised upon him privately, or, at least, talked of "ex post facto," and pretended as causes of his deprivation, lest the sentence should seem too hard for the first offence. And yet, what they were, no man could tell, saith the story. But it is observable what Socrates saith,[s] as an excuse for such proceedings, Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰώθασι τῶν καθαιρουμένων ποιεῖν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, κατηγοροῦντες μὲν καὶ ἀσεβῆ λέγοντες, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐ λέγουσι· "It is the manner among the bishops, when they accuse them that are deposed, they call them wicked, but they publish not the actions of their impiety."—It might possibly be that the bishops did it in tenderness of their reputation, but yet hardly; for to punish a person publicly and highly, is a certain declaring the person punished guilty of a high crime, and then to conceal the fault, upon pretence to preserve his reputation, leaves every man at liberty to conjecture what he pleaseth; who possibly will believe it worse than it is, inasmuch as they think his judges so charitable as therefore to conceal the fault, lest the publishing of it should be his greatest punishment, and the scandal greater than his deprivation. However this course,[t] if it were just in any, was unsafe in all; for it might undo more than it could preserve, and, therefore, is of more danger than it can be of charity. It is, therefore, too probable that the matter was not very fair; for, in public sentences, the acts ought to be public, but that they rather pretend heresy to bring their ends about, shows how easy it is to impute that crime, and how forward they were to do it: and that they might, and did then, as easily call heretic as afterward, when Vigilius was condemned of heresy, for saying there were antipodes; or as the friars of late did, who suspected Greek and Hebrew of heresy, and called their professors heretics, and had like to have put Terence and Demosthenes into the "Index Expurgatorius;" sure enough they railed at them "pro concione," therefore because they understood them not, and had reason to believe they would accidentally be enemies to their reputation among the people.

18. By this instance, which was a while after the Nicene council, where the acts of the church were regular, judicial, and orderly, we may guess at the sentences passed upon heresy, at such times and in such cases, when their process was more private, and their acts more tumultuary, their information less certain, and, therefore, their mistakes more easy and frequent. And it is remarkable, in the case of the heresy of Montanus, the scene of whose heresy lay within the first three hundred years, though it was represented in the catalogues afterwards, and possibly the mistake concerning it, is to be put upon the score of Epiphanius, by whom Montanus and his followers were put into the catalogue of heretics, for commanding abstinence from meats, as if they were unclean, and of themselves unlawful. Now the truth was, Montanus said no such thing; but, commanded frequent abstinence, enjoined dry diet, and an ascetic table, not for conscience' sake, but for discipline; and yet because he did this with too much rigour and strictness of mandate, the primitive church misliked it in him, as being too near their error, who, by a Judaical superstition, abstained from meats as from uncleanness. This, by the way, will much concern them, who place too much sanctity in such rites and acts of discipline; for it is an eternal rule, and of never-failing truth, that such abstinences, if they be obtruded as acts of original immediate duty and sanctity, are unlawful and superstitious; if they be for discipline, they may be good, but of no very great profit; it is that ἀφειδία τοῦ σώματος, which, St. Paul says, profited but little; and just in the same degree, the primitive church esteemed them; for they therefore reprehended Montanus, for urging such abstinences with too much earnestness, though but in the way of discipline; for that it was no more, Tertullian, who was himself a Montanist, and knew best the opinions of his own sect, testifies; and yet Epiphanius, reporting the errors of Montanus, commends that which Montanus truly and really taught, and which the primitive church condemned in him; and, therefore, represents that heresy to another sense, and affixes that to Montanus, which Epiphanius believed a heresy, and yet, which Montanus did not teach. And this also, among many other things, lessens my opinion very much of the integrity or discretion of the old catalogues of heretics, and much abates my confidence towards them.

[r] L. i. c. 23.

[s] L. i. c. 21.

[t] Simpliciter pateat vitium fortasse pusillum;
Quod tegitur, majus creditur esse malum. Martial.

19. And now that I have mentioned them casually, in passing by, I shall give a short account of them; for men are much mistaken; some in their opinions concerning the truth of them, as believing them to be all true; some concerning their purpose, as thinking them sufficient, not only to condemn all those opinions, there called heretical, but to be a precedent to all ages of the church, to be free and forward in calling heretic. But he that considers the catalogues themselves, as they are collected by Epiphanius, Philastrius, and St. Austin, shall find that many are reckoned for heretics, for opinions in matters disputable, and undetermined, and of no consequence; and in these catalogues of heretics, there are men numbered for heretics, which, by every side respectively, are acquitted; so that there is no company of men in the world that admit these catalogues as good records, or sufficient sentences of condemnation. For the churches of the reformation, I am certain, they acquit Aerius, for denying prayer for the dead,—and the Eustathians, for denying invocation of saints. And I am partly of opinion, that the church of Rome is not willing to call the Collyridians heretics, for offering a cake to the Virgin Mary, unless she also will run the hazard of the same sentence, for offering candles to her; and that they will be glad, with St. Austin, (l. vi. de Hæres. c. 86.) to excuse the Tertullianists,[u] for picturing God in a visible corporeal representment. And yet these sects are put in the black book by Epiphanius, and St. Austin, and Isidore respectively. I remember also, that the Osseni are called heretics, because they refused to worship towards the east; and yet, in that dissent, I find not the malignity of a heresy, nor any thing against an article of faith or good manners; and it being only in circumstance, it were hard, if they were otherwise pious men and true believers, to send them to hell for such a trifle. The Parermeneutæ refused to follow other men's dictates like sheep, but would expound Scripture according to the best evidence themselves could find, and yet were called heretics, whether they expounded true or no. The Paulicians,[x] for being offended at crosses,—the Proclians, for saying, in a regenerate man all his sins were not quite dead, but only curbed and assuaged,—were called heretics, and so condemned, for aught I know, for affirming that which all pious men feel, in themselves, to be too true. And he that will consider how numerous the catalogues are, and to what a volume they are come in their last collections, to no less than five hundred and twenty, (for so many heresies and heretics are reckoned by Prateolus,) may think, that if a retrenchment were justly made of truths, and all impertinencies, and all opinions, either still disputable, or less considerable, the number would much decrease; and, therefore, that the catalogues are much amiss, and the name heretic is made a "terriculamentum" to affright people from their belief, or to discountenance the persons of men, and disrepute them, that their schools may be empty, and their disciples few.

20. So that I shall not need to instance how that some men were called heretics by Philastrius, for rejecting the translation of the Seventy, and following the Bible of Aquila, wherein the great faults mentioned by Philastrius, are that he translates Χριστὸν Θεοῦ, not "Christum," but "unctum Dei," and instead of "Emanuel," writes "Deus nobiscum." But this most concerns them of the primitive church, with whom the translation of Aquila was in great reputation, "is enim veluti plus à quibusdam—intellexisse laudatur:" "It was supposed he was a great clerk, and understood more than ordinary;" it may be he did. But whether yea or no, yet, since the other translators, by the confession of Philastrius, "quædam prætermisisse necessitate urgente cogerentur," if some wise men, or unwise, did follow a translator who understood the original well, (for so Aquila had learnt among the Jews,) it was hard to call men heretics for following his translation, especially since the other Bibles (which were thought to have in them contradictories, and, it was confessed, had omitted some things) were excused by necessity,—and the other's necessity of following Aquila, when they had no better, was not at all considered, nor a less crime than heresy laid upon their score.[y] Such another was the heresy of the Quarto-decimani; for the Easterlings were all proclaimed heretics, for keeping Easter after the manner of the East; and as Socrates and Nicephorus report, the bishop of Rome was very forward to excommunicate all the bishops of the Lesser Asia, for observing the feast according to the tradition of their ancestors, though they did it modestly, quietly, and without faction; and although they pretended, and were as well able to prove their tradition from St. John, of so observing it, as the western church could prove their tradition derivative from St. Peter and St. Paul. If such things as these make up the catalogues of heretics, (as we see they did,) their accounts differ from the precedents they ought to have followed,—that is, the censures apostolical,—and therefore, are unsafe precedents for us; and unless they took the liberty of using the word heresy, in a lower sense than the world now doth, since the councils have been forward in pronouncing anathema, and took it only for a distinct sense, and a differing persuasion in matters of opinion and minute articles, we cannot excuse the persons of the men: but if they intended the crime of heresy against those opinions, as they laid them down in their catalogues, that crime, I say, which is a work of the flesh, which excludes from the kingdom of heaven, all that I shall say against them, is, that the causeless curse shall return empty; and no man is damned the sooner, because his enemy cries ὦ κατάρατε, and they that were the judges and accusers, might err as well as the persons accused, and might need as charitable construction of their opinions and practices as the other. And of this we are sure,

[u] D. Thom. l. contra Gent. c. 21.
[x] Euthym. part. i. tit. 21. Epiph. Hæres. 61.

[y] Philast. 99. eos inter hæreticos numerat, qui "spiraculum vitæ" in libro Genes. interpretantur "animam rationalem," et non potiùs "gratiam Spiritûs Sancti."

they had no warrant from any rule of Scripture, or practice apostolical, for driving so furiously and hastily, in such decretory sentences. But I am willing rather to believe their sense of the word "heresy" was more gentle than with us it is; and for that they might have warrant from Scripture.

21. But by the way, I observe, that although these catalogues are a great instance to show, that they whose age and spirits were far distant from the apostles, had also other judgments concerning faith and heresy, than the apostles had, and the ages apostolical; yet, these catalogues, although they are reports of heresies, in the second and third ages, are not to be put upon the account of those ages, not to be reckoned as an instance of their judgment, which, although it was in some degrees more culpable than that of their predecessors, yet in respect of the following ages, it was innocent and modest. But these catalogues I speak of, were set down according to the sense of the then present ages, in which as they, in all probability, did differ from the apprehensions of the former centuries, so it is certain, there were differing learnings, other fancies, divers representments and judgments of men depending upon circumstances, which the first ages knew, and the following ages did not; and, therefore, the catalogues were drawn with some truth, but less certainty, as appears in their differing about the authors of some heresies; several opinions imputed to the same, and some put in the roll of heretics by one, which the other left out; which, to me, is an argument, that the collectors were determined, not by the sense and sentence of the three first ages, but by themselves, and some circumstances about them, which to reckon for heretics, which not. And that they themselves were the prime judges, or perhaps some in their own age, together with them; but there was not any sufficient external judicatory competent to declare heresy, that, by any public or sufficient sentence or acts of court, had furnished them with warrant for their catalogues. And, therefore, they are no argument sufficient, that the first ages of the church, which certainly were the best, did much recede from that which I showed to be the sense of the Scripture, and the practice of the apostles: they all contented themselves with the apostles' creed, as the rule of the faith; and, therefore, were not forward to judge of heresy, but by analogy to their rule of faith. And those catalogues, made after these ages, are not sufficient arguments that they did otherwise; but rather of the weakness of some persons, or of the spirit and genius of the age in which the compilers lived; in which the device of calling all differing opinions by the name of heresies, might grow to be a design to serve ends, and to promote interests, as often as an act of zeal and just indignation against evil persons, destroyers of the faith, and corrupters of manners.

22. For whatever private men's opinions were, yet, till the Nicene council, the rule of faith was entire in the apostles' creed; and provided they retained that, easily they broke not the unity of faith, however differing opinions might possibly commence in such things, in which a liberty were better suffered, than prohibited with a breach of charity. And this appears exactly in the question between St. Cyprian, of Carthage,—and Stephen, bishop of Rome; in which one instance it is easy to see, what was lawful and safe for a wise and good man; and yet how others began, even then, to be abused by that temptation, which since hath invaded all christendom. St. Cyprian rebaptized heretics, and thought he was bound so to do; calls a synod in Africa, as being metropolitan, and confirms his opinion by the consent of his suffragans and brethren, but still with so much modesty, that if any man was of another opinion, he judged him not, but gave him that liberty that he desired himself. Stephen, bishop of Rome, grows angry, excommunicates the bishops of Asia and Africa, that in divers synods had consented to rebaptization,—and without peace, and without charity, condemns them for heretics. Indeed, here was the rarest mixture and conjunction of unlikelihoods that I have observed. Here was error of opinion, with much modesty and sweetness of temper, on one side; and on the other, an over active and impetuous zeal to attest a truth. It uses not to be so; for error usually is supported with confidence, and truth suppressed and discountenanced by indifferency. But that it might appear that the error was not the sin, but the uncharitableness, Stephen was accounted a zealous and furious person; and St. Cyprian, though deceived, yet a very good man, and of great sanctity.[z] For although every error is to be opposed, yet, according to the variety of errors, so is there variety of proceedings. If it be against faith, that is, a destruction of any part of the foundation, it is with zeal to be resisted; and we have for it an apostolical warrant, "contend earnestly for the faith;" but then, as these things recede further from the foundation, our certainty is the less, and their necessity not so much; and, therefore, it were very fit that our confidence should be according to our evidence, and our zeal according to our confidence, and our confidence should then be the rule of our communion, and the lightness of an article should be considered with the weight of a precept of charity. And, therefore, there are some errors to be reproved, rather by a private friend than a public censure, and the persons of the men not avoided, but admonished; and their doctrine rejected, not their communion. Few opinions are of that malignity which are to be rejected with the same exterminating spirit, and confidence of aversation, with which the first teachers of christianity condemned Ebion, Manes, and Cerinthus; and in the condemnation of heretics, the personal iniquity is more considerable than the obliquity of the doctrine, not for the rejection of the article, but for censuring the persons; and, therefore, it is the piety of the man that excused St. Cyprian; which is a certain argument that it is not the opinion, but the impiety, that condemns and makes the heretic. And this was it which Vincentius Lirinensis said, in this very case of St. Cyprian: "Unius et ejusdem opinionis (mirum videri potest) judicamus auctores catholicos, et

[z] Vide S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 6. de Bapt. contra Donat.

sequaces hæreticos. Excusamus magistros, et condemnamus scholasticos. Qui scripserunt libros sunt hæredes cœli, quorum librorum defensores detruduntur ad infernum."[a] Which saying, if we confront against the saying of Salvian, condemning the first authors of the Arian sect, and acquitting the followers,—we are taught by these two wise men, that an error is not it that sends a man to hell; but he that begins the heresy, and is the author of the sect, he is the man marked out to ruin; and his followers escaped, when the heresiarch commenced the error upon pride and ambition, and his followers went after him in simplicity of their heart. And so it was most commonly: but, on the contrary, when the first man in the opinion was honestly and invincibly deceived, as St. Cyprian was, and that his scholars, to maintain their credit or their ends, maintained the opinion not for the excellency of the reason persuading, but for the benefit and accruements, or peevishness, as did the Donatists, "qui de Cypriani auctoritate sibi carnalitèr blandiuntur," as St. Austin said of them; then the scholars are the heretics, and the master is a catholic; for his error is not the heresy formally, and an erring person may be a catholic. A wicked person, in his error, becomes heretic, when the good man, in the same error, shall have all the rewards of faith. For whatever an ill man believes, if he therefore believe it because it serves his own ends, be his belief true or false, the man hath an heretical mind, for, to serve his own ends, his mind is prepared to believe a lie. But a good man that believes what, according to his light, and upon the use of his moral industry, he thinks true, whether he hits upon the right or no,—because he hath a mind desirous of truth, and prepared to believe every truth, is therefore acceptable to God, because nothing hindered him from it, but what he could not help, his misery and his weakness, which being imperfections merely natural, which God never punishes,—he stands fair for a blessing of his morality, which God always accepts. So that now, if Stephen had followed the example of God Almighty, or retained but the same peaceable spirit which his brother of Carthage did,—he might, with more advantage to truth, and reputation both of wisdom and piety, have done his duty in attesting what he believed to be true; for we are as much bound to be zealous pursuers of peace, as earnest contenders for the faith. I am sure, more earnest we ought to be for the peace of the church, than for an article which is not of the faith,—as this question of rebaptization was not; for St. Cyprian died in belief against it, and yet was a catholic, and a martyr for the christian faith.

23. The sum is this: St. Cyprian did right in a wrong cause, as it hath been since judged; and Stephen did ill in a good cause. As far then as piety and charity is to be preferred before a true opinion, so far is St. Cyprian's practice a better precedent for us, and an example of primitive sanctity, than the zeal and indiscretion of Stephen. St. Cyprian had not learned to forbid to any one a liberty of prophesying or interpretation, if he transgressed not the foundation of faith, and the creed of the apostles.

24. Well, thus it was, and thus it ought to be, in the first ages: the faith of christendom rested still upon the same foundation, and the judgments of heresies were accordingly, or were amiss. But the first great violation of this truth was, when general councils came in, and the symbols were enlarged, and new articles were made as much of necessity to be believed as the creed of the apostles, and damnation threatened to them that did dissent; and at last the creeds multiplied in number and in articles, and the liberty of prophesying began to be something restrained.

25. And this was of so much the more force and efficacy, because it began upon great reason, and, in the first instance, with success good enough. For I am much pleased with the enlarging of the creed, which the council of Nice made, because they enlarged it to my sense: but I am not sure that others are satisfied with it. While we look upon the articles they did determine, we see all things well enough; but there are some wise personages consider it in all circumstances, and think the church had been more happy, if she had not been, in some sense, constrained to alter the simplicity of her faith, and make it more curious and articulate, so much that he had need be a subtle man to understand the very words of the new determinations.

26. For the first Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in the presence of his clergy, entreats[b] somewhat more curiously of the secret of the mysterious Trinity and Unity; so curiously that Arius (who was a sophister too subtle, as it afterwards appeared) misunderstood him, and thought he intended to bring in the heresy of Sabellius. For while he taught the unity of the Trinity, either he did it so inartificially, or so intricately, that Arius thought he did not distinguish the persons, when the bishop intended only the unity of nature. Against this Arius furiously drives; and, to confute Sabellius, and in him (as he thought) the bishop, distinguishes the natures too, and so, to secure the article of the Trinity, destroys the unity. It was the first time the question was disputed in the world, and in such mysterious niceties, possibly every wise man may understand something, but few can understand all,—and, therefore, suspect what they understand not, and are furiously zealous for that part of it which they do perceive. Well, it happened in these as always in such cases, in things men understand not, they are most impetuous; and because suspicion is a thing infinite in degrees, for it hath nothing to determine it,—a suspicious person is ever most violent; for his fears are worse than the thing feared, because the thing is limited, but his fears are not; so that upon this grew contentions on both sides, and tumultuous railing and reviling each other; and then the laity were drawn into parts, and the Meletians abetted the wrong part; and the right part, fearing to be overborne, did any thing that was next at hand to secure itself.[c] Now then, they that

[a] Adv. Hæres. c. 11.

[b] Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

[c] Lib. i. c. 6.

lived in that age, that understood the men, that saw how quiet the church was before this stir, how miserably rent now, what little benefit from the question, what schism about it,—gave other censures of the business than we since have done, who only look upon the article determined with truth and approbation of the church generally, since that time. But the epistle[d] of Constantine to Alexander and Arius, tells the truth, and chides them both for commencing the question, Alexander for broaching it, Arius for taking it up. And although this be true, that it had been better for the church it never had begun, yet being begun, what is to be done in it? Of this also, in that admirable epistle, we have the emperor's judgment (I suppose not without the advice and privity of Hosius, bishop of Corduba, whom the emperor loved and trusted much, and employed in the delivery of the letters): for, first, he calls it "a certain vain piece of a question ill begun, and more unadvisedly published; a question which no law or ecclesiastical canon defineth; a fruitless contention, the product of idle brains; a matter so nice, so obscure, so intricate, that it was neither to be explicated by the clergy, nor understood by the people; a dispute of words, a doctrine inexplicable, but most dangerous when taught, lest it introduce discord or blasphemy; and, therefore, the objector was rash, and the answer unadvised; for it concerned not the substance of faith, or the worship of God, nor any chief commandment of Scripture; and, therefore, why should it be the matter of discord? for though the matter be grave, yet, because neither necessary nor explicable, the contention is trifling and toyish. And, therefore, as the philosophers of the same sect, though differing in explication of an opinion, yet more love the unity of their profession, than disagree for the difference of opinion; so should christians, believing in the same God, retaining the same faith, having the same hopes, opposed by the same enemies, not fall at variance upon such disputes, considering our understandings are not all alike, and, therefore, neither can our opinions in such mysterious articles. So that the matter being of no great importance, but vain, and a toy in respect of the excellent blessings of peace and charity, it were good that Alexander and Arius should leave contending, keep their opinions to themselves, ask each other forgiveness, and give mutual toleration." This is the substance of Constantine's letter; and it contains in it much reason, if he did not undervalue the question; but it seems it was not then thought a question of faith, but of nicety of dispute; they both did believe one God, and the Holy Trinity. Now, then, that he afterwards called the Nicene council, it was upon occasion of the vileness of the men of the Arian part, their eternal discord and pertinacious wrangling, and to bring peace into the church: that was the necessity, and in order to it was the determination of the article. But, for the article itself, the letter declares what opinion he had of that; and this letter was by Socrates called "a wonderful exhortation, full of grave and sober counsels," and such as Hosius himself, who was the messenger, pressed with all earnestness, with all the skill an authority he had.

[d] Cap. 7.

27. I know the opinion the world had of th article, afterwards, is quite differing from this cen sure given of it before; and, therefore, they have pu it into the creed, I suppose, to bring the world t unity, and to prevent sedition in this question, an the accidental blasphemies which were occasione by their curious talkings of such secret mysterie and by their illiterate resolutions. But, althoug the article was determined with an excellent spiri and we all, with much reason, profess to believe i yet it is another consideration, whether or no it migh not have been better determined, if with more sim plicity; and another yet, whether or no, since man of the bishops who did believe this thing, yet di not like the nicety and curiosity of expressing it, had not been more agreeable to the practice of th apostles, to have made a determination of the articl by way of exposition of the apostles' creed, and t have left this in a rescript, for record to all pos terity, and not to have enlarged the creed with it for since it was an explication of an article of th creed of the apostles, as sermons are of places c Scripture, it was thought by some that Scriptur might, with good profit and great truth, be ex pounded, and yet the expositions not put into th canon, or go for Scripture, but that left still in th naked original simplicity; and so much the rathe since that explication was further from the founda tion: and, though most certainly true, yet no penned by as infallible a spirit as was that of th apostles, and, therefore, not with so much evidenc as certainty. And if they had pleased, they migh have made use of an admirable precedent, to thi and many other great and good purposes, no less tha of the blessed apostles, whose symbol they might hav imitated, with as much simplicity as they did th expressions of Scripture, when they first compose it. For it is most considerable, that although, i reason, every clause in the creed should be clea and so inopportune and unapt to variety of interpre tation, that there might be no place left for severa senses, or variety of expositions: yet, when the thought fit to insert some mysteries into the creed which, in Scripture, were expressed in so mysterious words, that the last and most explicit sense woul still be latent; yet, they who (if ever any did understood all the senses and secrets of it, though it not fit to use any words but the words of Scrip ture, particularly in the articles of "Christ's de scending into hell," and "sitting at the right han of God," to show us, that those creeds are best which keep the very words of Scripture; and tha faith is best, which hath greatest simplicity; an that it is better, in all cases, humbly to submit than curiously to inquire, and pry into the mystery under the cloud; and to hazard our faith, by im proving our knowledge. If the Nicene fathers ha done so too, possibly the church would never hav repented it.

28. And, indeed, the experience the church ha afterwards, showed that the bishops and priest were not satisfied in all circumstances, nor th

schism appeased, nor the persons agreed, nor the canons accepted, nor the article understood, nor any thing right, but when they were overborne with authority; which authority, when the scales turned, did the same service and promotion to the contrary.

29. But it is considerable, that it was not the article, or the thing itself, that troubled the disagreeing persons, but the manner of representing it. For the five dissenters, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Theonas, and Secundus, believed Christ to be very God of very God; but the clause of ὁμοούσιος they derided, as being persuaded by their logic, that he was neither "of the substance of the Father," by division, as a piece of a lump; nor derivation, as children from their parents; nor by production, as buds from trees; and nobody could tell them any other way at that time, and that made the fire to burn still. And that was it I said; if the article had been with more simplicity, and less nicety, determined, charity would have gained more, and faith would have lost nothing. And we shall find the wisest of them all, for so Eusebius Pamphilus [e] was esteemed, published a creed or confession in the synod; and though he, and all the rest, believed that great mystery of godliness, "God manifested in the flesh," yet he was not fully satisfied, nor so soon, of the clause of "one substance," till he had done a little violence to his own understanding; for even when he had subscribed to the clause of "one substance," he does it with a protestation, that "heretofore he never had been acquainted, nor accustomed himself to such speeches." And the sense of the word [f] was either so ambiguous, or their meaning so uncertain, that Andreus Fricius does, with some probability, dispute that the Nicene fathers, by ὁμοούσιος, did mean, "Patris similitudinem, non essentiæ unitatem." [g] And it was so well understood by personages disinterested, that when Arius and Euzoius had confessed Christ to be "Deus verbum," without inserting the clause of "one substance," the emperor, by his letter, approved of his faith, and restored him to his country and office, and the communion of the church. And a long time after, although the article was believed with nicety enough, [h] yet when they added more words still to the mystery, and brought in the word ὑπόστασις, saying there were three "hypostases" in the Holy Trinity; it was so long before it could be understood, that it was believed therefore, because they would not oppose their superiors, or disturb the peace of the church, in things which they thought could not be understood: insomuch, that St. Jerome wrote to Damascus in these words: "Decerne, si placet, obsecro, non timebo tres hypostases dicere, si jubetis:" and again, "Obtestor beatitudinem tuam per Crucifixum, mundi salutem, per ὁμοούσιον Trinitatem, ut mihi epistolis tuis, sive tacendarum, sive dicendarum hypostaseôn detur auctoritas."

30. But, without all question, the fathers determined the question with much truth; though I cannot say the arguments, upon which they built their decrees, were so good, as the conclusion itself was certain. But that which in this case is considerable, is, whether or no they did well in putting a curse to the foot of their decree, and the decree itself into the symbol, as if it had been of the same necessity? For the curse, Eusebius Pamphilus could hardly find in his heart to subscribe,—at last he did, but with this clause,—that he subscribed it, because the former curse did only "forbid men to acquaint themselves with foreign speeches, and unwritten languages," whereby confusion and discord are brought into the church. So that it was not so much a magisterial high assertion of the article, as an endeavour to secure the peace of the church. And to the same purpose, for aught I know, the fathers composed a form of confession, not as a prescript rule of faith to build the hopes of our salvation on, but as a "tessera" of that communion, which, by public authority, was therefore established upon those articles, because the articles were true, though not of prime necessity; and because that unity of confession was judged, as things then stood, the best preserver of the unity of minds.

31. But I shall observe this, that although the Nicene fathers, in that case, at that time, and in that conjuncture of circumstances, did well (and yet their approbation is made, by after-ages, "ex post facto):" yet if this precedent had been followed by all councils, (and certainly they had equal power, if they had thought it equally reasonable,) and that they had put all their decrees into the creed, as some have done since, to what a volume had the creed by this time swelled! and all the house had run into foundation, nothing left for superstructures. But that they did not, it appears, 1. That since they thought all their decrees true, yet they did not think them all necessary, at least not in that degree, and that they published such decrees, they did it "declarando," not "imperando," as doctors in their chairs, not masters of other men's faith and consciences. 2. And yet there is some more modesty, or wariness, or necessity (what shall I call it?) than this comes to: for why are not all controversies determined? But even when general assemblies of prelates have been, some controversies, that have been very vexatious, have been pretermitted, and others of less consequence have been determined. Why did never any general council condemn, in express sentence, the Pelagian heresy, that great pest, that subtle infection of christendom? and yet divers general councils did assemble, while the heresy was in the world. Both these cases, in several degrees, leave men in their liberty of believing and prophesying. The latter proclaims that all controversies cannot be determined to sufficient purposes; and the first declares, that those that are, are not all of them matters of faith; and themselves are not so secure, but they may be deceived; and, therefore, possibly, it were better it were let alone; for if the latter leaves them

[e] Vide Sozomen. lib. ii. c. 18.
[f] Socrates, lib. i. c. 26.
[g] Sylva. iv. c. 1.
[h] Non imprudenter dixit, qui curiosæ explicationi hujus mysterii dictum Aristonis philosophi applicuit. Helleborus niger, si crassiùs sumatur, purgat et sanat: quùm autem teritur et comminuitur, suffocat.

divided in their opinions, yet their communions, and, therefore, probably, their charities, are not divided; but the former divides their communions, and hinders their interest;—and yet for aught is certain, the accused person is the better catholic. And yet, after all this, it is not safety enough to say, "Let the council or prelates determine articles warily, seldom, with great caution, and with much sweetness and modesty." For though this be better than to do it rashly, frequently, and furiously; yet if we once transgress the bounds set us by the apostles in their creed, and not only preach other truths, but determine them "pro tribunali" as well as "pro cathedra," although there be no error in the subject matter, as in Nice there was none; yet, if the next ages say they will determine another article with as much care and caution, and pretend as great a necessity, there is no hindering them, but by giving reasons against it; and so like enough they might have done against the decreeing the article at Nice; yet that this is not sufficient; for since the authority of the Nicene council hath grown to the height of a mountainous prejudice against him that should say it was ill done, the same reason and the same necessity may be pretended, by any age, and in any council; and they think themselves warranted by the great precedent at Nice, to proceed as peremptorily as they did; but then if any other assembly of learned men may possibly be deceived, were it not better they should spare the labour, than that they should, with so great pomp and solemnities, engage men's persuasions, and determine an article which after-ages must rescind; for, therefore, most certainly, in their own age, the point with safety of faith and salvation, might have been disputed and disbelieved: and that many men's faiths have been tied up by acts and decrees of councils, for those articles, in which the next age did see a liberty had better been preserved, because an error was determined,—we shall afterwards receive a more certain account.

32. And, therefore, the council of Nice did well, and Constantinople did well, so did Ephesus and Chalcedon; but it is because the articles were truly determined (for that is part of my belief); but who is sure it should be so beforehand? and whether the points there determined were necessary or no to be believed or to be determined, if peace had been concerned in it through the faction and division of the parties, I suppose the judgment of Constantine the emperor, and the famous Hosius of Corduba, is sufficient to instruct us, whose authority I rather urge than reasons, because it is a prejudice, and not a reason, I am to contend against it.

33. So that such determinations and publishing of confessions with authority of prince and bishop, are sometimes of very good use for the peace of the church; and they are good also to determine the judgment of indifferent persons, whose reasons, of either side, are not too great to weigh down the probability of that authority; but for persons of confident and imperious understandings, they on whose side the determination is, are armed with a prejudice against the other, and with a weapon to affront them, but with no more to convince them; and they against whom the decision is, do the more readily betake themselves to the defensive, and are engaged upon contestation and public enmities, for such articles, which either might safely have been unknown, or with much charity disputed. Therefore, the Nicene council, although it have the advantage of an acquired and prescribing authority, yet it must not become a precedent to others: lest the inconveniences of multiplying more articles upon a great pretence of reason, as then, make the act of the Nicene fathers in straitening prophesying, and enlarging the creed, become accidentally an inconvenience. The first restraint, although, if it had been complained of, might possibly have been better considered of; yet the inconvenience is not visible, till it comes by way of precedent to usher in more. It is like an arbitrary power, which, although by the same reason it take sixpence from the subject, it may take a hundred pounds, and then a thousand, and then all, yet so long as it is within the first bounds, the inconvenience is not so great; but when it comes to be a precedent or argument for more, then the first may justly be complained of, as having in it that reason in the principle, which brought the inconvenience in the sequel; and we have seen very ill consequences from innocent beginnings.

34. And the inconveniences which might possibly arise from this precedent, those wise personages also did foresee; and, therefore, although they took liberty in Nice, to add some articles, or at least more explicitly to declare the first creed, yet they then would have all the world to rest upon that, and go no further, as believing that to be sufficient. St. Athanasius declares their opinion, Ἡ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, παρὰ τῶν πατέρων κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς, ὁμολογηθεῖσα πίστις, αὐτάρκης ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μὲν πάσης ἀσεβείας, σύστασιν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως.[i] "That faith which the fathers there confessed, was sufficient for the refutation of all impiety, and the establishment of all faith in Christ and true religion." And, therefore, there was a famous epistle written by Zeno the emperor,[k] called the Ἑνωτικὸν, or the "epistle of reconciliation," in which all disagreeing interests are entreated to agree in the Nicene symbol, and a promise made upon that condition to communicate with all other sects,—adding withal, that the church should never receive any other symbol, than that which was composed by the Nicene fathers. And, however Honorius was condemned for a monothelite; yet, in one of the epistles which the sixth synod alleged against him, viz. the second, he gave them counsel that would have done the church as much service as the determination of the article did; for he advised them not to be curious in their disputings, nor dogmatical in their determinations about that question; and because the church was not used to dispute in that question, it were better to preserve the simplicity of faith, than to insnare men's consciences by a new article. And when the emperor Constantius was, by his faction, engaged in a contrary

[i] Epist. ad. Epict.

[k] Evagr. lib. iii. c. 14.

practice, the inconvenience and unreasonableness was so great, that a prudent heathen observed and noted it in this character of Constantius: "Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem *anili superstitione* confudit. In quâ scrutandâ perplexiùs quàm in componendâ gratiùs, excitavit dissidia quæ progressa fusiùs, aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium."

35. And yet men are more led by example, than either by reason or by precept; for in the council of Constantinople, one article "de novo et integro" was added, viz. "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins;" and then again they were so confident that that confession of faith was so absolutely entire, and that no man ever after should need to add any thing to the integrity of faith, that the fathers of the council of Ephesus pronounced anathema to all those, that should add any thing to the creed of Constantinople. And yet for all this, the church of Rome in a synod at Gentilly, added the clause of "Filioque," to the article of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and what they have done since, all the world knows, "Exempla non consistunt, sed quamvis in tenuem recepta tramitem, latissimè evagandi sibi faciunt potestatem." All men were persuaded that it was most reasonable the limits of faith should be no more enlarged; but yet they enlarged it themselves, and bound others from doing it like an intemperate father, who, because he knows he does ill himself, enjoins temperance to his son, but continues to be intemperate himself.

36. But now if I should be questioned concerning the symbol of Athanasius, (for we see the Nicene symbol was the father of many more, some twelve or thirteen symbols in the space of a hundred years,) I confess I cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his preface and conclusion, as there was in the Nicene creed. Nothing there but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained. Indeed, Athanasius had been soundly vexed on one side, and much cried up on the other; and, therefore, it is not so much wonder for him to be so decretory and severe in his censure; for nothing could more ascertain his friends to him, and disrepute his enemies, than the belief of that damnatory appendix; but that does not justify the thing. For the articles themselves, I am most heartily persuaded of the truth of them, and yet I dare not say all that are not so are irrevocably damned; because "citra hoc symbolum," the faith of the apostle's creed is entire; and "he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved," that is, he that believeth such a belief as is sufficient disposition to be baptized, that faith with the sacrament is sufficient for heaven. Now the apostles' creed does one; why, therefore, do not both entitle us to the promise? Besides, if it were considered concerning Athanasius's creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture[l] says of those curiosities of explication, and how tradition was not clear on his side for the article itself, much less for those forms and minutes (how himself is put to make an answer, and excuse for the fathers[m] speaking in excuse of the Arians, at least so seemingly, that the Arians appealed to them for trial, and the offer was declined): and after all this, that the Nicene creed itself went not so far, neither in article, nor anathema, nor explication, it had not been amiss if the final judgment had been left to Jesus Christ; for he is appointed Judge of all the world, and he shall judge the people righteously; for he knows every truth, the degree of every necessity, and all excuses that do lessen or take away the nature or malice of a crime; all which I think Athanasius, though a very good man, did not know so well as to warrant such a sentence; and put case, the heresy there condemned be damnable, (as it is damnable enough,) yet a man may maintain an opinion that is in itself damnable, and yet he, not knowing it so, and being invincibly led into it, may go to heaven; his opinion shall burn, and himself be saved. But, however, I find no opinion in Scripture called damnable, but what are impious "in materiâ practicâ," or directly destructive of the faith, or the body of christianity; such of which St. Peter speaks: "Bringing in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, these are the false prophets, who, out of covetousness, make merchandise of you through cozening words."[n] Such as these are truly heresies, and such as these are certainly damnable. But because there are no degrees either of truth or falsehood, every true proposition being alike true; that an error is more or less damnable, is not told us in Scripture, but is determined by the man and his manners, by circumstances and accidents; and, therefore, the censure in the preface and end, are arguments of his zeal and strength of his persuasion; but they are extrinsical and accidental to the articles, and might as well have been spared. And, indeed, to me it seems very hard to put uncharitableness into the creed, and so to make it become as an article of faith, though perhaps this very thing was no faith of Athanasius; who, if we may believe Aquinas,[o] made this manifestation of faith, "Non per modum symboli, sed per modum doctrinæ," that is, if I understand him right, "not with a purpose to impose it upon others, but with confidence to declare his own belief;" and that it was prescribed to others as a creed, was the act of the bishops of Rome; so he said, nay, possibly it was none of his: so said the patriarch of Constantinople, Meletius, about one hundred and thirty years since, in his epistle to John Douza, "Athanasio falsò adscriptum symbolum, cum Pontificum Romanorum appendice

[l] Vide Hosium de Autor. S. Script. lib. iii. p. 53. et Gordon Huntlæum, tom. i. controv. 1. de Verbo Dei, c. 19.

[m] Vide Gretser. et Tanner in Colloq. Ratisbon. Eusebium fuisse Arianum ait Perron. lib. iii. cap. 2. contre le Roi Jacques. Idem ait Origenem negâsse divinitatem Filii et Spir. S. lib. ii. cap. 7. de Euchar. contra Duplessis; idem. cap. 5. obser. 4. ait, Irenæum talia dixisse, quæ qui hodiè diceret, pro Ariano reputaretur. Vide etiam Fisher in Resp. ad 9. Quæst. Jacobi Reg. et Epiphan. in hæres. 69.

[n] 2 Pet. ii. 1. [o] D. Tho. 22. q. 1. artic. 1. ad 3um

illâ adulteratum, luce lucidiùs contestamur." And it is more than probable that he said true, because this creed was written originally in Latin, which in all reason Athanasius did not, and it was translated into Greek, it being apparent that the Latin copy is but one; but the Greek is various, there being three editions, or translations rather, expressed by Genebrard, "lib. iii. de Trinit." But in this particular, who list, may better satisfy himself in a disputation "de symbolo Athanasii," printed at Wertzburg, 1590, supposed to be written by Serrarius or Clencherus.

37. And yet I must observe, that this symbol of Athanasius, and that other of Nice, offer not at any new articles; they only pretend to a further explication of the articles apostolical, which is a certain confirmation, that they did not believe more articles to be of belief necessary to salvation; if they intended these further explanations to be as necessary as the dogmatical articles of the apostles' creed, I know not how to answer all that may be objected against that; but the advantage that I shall gather from their not proceeding to new matters, is laid out ready for me in the words of Athanasius, saying of this creed, "This is the catholic faith:" and if his authority be good, or his saying true, or he the author, then no man can say of any other article, that it is a part of the catholic faith, or that the catholic faith can be enlarged beyond the contents of that symbol; and, therefore, it is a strange boldness in the church of Rome,[p] first to add twelve new articles, and then to add the appendix of Athanasius to the end of them, "This is the catholic faith, without which no man can be saved."

38. But so great an example of so excellent a man hath been either mistaken or followed with too much greediness,—all the world in factions, all damning one another, each party damned by all the rest; and there is no disagreeing in opinion from any man that is in love with his own opinion, but damnation presently to all that disagree. A ceremony and a rite hath caused several churches to excommunicate each other, as in the matter of the Saturday fast, and keeping Easter. But what the spirits of men are, when they are exasperated, in a question and difference of religion, as they call it, though the thing itself may be most inconsiderable, is very evident in that request of Pope Innocent III. desiring of the Greeks, (but reasonably a man would think,) that they would not so much hate the Roman manner of consecrating in unleavened bread, as to wash, and scrape, and pare the altars after a Roman priest had consecrated. Nothing more furious than a mistaken zeal, and the actions of a scrupulous and abused conscience. When men think every thing to be their faith and their religion, commonly they are so busy in trifles and such impertinencies, in which the scene of their mistake lies, that they neglect the greater things of the law, charity, and compliances, and the gentleness of christian communion; for this is the great principle of mischief, and yet is not more pernicious than unreasonable.

39. For I demand: Can any man say and justify that the apostles did deny communion to any man, that believed the apostles' creed, and lived a good life? And dare any man tax that proceeding of remissness, and indifferency in religion? And since our blessed Saviour promised salvation "to him that believeth," (and the apostles, when they gave this word the greatest extent, enlarged it not beyond the borders of the creed,) how can any man warrant the condemning of any man to the flames of hell, that is ready to die in attestation of this faith, so expounded and made explicit by the apostles, and lives accordingly? And to this purpose it was excellently said by a wise and a pious prelate, St. Hilary, "Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat, &c. In absoluto nobis et facili est æternitas; Jesum suscitatum à mortuis per Deum credere, et ipsum esse Dominum confiteri," &c.[q] These are the articles which we must believe which are the sufficient and adequate object of the faith, which is required of us in order to salvation. And therefore it was, that when the bishops of Istria deserted the communion of Pope Pelagius "in causâ trium capitulorum,"[r] he gives them an account of his faith, by recitation of the creed, and by attesting the four general councils; and is confident upon this, that "de fidei firmitate nulla poteri esse quæstio, vel suspicio generari;" let the apostle's creed, especially so explicated, be but secured, and all faith is secured; and yet that explication too was less necessary than the articles themselves; for the explication was but accidental, but the articles even before the explication, were accounted a sufficient inlet to the kingdom of heaven.

40. And that there was security enough in the simple believing the first articles, is very certain amongst them, and by their principles, who allow of an implicit faith to serve most persons to the greatest purposes; for, if the creed did contain in it the whole faith, and that other articles were in it implicitly, (for such is the doctrine of the school and particularly of Aquinas,[s]) then he that explicitly believes all the creed, does implicitly believe all the articles contained in it; and then it is better the implication should still continue, than that by any explication, which is simply unnecessary, the church should be troubled with questions and uncertain determinations, and factions enkindled, and animosities set on foot, and men's souls endangered, who before were secured by the explicit belief of all that the apostles required as necessary; which belief also did secure them from all the rest, because it implied the belief of whatsoever was virtually in the first articles, if such belief should by chance be necessary.

41. The sum of this discourse is this; if we take an estimate of the nature of faith from the dictates and promises evangelical, and from the practice apostolical, the nature of faith and its integrity consist in such propositions which make the foundation of hope and charity, that which is sufficient to make us to do honour to Christ, and to obey him, and to encourage us in both; and this is completed in the

[p] Bulla Pii quarti supra forma juramenti professionis fidei, in fin. Con. Trid.

[q] L. x. de Trin. ad finem.

[r] Concil. tom. iv. Ed. Paris. p. 173. [s] 2.2 æ. q. 1a. 10. ca

apostles' creed. And since contraries are of the same extent, heresy is to be judged by its proportion and analogy to faith; and that is heresy only which is against faith. Now, because faith is not only a precept of doctrines, but of manners, and holy life, whatsoever is either opposite to an article of creed, or teaches ill life, that is heresy; but all those propositions, which are extrinsical to these two considerations, be they true or be they false, make not heresy, nor the man a heretic; and, therefore, however he may be an erring person, yet he is to be used accordingly, pitied and instructed, not condemned or excommunicated; and this is the result of the first ground, the consideration of the nature of faith and heresy.

SECTION III.

Of the Difficulty and Uncertainty of Arguments from Scripture, in Questions not simply necessary, not literally determined.

1. GOD, who disposes of all things sweetly, and according to the nature and capacity of things and persons, had made those only necessary, which he had taken care should be sufficiently propounded to all persons, of whom he required the explicit belief. And, therefore, all the articles of faith are clearly and plainly set down in Scripture; and the gospel is not hid "nisi pereuntibus," saith St. Paul; Πάσης γὰρ ἀρετῆς παράκλησιν, καὶ κακίας ἀπάσης τροπὴν ἐν ταύταις εὑρίσκομεν, saith Damascen;[a] and that so manifestly that no man can be ignorant of the foundation of faith, without his own apparent fault. And this is acknowledged by all wise and good men, and is evident, besides the reasonableness of the thing, in the testimonies of St. Austin,[b] Jerome,[c] Chrysostom,[d] Fulgentius,[e] Hugo de Sancto Victore,[f] Theodoret,[g] Lactantius,[h] Theophilus Antiochenus,[i] Aquinas,[k] and the later schoolmen. And God hath done more; for many things which are only profitable, are also set down so plainly, that as St. Austin says, "Nemo inde haurire non possit, si modò ad hauriendum devotè ac piè accedat:"[l] but of such things there is no question commenced in christendom; and if there were, it cannot but be a crime and human interest, that are the authors of such disputes; and therefore these cannot be simple errors, but always heresies, because the principle of them is a personal sin.

2. But besides these things, which are so plainly set down, "some for doctrine," as St. Paul says, that is, for articles and foundation of faith; some for instruction, some for reproof, some for comfort, that is, in matters practical and speculative, of several tempers and constitutions;—there are innumerable places, containing in them great mysteries, but yet either so inwrapped with a cloud, or so darkened with umbrages, or heightened with expressions, or so covered with allegories and garments of rhetoric, so profound in the matter, or so altered or made intricate in the manner, in the clothing, and in the dressing, that God may seem to have left them as trials of our industry, and arguments of our imperfections, and incentives to the longings after heaven, and the clearest revelations of eternity, and as occasions and opportunities of our mutual charity and toleration to each other, and humility in ourselves, rather than the repositories of faith, and furniture of creeds, and articles of belief.

3. For wherever the word of God is kept, whether in Scripture alone, or also in tradition, he that considers that the meaning of the one, and the truth or certainty of the other, are things of great question, will see a necessity in these things, which are the subject matter of most of the questions of christendom, that men should hope to be excused by an implicit faith in God Almighty. For when there are in the explications of Scripture so many commentaries, so many senses and interpretations, so many volumes in all ages, and all, like men's faces, exactly none like another, either this difference and inconvenience is absolutely no fault at all, or if it be, it is excusable, by a mind prepared to consent in that truth which God intended. And this I call an implicit faith in God; which is, certainly, of as great excellency as an implicit faith in any man or company of men. Because they who do require an implicit faith in the church, for articles less necessary, and excuse the want of explicit faith by the implicit,—do require an implicit faith in the church, because they believe that God hath required of them to have a mind prepared to believe whatever the church says; which, because it is a proposition of no absolute certainty, whosoever does, in readiness of mind, believe all that God spake, does also believe that sufficiently, if it be fitting to be believed, that is, if it be true, and if God hath said so; for he hath the same obedience of understanding in this as in the other. But because it is not so certain that God hath tied him in all things to believe that which is called the church; and that it is certain we must believe God in all things, and yet neither know all that either God hath revealed or the church taught; it is better to take the certain than the uncertain, to believe God rather than men; especially since if God hath bound us to believe men, our absolute submission to God does involve that, and there is no inconvenience in the world this way, but that we implicitly believe one article more, viz. the church's authority or infallibility; which may well be pardoned, because it secures our belief of all the rest; and we are sure if we believe all that God said explicitly, or implicitly, we also believe the church implicitly in case we are bound to it; but we are not certain, that if we believe any company of men whom we call the church, that

[a] Orthod. Fidei. lib. iv. c. 18.
[b] Super Psal. 88. et de Util. Cred. c. 6.
[c] Super Isa. c. 19. et in Psal. 86.
[d] Homil. 3. in Thes. ep. 2.
[e] Serm. de Confess.
[f] In Gen. ap. Struch. p. 87.
[g] Ad Antioch. lib. ii. p. 918.
[h] Ubi suprà de Util. Cred. c. 6.
[i] Miscel. 2. lib. i. tit. 46.
[k] C. 6. c. 21.
[l] Par. 1. q. art.

we therefore obey God, and believe what he hath said. But, however, if this will not help us, there is no help for us, but good fortune or absolute predestination; for by choice and industry, no man can secure himself that in all the mysteries of religion taught in Scripture, he shall certainly understand, and explicitly believe, that sense that God intended. For to this purpose there are many considerations.

4. First; There are so many thousands of copies, that were written by persons of several interests and persuasions,—such different understandings and tempers,—such distinct abilities and weaknesses,—that it is no wonder there is so great variety of readings both in the Old Testament and in the New. In the Old Testament, the Jews pretend that the christians have corrupted many places, on purpose to make symphony between both the Testaments. On the other side, the christians have had so much reason to suspect the Jews, that when Aquila had translated the Bible in their schools, and had been taught by them, they rejected the edition, many of them, and some of them called it heresy to follow it. And Justin Martyr justified it to Tryphon, that the Jews had defalked many sayings from the books of the old prophets, and, amongst the rest, he instances in that of the psalm, "Dicite in nationibus, quia Dominus regnavit à ligno." The last words they have cut off, and prevailed so far in it, that to this day none of our Bibles have it; but if they ought not to have it, then Justin Martyr's Bible had more in it than it should have, for there it was; so that a fault there was, either under or over. But, however, there are infinite readings in the New Testament, (for in that I will instance,) some whole verses in one part that are not in another; and there was, in some copies of St. Mark's Gospel, in the last chapter, a whole verse, a chapter it was anciently called, that is not found in our Bibles, as St. Jerome, "ad Hedibiam, q. 3." notes. The words he repeats, "Contr. Polygamos, lib. ii." "Et illi satis faciebant dicentes, sæculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est, quæ non sinit per immundos spiritûs veram Dei apprehendi virtutem, ideirco, jam nunc revela justitiam tuam."—These words are thought by some to savour of Manichaism; and, for aught I can find, were therefore rejected out of many Greek copies, and at last out of the Latin. Now suppose that a Manichee, in disputation, should urge this place, having found it in his Bible, if a catholic should answer him, by saying it is apocryphal, and not found in divers Greek copies, might not the Manichee ask how it came in, if it was not the word of God,—and if it was, how came it out? and at last take the same liberty of rejecting any other authority which shall be alleged against him, if he can find any copy that may favour him, however that favour be procured. And did not the Ebionites reject all the epistles of St. Paul, upon pretence he was an enemy to the law of Moses? Indeed it was boldly and most unreasonably done; but if one tittle, or one chapter of St. Mark be called apocryphal, for being suspected of Manichaism, it is a plea that will too much justify others, in their taking and choosing what they list. But I will not urge it so far; but is not there as much reason for the fierce Lutherans to reject the epistle of St. James, for favouring justification by works, or the epistle to the Hebrews, upon pretence that the sixth and tenth chapters do favour Novatianism; especially since it was, by some famous churches, at first not accepted, even by the church of Rome herself? The parable of the woman taken in adultery, which is now in John viii. Eusebius says was not in any gospel, but the gospel, "secundum Hebræos;" and St. Jerome makes it doubtful; and so does St. Chrysostom and Euthymius, the first not vouchsafing to explicate it in his homilies upon St. John, the other affirming it not to be found in the exacter copies. I shall not need to urge, that there are some words so near in sound, that the scribes might easily mistake: there is one famous one of Κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες, which yet some copies read καίρῳ δουλεύοντες; the sense is very unlikely, though the words be near, and there needs some little luxation to strain this latter reading to a good sense: that famous precept of St. Paul, that "the women must pray with a covering on their head," διὰ τους ἀγγέλους, "because of the angels," hath brought into the church an opinion that angels are present in churches, and are spectators of our devotion and deportment. Such an opinion, if it should meet with peevish opposites on the one side, and confident hyperaspists on the other, might possibly make a sect; and here were a clear ground for the affirmative, and yet who knows but that it might have been a mistake of the transcribers; for if it were read as Gothofrid, and some others, would have it, διὰ τοὺς ἀγέλους, or rather, διὰ τὰς ἀγέλας, or, τοὺς ἀγελαίους, that the sense be, "women, in public assemblies, must wear a veil, by reason of the 'companies of the young men' there present," it would be no ill exchange for the little change of some letters in a word, to make so probable, so clear a sense of the place. But the instances in this kind are too many, as appears in the variety of readings in several copies proceeding from the negligence or ignorance of the transcribers, or the malicious endeavour of heretics,[m] or the inserting marginal notes into the text, or the nearness of several words. Indeed there is so much evidence of this particular, that it hath encouraged the servants of the vulgar translation, for so some are now-a-days, to prefer that translation before the original; for although they have attempted that proposition with very ill success, yet that they could think it possible to be proved, is an argument there is much variety and alterations in divers texts; for if there were not, it were impudence to pretend a translation, and that none of the best should be better than the original. But so it is that this variety of reading is not of slight consideration; for although it be demonstrably true, that all things necessary to faith and good manners are preserved from alteration and

[m] Græci corruperunt Novum Testamentum, ut testantur Tertul. lib. v. adv. Marcion. Euseb. lib. v. Hist. c. ult. Irenæ. lib. i. c. 29. adv. Hæres. Basil. lib. ii. contr. Eunomium.

corruption, because they are of things necessary, and they could not be necessary, unless they were delivered to us, God, in his goodness and his justice, having obliged himself to preserve that which he hath bound us to observe and keep; yet, in other things which God hath not obliged himself so punctually to preserve, in these things, since variety of reading is crept in, every reading takes away a degree of certainty from any proposition derivative from those places so read: and if some copies, especially if they be public and notable, omit a verse or a tittle, every argument from such a tittle or verse loses much of its strength and reputation; and we find it in a great instance. For when, in probation of the mystery of the glorious Unity in Trinity, we allege that saying of St. John, "there are three which bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one," the antitrinitarians think they have answered the argument by saying the Syrian translation and divers Greek copies have not that verse in them, and, therefore, being of doubtful authority, cannot conclude with certainty, in a question of faith. And there is an instance on the catholic part. For when the Arians urge the saying of our Saviour, "No man knows that day and hour," viz. of judgment, "no, not the Son, but the Father only,"—to prove that the Son knows not all things, and, therefore, cannot be God in the proper sense,—St. Ambrose thinks he hath answered the argument, by saying those words, "no, not the Son," were thrust into the text by the fraud of the Arians. So that here we have one objection, which must first be cleared and made infallible, before we can be ascertained in any such question as to call them heretics that dissent.

5. Secondly, I consider that there are very many senses and designs of expounding Scripture, and when the grammatical sense is found out, we are many times never the nearer; it is not that which was intended; for there is, in very many Scriptures, a double sense, a literal and a spiritual, (for the Scripture is "a book written within and without,"[n]) and both these senses are subdivided. For the literal sense is either natural or figurative: and the spiritual is sometimes allegorical, sometimes anagogetical; nay, sometimes there are divers literal senses in the same sentence, as St. Austin excellently proves in divers places;[o] and it appears, in divers quotations in the New Testament, where the apostles and divine writers bring the same testimony to divers purposes; and particularly, St. Paul's making that saying of the psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," to be an argument of Christ's resurrection, and a designation or ordination to his pontificate, is an instance very famous in his first and fifth chapters to the Hebrews. But now there being such variety of senses in Scripture, and but few places so marked out, as not to be capable of divers senses, if men will write commentaries, as Herod made orations, μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, what infallible κριτήριον will be left whereby to judge of the certain, dogmatical, resolute sense of such places, which have been the matter of question. For put case a question were commenced concerning the degrees of glory in heaven, as there is in the schools a noted one,—to show an inequality of reward, Christ's parable is brought of the reward of ten cities, and of five, according to the divers improvement of the talents; this sense is mystical, and yet very probable, and understood by men, for aught I know, to this very sense. And the result of the argument is made good by St. Paul, "as one star differeth from another in glory;" so shall it be in the resurrection of the dead. Now suppose another should take the same liberty of expounding another parable to a mystical sense and interpretation, as all parables must be expounded, then the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, and though differing in labour, yet having an equal reward, to any man's understanding may seem very strongly to prove the contrary; and, as if it were of purpose, and that it were "primum intentum" of the parable, the lord of the vineyard determined the point resolutely upon the mutiny and repining of them that had borne the burden and heat of the day, "I will give unto this last even as to thee;" which, to my sense, seems to determine the question of degrees; they that work but little, and they that work long, shall not be distinguished in the reward, though accidentally they were in the work: and if this opinion could but answer St. Paul's words, it stands as fair, and perhaps fairer than the other. Now if we look well upon the words of St. Paul, we shall find he speaks nothing at all of diversity of degrees of glory in beatified bodies, but the differences of glory in bodies heavenly and earthly. "There are," says he, "bodies earthly, and there are heavenly bodies: and one is the glory of the earthly, another the glory of the heavenly; one glory of the sun, another of the moon, &c. So shall it be in the resurrection; for it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption." Plainly thus, our bodies in the resurrection shall differ as much from our bodies here, in the state of corruption, as one star does from another. And now suppose a sect should be commenced upon this question, (upon lighter and vainer many have been,) either side must resolve to answer the other's argument, whether they can or no, and to deny to each other a liberty of expounding the parable to such a sense, and yet themselves must use it, or want an argument. But men use to be unjust in their own cases; and were it not better to leave each other to their liberty, and seek to preserve their own charity; for when the words are capable of a mystical or a diverse sense, I know not why men's fancies or understandings should be more bound to be like one another than their faces: and either, in all such places of Scripture, a liberty must be indulged to every honest and peaceable wise man, or else all argument from such places must be wholly declined. Now, although I instanced in a question, which, by good fortune, never came to open defiance, yet there have been sects framed upon lighter grounds, more inconsiderable questions, which have been disputed,

[n] Apoc. v.

[o] Lib. xii. Confess. cap. 26. Lib. xi. de Civit. Dei, c. 19. Lib. iii. de Doctrinâ Christ. cap. 27.

on either side, with arguments less material and less pertinent. St. Austin laughed at the Donatists, for bringing that saying of the spouse in the Canticles to prove their schism, "Indica mihi, ubi pascas; ubi cubes in meridie." For from thence they concluded the residence of the church was only in the south part of the world, only in Africa. It was but a weak way of argument; yet, the fathers were free enough to use such mediums, to prove mysteries of great concernment;[p] but yet again, when they speak either against an adversary, or with consideration, they deny that such mystical senses can sufficiently confirm a question of faith. But I shall instance, in the great question of rebaptization of heretics which many saints, and martyrs, and confessors, and divers councils, and almost all Asia and Africa, did once believe and practise. Their grounds for the invalidity of the baptism by a heretic, were such mystical words as these, "Oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput meum."[q]—And, "Qui baptizatur à mortuo, quid proficit lavatio ejus?"[r]—And, "Ab aquâ alienâ abstinete."[s]—And, "Deus peccatores non exaudit."[t]—And, "He that is not with me is against me."[u]—I am not sure the other part had arguments so good. For the great one of "una fides, unum baptisma," did not conclude it to their understandings who were of the other opinion, and men famous in their generations; for it was no argument that they who had been baptized by John's baptism, should not be baptized in the name of Jesus, because "unus Deus, unum baptisma:" and as it is still one faith which a man confesseth several times, and one sacrament of the eucharist, though a man often communicates; so it might be one baptism, though often ministered. And the unity of baptism might not be derived from the unity of the ministration, but from the unity of the religion into which they are baptized, though baptized a thousand times; yet, because it was still in the name of the Holy Trinity, still into the death of Christ, it might be "unum baptisma." Whether Sts. Cyprian, Firmilian, and their colleagues, had this discourse, or no, I know not; I am sure they might have had much better to have evacuated the force of that argument, although I believe they had the wrong cause in hand. But this is it that I say, that when a question is so undetermined in Scripture, that the arguments rely only upon such mystical places, whence the best fancies can draw the greatest variety, and such which perhaps were never intended by the Holy Ghost,—it were good the rivers did not swell higher than the fountain, and the confidence higher than the argument and evidence; for, in this case, there could not any thing be so certainly proved, as that the disagreeing party should deserve to be condemned, by a sentence of excommunication, for disbelieving it; and yet they were; which I wonder at so much the more, because they who, as it was since judged, had the right cause, had not any sufficient argument from Scripture, not so much as such mystical arguments, but did fly to the tradition of the church; in which also, I shall afterwards show, they had nothing that was absolutely certain.

6. Thirdly, I consider that there are divers places of Scripture containing in them mysteries and questions of great concernment, and yet the fabric and constitution is such, that there is no certain mark to determine, whether the sense of them should be literal or figurative; I speak not here concerning extrinsical means of determination, as traductive interpretations, councils, fathers, popes, and the like; I shall consider them afterwards in their several places; but here the subject matter being concerning Scripture in its own capacity, I say there is nothing in the nature of the thing to determine the sense and meaning, but it must be gotten out as it can; and that therefore it is unreasonable, that what of itself is ambiguous, should be understood in its own prime sense and intention under the pain of either a sin, or an anathema; I instance in that famous place from whence hath sprung that question of transubstantiation, "Hoc est corpus meum." The words are plain and clear, apt to be understood in the literal sense; and yet this sense is so hard, as it does violence to reason, and, therefore, it is the question, whether or no it be not a figurative speech. But here what shall we have to determine it? What mean soever we take, and to what sense you will expound it, you shall be put to give an account, why you expound other places of Scripture, in the same case, to quite contrary senses. For if you expound it literally, then, besides that it seems to intrench upon the words of our blessed Saviour, "The words that I speak, they are spirit and they are life," that is, to be spiritually understood (and it is a miserable thing to see what wretched shifts are used to reconcile the literal sense to these words, and yet to distinguish it from the Capernaitical fancy): but, besides this, why are not those other sayings of Christ expounded literally; "I am a vine," "I am the door," "I am a rock?" Why do we fly to a figure in those parallel words, "This is the covenant which I make between me and you?" and yet that covenant was but the sign of the covenant: and why do we fly to a figure, in a precept, as well as in mystery, and a proposition? "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off;" and yet we have figures enough to save a limb. If it be said, because reason tells us these are not to be expounded according to the letter; this will be no plea for them, who retain the literal exposition of the other instance, against all reason, against all philosophy, against all sense, and against two or three sciences. But if you expound these words figuratively, besides that you are to contest against a world of prejudices, you give yourself the liberty, which if others will use, when either they have a reason or a necessity so to do, they may, perhaps, turn all into allegory, and so may evacuate any precept, and elude any argument. Well, so it is that very wise men have expounded things allegorically,[x] when they

[p] Hieron. in Matt. xiii.
[q] Ps. cxl.
[r] Eccles. xxxiv.
[s] Prov. v.
[t] John ix.
[u] Luke xi.

[x] Sic Hieron. In adolescentiâ, provocatus ardore et studio Scripturarum, allegoricè interpretatus sum Abdiam prophetam, cujus historiam nesciebam. De Sensû Allegorico

should have expounded them literally. So did the famous Origen, who, as St. Jerome reports of him, turned paradise into an allegory, that he took away quite the truth of the story; and not only Adam was turned out of the garden, but the garden itself out of paradise. Others expound things literally, when they should understand them in allegory: so did the ancient Papias understand Christ's millenary reign upon earth,[y] and so depressed the hopes of christianity, and their desires to the longing and expectation of temporal pleasures and satisfactions: and he was followed by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and, indeed, the whole church generally, till St. Austin and St. Jerome's time, who, first of any whose works are extant, did reprove the error. If such great spirits be deceived in finding out what kind of senses be to be given to Scriptures, it may well be endured, that we, who sit at their feet, may also tread in the steps of them, whose feet could not always tread aright.

7. Fourthly, I consider that there are some places of Scripture that have the self-same expressions, the same preceptive words, the same reason and account, in all appearance; and yet, either must be expounded to quite different senses, or else we must renounce the communion and the charities of a great part of christendom. And yet there is absolutely nothing in the thing, or in its circumstances, or in its adjuncts, that can determine it to different purposes. I instance in those great exclusive negatives for the necessity of both sacraments: "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ," &c. "Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis," &c. a "non introibit in regnum cœlorum," for both these. Now, then, the first is urged for the absolute indispensable necessity of baptism, even in infants, insomuch that infants go to part of hell, if, inculpably, both on their own and their parents' part, they miss of baptism; for that is the doctrine of the church of Rome, which they learned from St. Austin; and others also do from hence baptize infants, though with a less opinion of its absolute necessity. And yet the same manner of precept, in the same form of words, in the same manner of threatening, by an exclusive negative, shall not enjoin us to communicate infants, though damnation, at least in form of words, be exactly, and "per omnia," alike appendant to the neglect of holy baptism, and the venerable eucharist. If "nisi quis renatus" shall conclude against the anabaptist, for necessity of baptizing infants, (as sure enough we say it does,) why shall not an equal "nisi comederitis" bring infants to the holy communion? The primitive church, for some two whole ages, did follow their own principles, wherever they led them; and seeing that, upon the same ground, equal results must follow, they did communicate infants as soon as they had baptized them. And why the church of Rome should not do so too, being she expounds "nisi comederitis" of oral manducation, I cannot yet learn a reason. And for others, they expound it of a spiritual manducation, why they shall not allow the disagreeing part the same liberty of expounding "nisi quis renatus," too, I by no means can understand. And, in these cases, no external determiner can be pretended in answer. For whatsoever is extrinsical to the words, as councils, traditions, church authority, and fathers, either have said nothing at all, or have concluded, by their practice, contrary to the present opinion, as is plain by their communicating infants by virtue of "nisi comederitis."

8. Fifthly; I shall not need to urge the mysteriousness of some points in Scripture, which "ex naturâ rei," are hard to be understood, though very plainly represented. For there are some "secreta theologiæ," which are only to be understood by persons very holy and spiritual; which are rather to be felt than discoursed of; and, therefore, if peradventure they be offered to public consideration, they will therefore be opposed, because they run the same fortune with many other questions; that is, not to be understood, and so much the rather because their understanding, that is, the feeling, such secrets of the kingdom, are not the results of logic and philosophy, nor yet of public revelation, but of the public spirit privately working; and in no man is a duty, but in all that have it is a reward,—and is not necessary for all, but given to some; producing its operations, not regularly, but upon occasions, personal necessities, and new emergencies. Of this nature are the spirit of obsignation, belief of particular salvation, special influences, and comforts coming from a sense of the spirit of adoption, actual fervours, and great complacencies in devotion, spiritual joys,—which are little drawings aside of the curtains of peace and eternity, and antepasts of immortality. But the not understanding the perfect constitution and temper of these mysteries, (and it is hard for any man so to understand, as to make others do so too that feel them not,) is cause, that, in many questions of secret theology, by being very apt and easy to be mistaken, there is a necessity in forbearing one another; and this consideration would have been of good use in the question between Soto and Catharinus, both for the preservation of their charity, and explication of the mystery.

9. Sixthly; But here it will not be unreasonable to consider, that all systems and principles of science are expressed, so that, either by reason of the universality of the terms and subject matter, or the infinite variety of human understandings, and these, peradventure, swayed by interest, or determined by things accidental and extrinsical,—they seem to divers men, nay, to the same men upon divers occasions, to speak things extremely desperate, and sometimes contrary, but very often of great variety. And this very thing happens also in Scripture, that if it were not in "re sacrâ et seriâ," it were excellent sport to observe how the same place of Scripture serves several turns upon occasion; and they

S. Script. dixit Basilius; ὡς κεκομψευμένον μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἀληθῆ δὲ εἶναι οὐ πάνυ δώσομεν. L. xx. de Civ. Dei, c. 7. præfat. L. xix. in Isai. et in c. 36. Ezek.

[y] Apocal. xx.

at that time believe the words sound nothing else; whereas in the liberty of their judgment and abstracting from that occasion, their commentaries understand them wholly to a differing sense. It is a wonder of what excellent use to the church of Rome, is "tibi dabo claves:" it was spoken to Peter, and none else (sometimes); and, therefore, it concerns him and his successors only; the rest are to derive from him. And yet, if you question them for their sacrament of penance, and priestly absolution, then "tibi dabo claves" comes in, and that was spoken to St. Peter, and, in him, to the whole college of the apostles, and, in them, to the whole hierarchy. If you question why the pope pretends to free souls from purgatory, "tibi dabo claves" is his warrant; but if you tell him the keys are only for binding and loosing on earth directly, and in heaven consequently; and that purgatory is a part of hell, or rather neither earth, nor heaven, nor hell, and so the keys seem to have nothing to do with it, then his commission is to be enlarged by a suppletory of reason and consequences, and his keys shall unlock this difficulty, for it is "clavis scientiæ," as well as "auctoritatis." And these keys shall enable him to expound Scriptures infallibly, to determine questions, to preside in councils, to dictate to all the world magisterially, to rule the church, to dispense with oaths, to abrogate laws: and if his key of knowledge will not, the key of authority shall, and "tibi dabo claves" shall answer for all. We have an instance in the single fancy of one man, what rare variety of matter is afforded from those plain words of "Oravi pro te, Petre;"[z] for that place (says Bellarmine[a]) is otherwise to be understood of Peter, otherwise of the popes, and otherwise of the church of Rome. And "pro te" signifies, that Christ prayed that Peter might neither err personally nor judicially; and that Peter's successors, if they did err personally, might not err judicially; and that the Roman church might not err personally. All this variety of sense is pretended by the fancy of one man, to be in a few words, which are as plain and simple as are any words in Scripture. And what then in those thousands that are intricate? So is done with "pasce oves," which a man would think were a commission as innocent and guiltless of designs, as the sheep in the folds are. But if it be asked, why the bishop of Rome calls himself universal bishop? "Pasce oves" is his warrant.—Why he pretends to a power of deposing princes? "Pasce oves," said Christ to Peter, the second time.—If it be demanded why also he pretends to a power of authorizing his subjects to kill him? "Pasce agnos," said Christ the third time:—And "pasce" is "doce," and "pasce" is "impera," and "pasce" is "occide." Now if others should take the same unreasonableness I will not say, but the same liberty in expounding Scripture; or if it be not license taken, but that the Scripture itself is so full and redundant in senses quite contrary, what man soever, or what company of men soever, shall use this principle, will certainly find such rare productions from several places, that either the unreasonableness of the thing will discover the error of the proceeding, or else there will be a necessity of permitting a great liberty of judgment where is so infinite variety, without limit or mark of necessary determination. If the first, then, because an error is so obvious and ready to ourselves it will be great imprudence or tyranny to be hasty in judging others; but if the latter, it is that I contend for: for it is most unreasonable, when either the thing itself ministers variety, or that we take license to ourselves in variety of interpretations, or proclaim to all the world our great weakness, by our actually being deceived, that we should either prescribe to others magisterially, when we are in error, or limit their understandings, when the thing itself affords liberty and variety.

[z] Luke xxii.

[a] Bellar. lib. v. de Pontif. cap. 3. Sect. Respondeo primo.

SECTION IV.

Of the Difficulty of expounding Scripture.

1. THESE considerations are taken from the nature of Scripture itself; but then if we consider that we have no certain ways of determining places of difficulty and question, infallibly and certainly but that we must hope to be saved in the belief of things plain, necessary, and fundamental, and our pious endeavour to find out God's meaning in such places, which he hath left under a cloud for other great ends reserved to his own knowledge, we shall see a very great necessity in allowing a liberty in prophesying, without prescribing authoritatively to other men's consciences, and becoming lords and masters of their faith. Now the means of expounding Scripture are either external or internal. For the external, as church-authority, tradition, fathers, councils, and decrees of bishops,—they are of a distinct consideration, and follow after in their order. But here we will first consider the invalidity and uncertainty of all those means of expounding Scripture; which are more proper and internal to the nature of the thing. The great masters of commentaries, some whereof have undertaken to know all mysteries, have propounded many ways to expound Scripture, which indeed are excellent helps but not infallible assistances, both because themselves are but moral instruments, which force no truth "ex abscondito," as also because they are not infallibly used and applied. 1. Sometimes the sense is drawn forth by the context and connexion of parts: it is well, when it can be so. But when there are two or three antecedents, and subject spoken of, what man or what rule shall ascertain me, that I make my reference true by drawing the relation to such an antecedent; to which I have a mind to apply it, another hath not? For in a coat texture, where one part does not always depend upon another, where things of differing natures intervene and interrupt the first intentions, there it is not always very probable to expound Scripture, and

take its meaning by its proportion to the neighbouring words. But who desires satisfaction in this, may read the observation verified in St. Gregory's[a] morals upon Job; and the instances he there brings, are excellent proof, that this way of interpretation does not warrant any man to impose his expositions upon the belief and understanding of other men too confidently and magisterially.

2. Secondly: another great pretence or medium is the conference of places, which Illyricus calls "ingens remedium et felicissimam expositionem sanctæ scripturæ;" and indeed so it is, if well and temperately used; but then we are beholden to them that do so; for there is no rule that can constrain them to it; for comparing of places is of so indefinite capacity, that if there be ambiguity of words, variety of sense, alteration of circumstances, or difference of style among divine writers, then there is nothing that may be more abused by wilful people, or may more easily deceive the unwary, or that may more amuse the most intelligent observer. The anabaptists take advantage enough in this proceeding;—and indeed so may any one that list; and when we pretend against them the necessity of baptizing all, by authority of "nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aquâ et Spiritu," they have a parallel for it, and tell us, that Christ will "baptize us with the Holy Ghost and with fire," and that one place expounds the other; and because by fire is not meant an element, or any thing that is natural, but an allegory and figurative expression of the same thing; so also by water may be meant the figure signifying the effect or manner of operation of the Holy Spirit. Fire in one place, and water in the other, do but represent to us that Christ's baptism is nothing else but the cleansing and purifying us by the Holy Ghost. But that which I here note, as of greatest concernment, and which in all reason ought to be an utter overthrow to this topic, is a universal abuse of it among those that use it most; and when two places seem to have the same expression, or if a word have a double signification,—because in this place it may have such a sense, therefore it must; because in one of the places the sense is to their purpose, they conclude that therefore it must be so in the other too. An instance I give in the great question between the Socinians and the Catholics. If any place be urged in which our blessed Saviour is called God, they show you two or three where the word God is taken in a depressed sense, for a "quasi-Deus," as when God said to Moses, "Constitui te Deum Pharaonis;" and hence they argue, because I can show the word is used for a "Deus factus," therefore no argument is sufficient to prove Christ to be "Deus verus" from the appellative of "Deus." And might not another argue to the exact contrary, and as well urge that Moses is "Deus verus," because in some places the word "Deus" is used "pro Deo æterno:" both ways the argument concludes impiously and unreasonably. It is a fallacy "à posse ad esse affirmativè;" because breaking of bread is sometimes used for a eucharistical manducation in Scripture; therefore I shall not, from any testimony of Scripture affirming the first christians to have broken bread together, conclude that they lived hospitably and in common society. Because it may possibly be eluded, therefore it does not signify any thing. And this is the great way of answering all the arguments that can be brought against any thing, that any man hath a mind to defend; and any man that reads any controversies of any side, shall find as many instances of this vanity almost as he finds arguments from Scripture; this fault was of old noted by St. Austin, for then they had got the trick, and he is angry at it; "neque enim putare debemus esse præscriptum, ut quod in aliquo loco res aliqua per similitudinem significaverit, hoc etiam semper significare credamus."[b]

3. Thirdly: oftentimes scriptures are pretended to be expounded by a proportion and analogy of reason. And this is as the other; if it be well, it is well. But unless there were some "intellectus universalis" furnished with infallible propositions, by referring to which every man might argue infallibly, this logic may deceive as well as any of the rest. For it is with reason as with men's tastes; although there are some general principles, which are reasonable to all men, yet every man is not able to draw out all its consequences, nor to understand them when they are drawn forth, nor to believe when he does understand them. There is a precept of St. Paul directed to the Thessalonians before they were gathered into a body of a church, "To withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly."[c] But if this precept were now observed, I would fain know whether we should not fall into that inconvenience, which St. Paul sought to avoid in giving the same commandment to the church of Corinth; "I wrote to you that ye should not company with fornicators;" and "yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, for then ye must go out of the world."[d] And therefore, he restrains it to a quitting the society of christians living ill lives. But now, that all the world hath been christians, if we should sin in keeping company with vicious christians, must we not also go out of this world? Is not the precept made null, because the reason is altered, and things are come about, and that the οἱ πολλοὶ are "the brethren," ἀδελφοὶ ὀνομαζόμενοι, "called brethren," as St. Paul's phrase is? And yet either this never was considered, or not yet believed; for it is generally taken to be obligatory, though, I think, seldom practised. But when we come to expound scriptures to a certain sense by arguments drawn from prudential motives, then we are in a vast plain without any sufficient guide, and we shall have so many senses as there are human prudences. But that which goes farther than this, is a parity of reason from a plain place of Scripture to an obscure, from that which is plainly set down in a text to another that is more remote from it. And thus is that place in St. Matthew forced, "If thy brother refuse to be amended, 'dic ecclesiæ.'" Hence some of the Roman doctors argue, if Christ commands to "tell the church" in case of adultery or private injury, then

[a] Lib. 5. c. 22. [b] De Doctrin. Christian. lib. 3. [c] 2 Thess. iii. 6. [d] 1 Cor. v. 9

much more in case of heresy. Well, suppose this to be a good interpretation: why must I stay here? why may not I also add, by a parity of reason, if the church must be told of heresy, much more of treason: and why may not I reduce all sins to the cognizance of a church-tribunal, and some men do directly, and Snecanus does heartily and plainly? If a man's principles be good, and his deductions certain, he need not care whither they carry him: but when an authority is intrusted to a person, and the extent of his power expressed in his commission, it will not be safety to meddle beyond his commission upon confidence of a parity of reason.—To instance once more: when Christ in "pasce oves, et tu es Petrus," gave power to the pope to govern the church, (for to that sense the church of Rome expounds those authorities,) by a certain consequence of reason, say they, he gave all things necessary for exercise of this jurisdiction; and therefore in "pasce oves" he gave him an indirect power over temporals, for that is necessary that he may do his duty: well, having gone thus far, we will go farther upon the parity of reason; therefore he hath given the pope the gift of tongues, and he hath given him power to give it; for how else shall Xavier convert the Indians? he hath given him power also to command the seas and the winds, that they should obey him, for this also is very necessary in some cases. And so "pasce oves" is "accipe donum linguarum," and "impera ventis, et dispone regum diademata, et laicorum prædia," and "influentias cœli" too, and whatsoever the parity of reason will judge equally necessary in order to "pasce oves."—When a man does speak reason, it is but reason he should be heard; but though he may have the good fortune, or the great abilities, to do it, yet he hath not a certainty, no regular infallible assistance, no inspiration of arguments and deductions; and if he had, yet because it must be reason that must judge of reason, unless other men's understandings were of the same air, the same constitution and ability, they cannot be prescribed unto by another man's reason; especially because such reasonings as usually are in explication of particular places of Scripture, depend upon minute circumstances and particularities, in which it is so easy to be deceived, and so hard to speak reason regularly and always, that it is the greater wonder if we be not deceived.

4. Fourthly: others pretend to expound Scripture by the analogy of faith, and that is the most sure and infallible way, as it is thought: but upon stricter survey it is but a chimera, a thing in "nubibus," which varies like the right hand and left hand of a pillar, and at the best is but like the coast of a country to a traveller out of his way; it may bring him to his journey's end though twenty miles about; it may keep him from running into the sea, and from mistaking a river for dry land; but whether this little path or the other be the right way, it tells not. So is the analogy of faith, that is, if I understand it right, the rule of faith, that is, the creed. Now were it not a fine device to go to expound all the Scripture by the creed, there being in it so many thousand places, which have no more relation to any article in the creed, than they have to "Tityre, tu patulæ?" Indeed, if a man resolves to keep the analogy of faith, that is, to expound Scripture so as not to do any violence to any fundamental article, he shall be sure, however he errs, yet not to destroy faith; he shall not perish in his exposition. And that was the precept given by St. Paul, that all prophesyings should be estimated κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως;[e] and to this very purpose, St. Austin, in his exposition of Genesis, by way of preface sets down the articles of faith, with this design and protestation of it, that if he says nothing against those articles, though he miss the particular sense of the place, there is no danger or sin in his exposition; but how that analogy of faith should have any other influence in expounding such places, in which those articles of faith are neither expressed nor involved, I understand not. But then if you extend the analogy of faith farther than that which is proper to the rule or symbol of faith, then every man expounds Scripture "according to the analogy of faith;" but what? his own faith: which faith, if it be questioned, I am no more bound to expound according to the analogy of another man's faith than he to expound according to the analogy of mine. And this is it that is complained of on all sides, that overvalue their own opinions. Scripture seems so clearly to speak what they believe, that they wonder all the world does not see it as clear as they do: but they satisfy themselves with saying that it is because they come with prejudice; where as, if they had the true belief, that is, theirs, they would easily see what they see. And this is very true: for if they did believe as others believe, they would expound scriptures to their sense; but if this be expounding according to the analogy of faith, it signifies no more than this, "Be you of my mind and then my arguments will seem concluding, and my authorities and allegations pressing and pertinent:" and this will serve on all sides, and therefore will do but little service to the determination of questions, or prescribing to other men's conscience on any side.

5. Lastly: consulting the originals is thought a great matter to interpretation of scriptures. But this is to small purpose: for indeed it will expound the Hebrew and the Greek, and rectify translations. But I know no man that says that the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek are easy and certain to be understood, and that they are hard in Latin and English: the difficulty is in the thing, however it be expressed,—the least, is in the language. If the original languages were our mother-tongue, Scripture is not much the easier to us; and a natural Greek or a Jew can with no more reason, or authority, obtrude his interpretations upon other men's consciences, than a man of another nation. Add to this that the inspection of the original is no more certain way of interpretation of Scripture now, than it was to the fathers and primitive ages of the church; and yet he that observes what infinite variety of translations of the Bible were in the first ages of the church, (as St. Jerome observes,) and never a one

[e] Rom. vi. 12.

like another; will think that we shall differ as much in our interpretations as they did, and that the medium is as uncertain to us as it was to them: and so it is: witness the great number of late translations, and the infinite number of commentaries, which are too pregnant an argument, that we neither agree in the understanding of the words nor of the sense.

6. The truth is, all these ways of interpreting of Scripture, which of themselves are good helps, are made, either by design or by our infirmities, ways of intricating and involving scriptures in greater difficulty; because men do not learn their doctrines from Scripture, but come to the understanding of Scripture with preconceptions and ideas of doctrines of their own; and then no wonder that scriptures look like pictures, wherein every man in the room believes they look on him only, and that wheresoever he stands, or how often soever he changes his station. So that now what was intended for a remedy, becomes the promoter of our disease, and our meat becomes the matter of sickness; and the mischief is, the wit of man cannot find a remedy for it; for there is no rule, no limit, no certain principle, by which all men may be guided to a certain and so infallible an interpretation, that he can with any equity prescribe to others to believe his interpretations in places of controversy or ambiguity. A man would think that the memorable prophecy of Jacob, that "the sceptre should not depart from Judah till Shiloh come," should have been so clear a determination of the time of the Messias, that a Jew should never have doubted it to have been verified in Jesus of Nazareth; and yet for this so clear vaticination, they have no less than twenty-six answers. St. Paul and St. James seem to speak a little diversely concerning justification by faith and works, and yet to my understanding it is very easy to reconcile them; but all men are not of my mind; for Osiander, in his confutation of the book which Melancthon wrote against him, observes, that there are twenty several opinions concerning justification, all drawn from the Scriptures, by the men only of the Augustine confession. There are sixteen several opinions concerning original sin; and as many definitions of the sacraments, as there are sects of men that disagree about them.

7. And now what help is there for us in the midst of these uncertainties? If we follow any one translation, or any one man's commentary, what rule shall we have to choose the right by? or is there any one man, that hath translated perfectly, or expounded infallibly? No translation challenges such a prerogative to be authentic, but the vulgar Latin; and yet see with what good success; for when it was declared authentic by the council of Trent, Sixtus put forth a copy much mended of what it was, and tied all men to follow that; but that did not satisfy; for Pope Clement revives and corrects it in many places, and still the decree remains in a changed subject.—And, secondly, that translation will be very unapt to satisfy, in which one of their own men, Isidore Clarius, a monk of Brescia, found and mended eight thousand faults, besides innumerable others which he says he pretermitted.—And then, thirdly, to show how little themselves were satisfied with it, divers learned men among them did new translate the Bible, and thought they did God and the church good service in it. So that if you take this for your precedent, you are sure to be mistaken infinitely; if you take any other, the authors themselves do not promise you any security; if you resolve to follow any one, as far only as you see cause, then you only do wrong or right by chance; for you have certainty just proportionable to your own skill, to your own infallibility. If you resolve to follow any one whithersoever he leads, we shall oftentimes come thither, where we shall see ourselves become ridiculous; as it happened in the case of Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, who so resolved to follow his old book, that when an eloquent bishop who was desired to preach, read his text, "Tu autem tolle *cubile* tuum et ambula;" Spiridion was very angry with him, because in *his* book it was "tolle *lectum* tuum," and thought it arrogance in the preacher to speak better Latin than his translator had done: and if it be thus in translations, it is far worse in expositions: "Quia scilicet Scripturam sacram pro ipsâ sui altitudine non uno eodemque sensû omnes accipiunt, ut penè quot homines, tot illic sententiæ erui posse videantur," said Vincentius Lirinensis.[f] In which every man knows what innumerable ways there are of being mistaken,—God having in things not simply necessary left such a difficulty upon those parts of Scripture which are the subject-matters of controversy, "ad edomandam labore superbiam, et intellectum à fastidio revocandum," as St. Austin gives a reason,[g] that all that err honestly, are therefore to be pitied and tolerated, because it is or may be the condition of every man, at one time or other.

8. The sum is this: since Holy Scripture is the repository of Divine truths, and the great rule of faith, to which all sects of christians do appeal for probation of their several opinions; and since all agree in the articles of the creed as things clearly and plainly set down, and as containing all that which is of simple and prime necessity; and since, on the other side, there are in Scripture many other mysteries, and matters of question, upon which there is a veil; since there are so many copies with infinite varieties of reading; since a various interpunction, a parenthesis, a letter, an accent, may much alter the sense; since some places have divers literal senses, many have spiritual, mystical, and allegorical meanings; since there are so many tropes, metonymies, ironies, hyperboles, proprieties, and improprieties of language, whose understanding depends upon such circumstances, that it is almost impossible to know its proper interpretation, now that the knowledge of such circumstances and particular stories is irrevocably lost; since there are some mysteries which, at the best advantage of expression, are not easy to be apprehended, and whose explication, by reason of our imperfections, must needs be dark, sometimes weak, sometimes unin-

[f] In Commonit.

[g] Lib. 2. de Doctr. Christian. c. 6

telligible; and, lastly, since those ordinary means of expounding Scripture, as searching the originals, conference of places, parity of reason, and analogy of faith, are all dubious, uncertain, and very fallible, —he that is the wisest, and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest in all probability of reason, will be very far from confidence; because every one of these, and many more, are like so many degrees of improbability and uncertainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out truth in such mysteries, and amidst so many difficulties. And therefore, a wise man, that considers this, would not willingly be prescribed to by others; and therefore, if he also be a just man, he will not impose upon others; for it is best every man should be left in that liberty, from which no man can justly take him, unless he could secure him from error: so that here also there is a necessity to conserve the liberty of prophesying, and interpreting Scripture; a necessity derived from the consideration of the difficulty of Scripture in questions controverted, and the uncertainty of any internal medium of interpretation.

SECTION V.

Of the Insufficiency and Uncertainty of Tradition to expound Scripture, or determine Questions.

1. In the next place, we must consider those extrinsical means of interpreting Scripture, and determining questions, which they most of all confide in, that restrain prophesying with the greatest tyranny. The first and principal is tradition, which is pretended not only to expound Scripture, "(Necesse enim est propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractûs, ut propheticæ et apostolicæ interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensûs normam dirigatur,)"[h] but also to propound articles upon a distinct stock, such articles, whereof there is no mention and proposition in Scripture. And in this topic, not only the distinct articles are clear and plain, like as the fundamentals of faith expressed in Scripture, but also it pretends to expound Scripture, and to determine questions with so much clarity and certainty, as there shall neither be error nor doubt remaining, and therefore no disagreeing is here to be endured. And, indeed, it is most true, if tradition can perform these pretensions, and teach us plainly, and assure us infallibly of all truths, which they require us to believe, we can in this case have no reason to disbelieve them, and therefore are certainly heretics if we do, because, without a crime, without some human interest or collateral design, we cannot disbelieve traditive doctrine or traditive interpretation, if it be infallibly proved to us that tradition is an infallible guide.

2. But here I first consider that tradition is no repository of articles of faith, and therefore the not following it is no argument of heresy; for besides that I have showed Scripture in its plain expresses to be an abundant rule of faith and manners, tradition is a topic as fallible as any other: so fallible that it cannot be sufficient evidence to any man in a matter of faith or question of heresy.

3. For first, I find, that the fathers were infinitely deceived in their account and enumeration of traditions: sometimes they did call some traditions such, not which they knew to be so, but by arguments and presumptions they concluded them so. Such as was that of St. Austin, "Ea quæ universalis tenet ecclesia nec à conciliis instituta reperiuntur, credibile est ab apostolorum traditione descendisse."[i] Now suppose this rule probable, that is the most, yet it is not certain; it might come by custom, whose original was not known, but yet could not derive from an apostolical principle. Now when they conclude of particular traditions by a general rule, and that general rule not certain, but, at the most, probable in any thing, and certainly false in some things,—is it wonder if the productions, that is, their judgments and pretence, fail so often. And if I should but instance in all the particulars, in which tradition was pretended falsely or uncertainly in the first ages, I should multiply them to a troublesome variety: for it was then accounted so glorious a thing to have spoken with the persons of the apostles, that if any man could with any colour pretend to it, he might abuse the whole church, and obtrude what he listed under the specious title of apostolical tradition; and it is very notorious to every man, that will but read and observe the Recognitions or Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus,—where there is enough of such false wares showed in every book, and pretended to be no less than from the apostles. In the first age after the apostles, Papias pretended he received a tradition from the apostles, that Christ, before the day of judgment, should reign a thousand years upon earth, and his saints with him in temporal felicities; and this thing proceeding from so great an authority as the testimony of Papias, drew after it all or most of the christians in the first three hundred years. For besides, that the millenary opinion is expressly taught by Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Lactantius, Severus, Victorinus, Apollinaris, Nepos, and divers others famous in their time; Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue against Tryphon, says, it was the belief of all christians exactly orthodox, *καὶ εἰ τινές εἰσι κατὰ πάντα ὀρθογνώμονες Χριστιανοὶ*; and yet there was no such tradition, but a mistake in Papias: but I find it no where spoke against, till Dionysius of Alexandria confuted Nepos's book, and converted Coracian the Egyptian from the opinion. Now if a tradition, whose beginning of being called so began with a scholar of the apostles, (for so was Papias,) and then continued for some ages upon the mere authority of so famous a man, did yet deceive the church: much more fallible is the pretence, when, two or three hundred years after, it but commences, and then by some learned man is first called a tradition apostolical. And so it happened in the case of the Arian heresy, which the Nicene fathers did confute by objecting a contrary tradition apostolical,

[h] Vincent. Lirinens. in Commonitor.

[i] Epist. 118. ad Januar. De Bapt. contr. Donat. lib. 4. c. 24.

as Theodoret reports;[k] and yet if they had not had better arguments from Scripture than from tradition, they would have failed much in so good a cause; for this very pretence the Arians themselves made, and desired to be tried by the fathers of the first three hundred years, which was a confutation sufficient to them who pretended a clear tradition, because it was unimaginable, that the tradition should leap so as not to come from the first to the last by the middle. But that this trial was sometime declined by that excellent man, St. Athanasius, although at other times confidently and truly pretended, it was an argument the tradition was not so clear, but both sides might with some fairness pretend to it.[l] And therefore, one of the prime founders of their heresy, the heretic Artemon,[m]—having observed the advantage might be taken by any sect that would pretend tradition, because the medium was plausible, and consisting of so many particulars, that it was hard to be redargued,—pretended a tradition from the apostles, that Christ was ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, and that the tradition did descend by a constant succession in the church of Rome to Pope Victor's time inclusively, and till Zephyrinus had interrupted the series and corrupted the doctrine; which pretence, if it had not had some appearance of truth, so as possibly to abuse the church, had not been worthy of confutation, which yet was with care undertaken by an old writer, out of whom Eusebius transcribes a large passage to reprove the vanity of the pretender.[n] But I observe from hence, that it was usual to pretend to tradition, and that it was easier pretended than confuted, and I doubt not but oftener done than discovered. A great question arose in Africa concerning the baptism of heretics, whether it were valid or no. St. Cyprian and his party appealed to Scripture; Stephen bishop of Rome, and his party, would be judged by custom and tradition ecclesiastical. See how much the nearer the question was to a determination, either that probation was not accounted by St. Cyprian, and the bishops both of Asia and Africa, to be a good argument, and sufficient to determine them, or there was no certain tradition against them; for unless one of these two do it, nothing could excuse them from opposing a known truth, unless peradventure, St. Cyprian, Firmilian, the bishops of Galatia, Cappadocia, and almost two parts of the world, were ignorant of such a tradition, for they knew of none such, and some of them expressly denied it. And the sixth general synod approves of the canon[o] made in the council of Carthage under Cyprian upon this very ground, because in "prædictorum præsulum locis et solum secundum traditam eis consuetudinem servatus est;" they had a particular tradition for rebaptization, and therefore there could be no tradition universal against it; or if there were, they knew not of it, but much for the contrary: and then it would be remembered that a concealed tradition was like a silent thunder, or a law not promulgated; it neither was known, nor was obligatory. And I shall observe this too, that this very tradition was so obscure, and was so obscurely delivered, silently proclaimed, that St. Austin, who disputed against the Donatists upon this very question, was not able to prove it but by a consequence which he thought probable and credible, as appears in his discourse against the Donatists. "The apostles," saith St. Austin,[p] "prescribed nothing in this particular: but this custom, which is contrary to Cyprian, ought to be believed to have come from their tradition, as many other things which the catholic church observes." That is all the ground and all the reason; nay, the church did waver concerning that question, and before the decision of a council, Cyprian and others might dissent without breach of charity.[q] It was plain then there was no clear tradition in the question; possibly there might be a custom in some churches postnate to the times of the apostles, but nothing that was obligatory, no tradition apostolical. But this was a suppletory device ready at hand whenever they needed it; and St. Austin confuted the Pelagians, in the question of original sin, by the custom of exorcism and insufflation,[r] which St. Austin said, came from the apostles by tradition; which yet was then, and is now, so impossible to be proved, that he that shall affirm it, shall gain only the reputation of a bold man and a confident.

4. Secondly: I consider, if the report of traditions in the primitive times, so near the ages apostolical, was so uncertain, that they were fain to aim at them by conjectures, and grope as in the dark, the uncertainty is much increased since; because there are many famous writers whose works are lost, which yet if they had continued they might have been good records to us, as Clemens Romanus, Hegesippus, Nepos, Coracion, Dionysius Areopagite, of Alexandria, of Corinth, Firmilian, and many more: and since we see pretences have been made without reason in those ages, where they might better have been confuted than now they can,—it is greater prudence to suspect any later pretences, since so many sects have been, so many wars, so many corruptions in authors, so many authors lost, so much ignorance hath intervened, and so many interests have been served, that now the rule is to be altered: and whereas it was of old time credible, that that was apostolical whose beginning they knew not,—now quite contrary, we cannot safely believe them to be apostolical, unless we do know their beginning to have been from the apostles. For this consisting of probabilities and particulars, which put together make up a moral demonstration, —the argument which I now urge,—hath been growing these fifteen hundred years; and if anciently there was so much as to evacuate the authority of tradition,—much more is there now absolutely to

[k] Lib. 1. Hist. c. 8.

[l] Vide Petav. in Epiph. her. 69.

[m] Καὶ γὰρ εἰσί τινες ὦ φίλοι, ἔλεγον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γινόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι, οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι, οὐδὲ ἂν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα μοι δοξάσαντες ἐποιεν.—Justin Mart. Dial. ad Tryph. Jud.

[n] Euseb. l. 5. c. ult.

[o] Can. 2.

[p] L. 5. de Baptism. contr. Donat. c. 23.

[q] Lib. 1. de Baptism. c. 18.

[r] De peccat. original. l. 2. c. 40. contra Pelagi. et Cœlest.

destroy it, when all the particulars, which time and infinite variety of human accidents have been amassing together, are now concentred, and are united by way of constipation. Because every age, and every great change, and every heresy, and every interest, hath increased the difficulty of finding out true traditions.

5. Thirdly: there are very many traditions which are lost, and yet they are concerning matters of as great consequence as most of those questions for the determination whereof traditions are pretended: it is more than probable, that as in baptism and the eucharist the very forms of ministration are transmitted to us, so also in confirmation and ordination, and that there were special directions for visitation of the sick, and explicit interpretations of those difficult places of St. Paul, which St. Peter affirmed to be so difficult, that the ignorant do wrest them to their own damnation; and yet no church hath conserved these or those many more, which St. Basil affirms to be so many, that ἐπιλείψῃ ἡμέρα τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια διηγούμενον; "the day would fail him in the very simple enumeration of all traditions ecclesiastical."[s] And if the church hath failed in keeping the great variety of traditions, it will hardly be thought a fault in a private person to neglect tradition, which either the whole church hath very much neglected inculpably, or else the whole church is very much to blame. And who can ascertain us, that she hath not entertained some which are no traditions, as well as lost thousands that are? That she did entertain some false traditions, I have already proved; but it is also as probable, that some of those which these ages did propound for traditions, are not so, as it is certain, that some which the first ages called traditions, were nothing less.

6. Fourthly: there are some opinions, which, when they began to be publicly received, began to be accounted prime traditions, and so became such, not by a native title, but by adoption; and nothing is more usual than for the fathers to colour their popular opinion with so great an appellative. St. Austin called the communicating of infants an apostolical tradition; and yet we do not practise it, because we disbelieve the allegation. And that every custom, which at first introduction was but a private fancy or singular practice, grew afterwards into a public rite, and went for a tradition after a while continuance, appears by Tertullian, who seems to justify it; "Non enim existimas tu licitum esse cuicunque fideli constituere quod Deo placere illi visum fuerit, ad disciplinam et salutem?" And again, "A quocunque traditore censetur, nec auctorem respicias sed auctoritatem."[t] And St. Jerome most plainly, "Præcepta majorum apostolicas traditiones quisque existimat." And when Irenæus had observed that great variety in the keeping of Lent, which yet to be a forty-days' fast is pretended to descend from tradition apostolical, some fasting but one day before Easter, some two, some forty, and this even long before Irenæus's time, he gives this reason; "Varietas illa jejunii cœpit apud majores nostros; qui non accuratè consuetudinem eorum, qui vel simplicitate quâdam vel privatâ auctoritate in posterum aliquid statuissent, observârant;"[u] and there are yet some points of good concernment, which if any man should question in a high manner, they would prove indeterminable by Scripture, or sufficient reason; and yet I doubt not their confident defenders would say, they are opinions of the church, and quickly pretend a tradition from the very apostles, and believe themselves so secure, that they could not be discovered, because the question never having been disputed gives them occasion to say, that which had no beginning known, was certainly from the apostles. For why should not divines do in the question of reconfirmation as in that of rebaptization? Are not the grounds equal from an indelible character in one as in the other? and if it happen such a question as this after contestation should be determined, not by any positive decree, but by the cession of one part, and the authority and reputation of the other, does not the next age stand fair to be abused with a pretence of tradition, in the matter of reconfirmation, which never yet came to a serious question? For so it was in the question of rebaptization, for which there was then no more evident tradition than there is now in the question of reconfirmation, as I proved formerly, but yet it was carried upon that title.

7. Fifthly: there is great variety in the probation of tradition, so that whatever is proved to be tradition, is not equally and alike credible; for nothing but universal tradition is of itself credible; other traditions in their just proportion, as they partake of the degrees of universality. Now that a tradition be universal, or, which is all one, that it be a credible testimony, St. Irenæus[x] requires that tradition should derive from all the churches apostolical. And therefore, according to this rule, there was no sufficient medium to determine the question about Easter, because the eastern and western churches had several traditions respectively, and both pretended from the apostles. Clemens Alexandrinus[y] says, it was a secret tradition from the apostles, that Christ preached but one year: but Irenæus[z] says it did derive from heretics; and says that he, by tradition, first from St. John, and then from his disciples, received another tradition, that Christ was almost fifty years old when he died, and so by consequence preached almost twenty years: both of them were deceived, and so had all, that had believed the report of either, pretending tradition apostolical. Thus the custom, in the Latin church, of fasting on Saturday, was against that tradition which the Greeks had from the apostles; and therefore, by this division and want of consent,

[s] Cap. 29. de Spir. Sancto.
[t] Contra Marcion. de Coron. Milit. c. 3, 4. Apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 24.
[u] Ex translatione Christophorsoni.
[x] Lib. 3. c. 4. [y] Lib. 1. Stromat.
[z] Lib. 2. c. 39. Omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Johannem, discipulum Domini, convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Johannem, &c. et qui alios apostolos viderunt, hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de ejusmodi relatione. —Salmeron. disput. 51. in Rom.

which was the true tradition, was so absolutely indeterminable, that both must needs lose much of their reputation. But how then, when not only particular churches, but single persons, are all the proof we have for a tradition? And this often happened. I think St. Austin is the chief argument and authority we have for the assumption of the Virgin Mary; the baptism of infants is called a tradition by Origen alone at first, and from him by others. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, which is an article the Greek church disavows, derives from the tradition apostolical, as it is pretended; and yet before St. Austin we hear nothing of it very clearly or certainly, forasmuch as that whole mystery concerning the blessed Spirit, was so little explicated in Scripture, and so little derived to them by tradition, that, till the council of Nice, you shall hardly find any form of worship or personal address of devotion to the Holy Spirit, as Erasmus observes, and I think the contrary will very hardly be verified. And for this particular in which I instance, whatsoever is in Scripture concerning it, is against that which the church of Rome calls tradition, which makes the Greeks so confident as they are of the point, and is an argument of the vanity of some things, which for no greater reason are called traditions, but because one man hath said so, and that they can be proved by no better argument to be true. Now in this case, wherein tradition descends upon us with unequal certainty, it would be very unequal to require of us an absolute belief of every thing not written, for fear we be accounted to slight tradition apostolical. And since nothing can require our supreme assent, but that which is truly catholic and apostolic, and to such a tradition is required, as Irenæus says, the consent of all those churches which the apostles planted, and where they did preside, this topic will be of so little use in judging heresies, that (beside what is deposited in Scripture) it cannot be proved in any thing but in the canon of Scripture itself, and as it is now received, even in that there is some variety.

8. And therefore, there is wholly a mistake in this business; for when the fathers appeal to tradition, and with much earnestness, and some clamour, they call upon heretics to conform to or to be tried by tradition, it is such a tradition as delivers the fundamental points of christianity, which were also recorded in Scripture. But because the canon was not yet perfectly consigned, they called to that testimony they had, which was the testimony of the churches apostolical, whose bishops and priests being the "antistites religionis," did believe and preach christian religion, and conserve all its great mysteries according as they have been taught. Irenæus calls this a tradition apostolical, "Christum accepisse calicem, et dixisse sanguinem suum esse, et docuisse novam oblationem Novi Testamenti, quam ecclesia per apostolos accipiens offert per totum mundum." And the fathers, in these ages, confute heretics by ecclesiastical tradition; that is, they confront against their impious and blasphemous doctrines that religion, which the apostles having taught to the churches where they did preside, their successors did still preach, and, for a long while together, suffered not the enemy to sow tares amongst their wheat. And yet these doctrines, which they called traditions, were nothing but such fundamental truths which were in Scripture, *πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς*, as Irenæus in Eusebius[a] observes, in the instance of Polycarpus: and it is manifest by considering what heresies they fought against, the heresies of Ebion, Cerinthus, Nicolaitans, Valentinians, Carpocratians,[b] persons that denied the Son of God, the unity of the Godhead, that preached impurity, that practised sorcery and witchcraft. And now that they did rather urge tradition against them than Scripture, was, because the public doctrine of all the apostolical churches was at first more known and famous than many parts of the Scripture, and because some heretics denied St. Luke's Gospel, some received none but St. Matthew's, some rejected all St. Paul's epistles, and it was a long time before the whole canon was consigned by universal testimony, some churches having one part, some another, Rome herself had not all; so that, in this case, the argument from tradition was the most famous, the most certain, and the most prudent. And now, according to this rule, they had more traditions than we have, and traditions did by degrees lessen as they came to be written; and their necessity was less, as the knowledge of them was ascertained to us by a better keeper of divine truths. All that great mysteriousness of Christ's priesthood, the unity of his sacrifice, Christ's advocation and intercession for us in heaven, and many other excellent doctrines, might very well be accounted traditions before St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was published to all the world; but now they are written truths, and if they had not, possibly we might either have lost them quite, or doubted of them, as we do of many other traditions, by reason of the insufficiency of the propounder. And therefore it was, that St. Peter took order that the gospel should be writ; for he had promised that he would do something, which, after his decease, should have these things in remembrance.[c] He knew it was not safe trusting the report of men, where the fountain might quickly run dry, or be corrupted so insensibly, that no cure could be found for it, nor any just notice taken of it till it were incurable. And, indeed, there is scarce any thing but what is written in Scripture, that can, with any confidence of argument, pretend to derive from the apostles, except rituals, and manners of ministration; but no doctrines or speculative mysteries are so transmitted to us by so clear a current that we may see a visible channel, and trace it to the primitive fountains. It is said to be a tradition apostolical, that no priest should baptize without chrism and the command of the bishop; suppose it were, yet we cannot be obliged to believe it with much confidence, because we have but little proof for it, scarce any thing but the single testimony of St. Jerome.[d] And yet, if it were, this is but a ritual, of which, in passing by, I shall give that account: That, suppose this and many more

[a] Lib. 5. cap. 20. [b] Vid. Irenæ. l. 3. et 1. cont. hæres.

[c] 2 Pet. i. 13. [d] Dialog. adv. Lucifer.

rituals did derive clearly from tradition apostolical, —which yet but very few do,—yet it is hard that any church should be charged with crime for not observing such rituals, because we see some of them which certainly did derive from the apostles, are expired and gone out in a desuetude; such as are abstinence from blood and from things strangled; —the cœnobitic life of secular persons,—the college of widows,—to worship standing, upon the Lord's day,—to give milk and honey to the newly baptized,—and many more of the like nature; now there having been no mark to distinguish the necessity of one from the indifference of the other, they are all alike necessary, or alike indifferent: if the former, why does no church observe them? If the latter, why does the church of Rome charge upon others the shame of novelty, for leaving of some rites and ceremonies, which, by her own practice, we are taught to have no obligation in them, but the adiaphorous? St. Paul gave order, that "a bishop should be the husband of one wife;" the church of Rome will not allow so much; other churches allow more: the apostles commanded christians to fast on Wednesday and Friday, as appears in their canons; the church of Rome fasts Friday and Saturday, and not on Wednesday: the apostles had their agapæ or love-feasts; we should believe them scandalous: they used a kiss of charity in ordinary addresses; the church of Rome keeps it only in their mass, other churches quite omit it: the apostles permitted priests and deacons to live in conjugal society, as appears in the fifth canon of the apostles, (which to them is an argument who believe them such,) and yet the church of Rome by no means will endure it; nay, more, Michael Medina[e] gives testimony, that of eighty-four canons apostolical which Clemens collected, scarce six or eight are observed by the Latin church; and Peresius gives this account of it; "In illis contineri multa, quæ temporum corruptione non plenè observantur, aliis pro temporis et materiæ qualitate aut obliteratis, aut totius ecclesiæ magisterio abrogatis." Now it were good that they, which take a liberty to themselves, should also allow the same to others. So that, for one thing or other, all traditions, excepting those very few that are absolutely universal, will lose all their obligation, and become no competent medium to confine men's practices, or limit their faiths, or determine their persuasions. Either for the difficulty of their being proved, the incompetency of the testimony that transmits them, or the indifferency of the thing transmitted, all traditions, both ritual and doctrinal, are disabled from determining our consciences either to a necessary believing or obeying.

9. Sixthly: to which I add, by way of confirmation, that there are some things called traditions, and are offered to be proved to us by a testimony, which is either false or not extant. Clemens of Alexandria pretended it a tradition, that the apostles preached to them that died in infidelity, even after their death, and then raised them to life; but he proved it only by the testimony of the book of Hermes; he affirmed it to be a tradition apostolical that the Greeks were saved by their philosophy; but he had no other authority for it but the apocryphal books of Peter and Paul. Tertullian and St. Basil pretended it an apostolical tradition, to sign in the air with the sign of the cross; but this was only consigned to them in the Gospel of Nicodemus. But to instance, once for all, in the Epistle of Marcellus to the bishop of Antioch, where he affirms that it is the canon of the apostles, "præter sententiam Romani pontificis, non posse concilia celebrari." And yet there is no such canon extant, nor ever was, for aught appears in any record we have; and yet the collection of the canons is so entire that though it hath something more than what was apostolical, yet it hath nothing less. And now that I am casually fallen upon an instance from the canons of the apostles, I consider that there cannot in the world a greater instance be given, how easy it is to be abused in the believing of traditions. For, 1. to the first fifty, which many did admit for apostolical, thirty-five more were added, which most men now count spurious, all men call dubious, and some of them universally condemned by peremptory sentence, even by them who are greatest admirers of that collection, as sixty-fifth, sixty-seventh, and eighty-fourth and fifth canons. For the first fifty, it is evident that there are some things so mixed with them, and no mark of difference left, that the credit of all is much impaired, insomuch that Isidore of Seville says, "they were apocryphal, made by heretics, and published under the title Apostolical but neither the fathers nor the church of Rome did give assent to them."[f] And yet they have prevailed so far amongst some, that Damascen is of opinion they should be deceived equally with the canonical writings of the apostles.[g] One thing only I observe, (and we shall find it true in most writings whose authority is urged in questions of theology,) that the authority of the tradition is not it which moves the assent, but the nature of the thing; and because such a canon is delivered, they do not therefore believe the sanction or proposition so delivered, but disbelieve the tradition, if they do not like the matter; and so do not judge of the matter by the tradition, but of the tradition by the matter. And thus the church of Rome rejects the eighty-fourth or eighty-fifth canon of the apostles, not because it is delivered with less authority than the last thirty-five are, but because it reckons the canon of Scripture otherwise than it is at Rome. Thus also the fifth canon amongst the first fifty, because it approves the marriage of priests and deacons does not persuade them to approve of it too, but itself becomes suspected for approving it; so that either they accuse themselves of palpable contempt of the apostolical authority, or else that the reputation of such traditions is kept up to serve their own ends, and therefore, when they encounter them they are no more to be upheld; which what else is it but to teach all the world to contemn such pretences, and undervalue traditions, and to supply t

[e] De sacr. hom. continent, lib. 5. c. 105. De Tradit. part. 3. c. de Author. Can. Apost.

[f] Apud Gratian. dist. 16. c. Canones.

[g] Lib. 1. c. 18. de Orthod. Fide.

others a reason why they should do that, which to them that give the occasion is most unreasonable?

10. Seventhly: the testimony of the ancient church being the only means of proving tradition, and sometimes their dictates and doctrine being the tradition pretended of necessity to be imitated, it is considerable that men, in their estimate of it, take their rise from several ages and differing testimonies, and are not agreed about the competency of their testimony; and the reasons that on each side make them differ, are such as make the authority itself the less authentic and more repudiable. Some will allow only of the three first ages, as being most pure, most persecuted, and therefore most holy, least interested, serving fewer designs, having fewest factions, and therefore more likely to speak the truth for God's sake and its own, as best complying with their great end of acquiring heaven in recompence of losing their lives; others say,[h] that those ages, being persecuted, minded the present doctrines proportionable to their purposes and constitution of the ages, and make little or nothing of those questions which at this day vex christendom: and both speak true. The first ages speak greatest truth, but least pertinently. The next ages, the ages of the four general councils, spake something, not much more pertinently to the present questions, but were not so likely to speak true, by reason of their dispositions contrary to the capacity and circumstance of the first ages; and if they speak wisely as doctors, yet not certainly as witnesses of such propositions which the first ages noted not; and yet, unless they had noted, could not possibly be traditions. And therefore, either of them will be less useless as to our present affairs. For indeed the questions, which now are the public trouble, were not considered or thought upon for many hundred years, and therefore prime tradition there is none as to our purpose, and it will be an insufficient medium to be used or pretended in the determination; and to dispute concerning the truth or necessity of traditions, in the questions of our times, is as if historians, disputing about a question in the English story, should fall on wrangling whether Livy or Plutarch were the best writers; and the earnest disputes about traditions are to no better purpose. For no church at this day admits the one half of those things, which certainly by the fathers were called traditions apostolical, and no testimony of ancient writers does consign the one half of the present questions, to be or not to be traditions. So that they who admit only the doctrine and testimony of the first ages, cannot be determined in most of their doubts which now trouble us, because their writings are of matters wholly differing from the present disputes; and they which would bring in after-ages to the authority of a competent judge or witness, say the same thing; for they plainly confess that the first ages spake little or nothing to the present question, or at least nothing to their sense of them; for therefore they call in aid from the following ages, and make them suppletory and auxiliary to their designs, and therefore there are no traditions to our purposes. And they who would willingly have it otherwise, yet have taken no course it should be otherwise; for when they had opportunity, in the councils of the last ages, to determine what they had a mind to, yet they never named the number, nor expressed the particular traditions which they would fain have the world believe to be apostolical: but they have kept the bridle in their own hands, and made a reserve of their own power, that, if need be, they may make new pretensions, or not be put to it to justify the old by the engagement of a conciliary declaration.

11. Lastly: we are acquitted, by the testimony of the primitive fathers, from any other necessity of believing, than of such articles as are recorded in Scripture: and this is done by them, whose authority is pretended the greatest argument for tradition, as appears largely in Irenæus,[i] who disputes professedly for the sufficiency of Scripture against certain heretics, who affirm some necessary truths not to be written. It was an excellent saying of St. Basil, and will never be wiped out with all the eloquence of Perron in his Serm. de Fide. "Manifestus est fidei lapsus, et liquidum superbiæ vitium, vel respuere aliquid eorum quæ Scriptura habet, vel inducere quicquam quod scriptum non est." And it is but a poor device to say that every particular tradition is consigned in Scripture by those places, which give authority to tradition; and so the introducing of tradition is not a superinducing any thing over or besides Scripture, because tradition is like a messenger, and the Scripture is like his letters of credence, and therefore authorizes whatsoever tradition speaketh. For supposing Scripture does consign the authority of tradition, (which it might do, before all the whole instrument of Scripture itself was consigned, and then afterwards there might be no need of tradition,) yet supposing it, it will follow that all those traditions which are truly prime and apostolical are to be entertained according to the intention of the deliverers, which indeed is so reasonable of itself, that we need not Scripture to persuade us to it;—itself is authentic as Scripture is, if it derives from the same fountain; and a word is never the more the word of God for being written, nor the less for not being written; but it will not follow that whatsoever is pretended to be tradition, is so, neither is the credit of the particular instances consigned in Scripture; "et dolosus versatur in generalibus," but that this craft is too palpable. And if a general and indefinite consignation of tradition be sufficient to warrant every particular that pretends to be tradition, then St. Basil had spoken to no purpose, by saying, it is pride and apostasy from the faith to bring in what is not written: for if either any man brings in what is written, or what he says is delivered, then the first being express Scripture, and the second being consigned in Scripture, no man can be charged with superinducing what is not written, he hath his answer ready; and then these are zealous words absolutely to no purpose; but if such general consignation does not warrant every thing that pretends to tradition, but such only as are truly proved to be

[h] Vid. Car. Perron. Lettre au Sieur Casaubon

[i] Lib. 3. c. 2. contr. hæres.

apostolical; then Scripture is useless as to this particular; for such tradition gives testimony to Scripture, and therefore is of itself first, and more credible, for it is credible of itself; and therefore, unless St. Basil thought that all the will of God in matters of faith and doctrine were written, I see not what end, nor what sense, he could have in these words: for no man in the world, except enthusiasts and madmen, ever obtruded a doctrine upon the church, but he pretended Scripture for it, or tradition; and therefore, no man could be pressed by these words, no man confuted, no man instructed, no, not enthusiasts or Montanists. For suppose either of them should say, that since in Scripture the Holy Ghost is promised to abide with the church for ever,—to teach whatever they pretend the Spirit in any age hath taught them, is not to superinduce any thing beyond what is written, because the truth of the Spirit, his veracity, and his perpetual teaching, being promised and attested in Scripture, Scripture hath just so consigned all such revelations, as (Perron saith) it hath all such traditions. But I will trouble myself no more with arguments from any human authorities; but he that is surprised with the belief of such authorities, and will but consider the very many testimonies of antiquity to this purpose, as of Constantine,[k] St. Jerome,[l] St. Austin,[m] St. Athanasius,[n] St. Hilary,[o] St. Epiphanius,[p] and divers others, all speaking words to the same sense, with that saying of St. Paul,[q] "Nemo sentiat super quod scriptum est," will see that there is reason, that since no man is materially a heretic, but that he errs in a point of faith, and all faith is sufficiently recorded in Scripture, the judgment of faith and heresy is to be derived from thence, and no man is to be condemned for dissenting in an article, for whose probation tradition only is pretended; only according to the degree of its evidence, let every one determine himself; but of this evidence we must not judge for others; for unless it be in things of faith, and absolute certainties, evidence is a word of relation, and so supposes two terms, the object and the faculty; and it is an imperfect speech to say a thing is evident in itself (unless we speak of first principles, or clearest revelations); for that may be evident to one, that is not so to another, by reason of the pregnancy of some apprehensions, and the immaturity of others.

This discourse hath its intention in traditions doctrinal and ritual, that is, such traditions which propose articles new "in materiâ;" but now if Scripture be the repository of all divine truths sufficient for us, tradition must be considered as its instrument, to convey its great mysteriousness to our understandings; it is said there are traditive interpretations, as well as traditive propositions, but these have not much distinct consideration in them, both because their uncertainty is as great as the other upon the former considerations; as also because, in very deed, there are no such things as traditive interpretations universal: for as for particulars, they signify no more but that they are not sufficient determinations of questions theological; therefore, because they are particular, contingent, and of infinite variety, and they are no more argument than the particular authority of these men whose commentaries they are, and therefore must be considered with them.

12. The sum is this: since the fathers, who are the best witnesses of traditions, yet were infinitely deceived in their account; since sometimes they guessed at them, and conjectured by way of rule and discourse, and not of their knowledge, not by evidence of the thing; since many are called traditions which were not so, many are uncertain whether they were or no, yet confidently pretended, and this uncertainty, which at first was great enough, is increased by infinite causes and accidents in the succession of sixteen hundred years; since the church hath been either so careless or so abused, that she could not or would not preserve traditions with carefulness and truth; since it was ordinary for the old writers to set out their own fancies, and the rites of their church, which had been ancient, under the specious title of apostolical traditions; since some traditions rely but upon single testimony at first, and yet, descending upon others, come to be attested by many, whose testimony, though conjunct, yet in value is but single, because it relies upon the first single relator, and so can have no greater authority, or certainty, than they derive from the single person; since the first ages, who were most competent to consign tradition, yet did consign such traditions as be of a nature wholly discrepant from the present questions, and speak nothing at all, or very imperfectly, to our purposes; and the following ages are no fit witnesses of that which was not transmitted to them, because they could not know it at all, but by such transmission and prior consignation; since what at first was a tradition, came afterwards to be written, and so ceased its being a tradition; yet the credit of traditions commenced upon the certainty and reputation of those truths first delivered by word, afterwards consigned by writing; since what was certainly tradition apostolical, as many rituals were, are rejected by the church in several ages, and are gone out into a desuetude; and, lastly, since, beside the no-necessity of traditions, there being abundantly enough in Scripture, there are many things called traditions by the fathers, which they themselves either proved by no authors, or by apocryphal, and spurious, and heretical, the matter of tradition will in very much be so uncertain, so false, so suspicious, so contradictory, so improbable, so unproved, that if a question be contested, and be offered to be proved only by tradition, it will be very hard to impose such a proposition to the belief of all men with an imperiousness or resolved determination; but it will be necessary men should preserve the liberty of believing and prophesying,

[k] Orat. at Nicen. pp. Apud Theodor. l. 1. c. 7.
[l] In Matt. l. 4. c. 23. et in Aggæum.
[m] De bono viduel, c. 1.
[n] Orat. cont. Gent.
[o] In Psal. cxxxii.
[p] Lib. 2. contra hæres. tom. 1. hær. 61.
[q] 1 Cor. iv.

and not part with it, upon a worse merchandise and exchange than Esau made for his birthright.

SECTION VI.

Of the Uncertainty and Insufficiency of Councils Ecclesiastical to the same Purpose.

1. But since we are all this while in uncertainty, it is necessary that we should address ourselves somewhere, where we may rest the sole of our foot: and nature, Scripture, and experience, teach the world, in matters of question, to submit to some final sentence. For it is not reason that controversies should continue, till the erring person shall be willing to condemn himself; and the Spirit of God hath directed us by that great precedent at Jerusalem, to address ourselves to the church, that in a plenary council and assembly, she may synodically determine controversies. So that if a general council have determined a question, or expounded Scripture, we may no more disbelieve the decree, than the Spirit of God himself who speaks in them. And indeed, if all assemblies of bishops were like that first, and all bishops were of the same spirit of which the apostles were, I should obey their decree with the same religion as I do them whose preface was "Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis;" and I doubt not but our blessed Saviour intended that the assemblies of the church should be judges of the controversies, and guides of our persuasions in matters of difficulty. But he also intended they should proceed according to his will which he had revealed, and those precedents which he had made authentic by the immediate assistance of his Holy Spirit: he hath done his part, but we do not do ours. And if any private person in the simplicity and purity of his soul desires to find out a truth of which he is in search and inquisition, if he prays for wisdom, we have a promise he shall be heard and answered liberally; and therefore much more, when the representatives of the catholic church do meet; because every person there hath "in individuo" a title to the promise, and another title as he is a governor and a guide of souls, and all of them together have another title in their united capacity, especially if in that union they pray, and proceed with simplicity and purity; so that there is no disputing against the pretence, and promises, and authority of general councils. For if any one man can hope to be guided by God's Spirit in the search, the pious, and impartial, and unprejudicate search of truth, then much more may a general council. If no private man can hope for it, then truth is not necessary to be found, nor we are not obliged to search for it, or else we are saved by chance: but if private men can, by virtue of a promise upon certain conditions, be assured of finding out sufficient truth, much more shall a general council. So that I consider thus: there are many promises pretended to belong to general assemblies in the church; but I know not any ground, nor any pretence, that they shall be absolutely assisted, without any condition on their own parts, and whether they will or no: faith is a virtue as well as charity, and therefore consists in liberty and choice, and hath nothing in it of necessity: there is no question but that they are obliged to proceed according to some rule; for they expect no assistance by way of enthusiasm; if they should, I know no warrant for that, neither did any general council ever offer a decree which they did not think sufficiently proved by Scripture, reason, or tradition, as appears in the acts of the councils; now then, if they be tied to conditions, it is their duty to observe them; but whether it be certain that they will observe them, that they will do all their duty, that they will not sin even in this particular in the neglect of their duty, that is the consideration. So that if any man questions the title and authority of general councils, and whether or no great promises appertain to them, I suppose him to be much mistaken; but he also that thinks all of them have proceeded according to rule and reason, and that none of them were deceived, because possibly they might have been truly directed, —is a stranger to the history of the church, and to the perpetual instances and experiments of the faults and failings of humanity. It is a famous saying of St. Gregory, that he had the four first councils in esteem and veneration next to the four evangelists; I suppose it was because he did believe them to have proceeded according to rule, and to have judged righteous judgment; but why had not he the same opinion of other councils too, which were celebrated before his death (for he lived after the fifth general)? not because they had not the same authority; for that which is warrant for one, is warrant for all; but because he was not so confident that they did their duty, nor proceeded so without interest as the first four had done, and the following councils did never get that reputation, which all the catholic church acknowledged due to the first four. And in the next order were the three following generals; for the Greeks and Latins did never jointly acknowledge but seven generals to have been authentic in any sense, because they were in no sense agreed that any more than seven had proceeded regularly, and done their duty: so that now the question is not whether general councils have a promise that the Holy Ghost will assist them: for every private man hath that promise, that if he does his duty, he shall be assisted sufficiently in order to that end to which he needs assistance; and therefore much more shall general councils, in order to that end for which they convene, and to which they need assistance, that is, in order to the conservation of the faith, for the doctrinal rules of good life, and all that concerns the essential duty of a christian, but not in deciding questions to satisfy contentious, or curious, or presumptuous spirits. But now can the bishops so convened be factious,—can they be abused with prejudice, or transported with interests,—can they resist the Holy Ghost,—can they extinguish the Spirit,—can they stop their ears, and serve them-

selves upon the Holy Spirit and the pretence of his assistances; and cease to serve him upon themselves by captivating their understandings to his dictates, and their wills to his precepts? Is it necessary they should perform any condition? is there any one duty for them to perform in these assemblies, a duty which they have power to do or not to do? If so, then they may fail of it, and not do their duty: and if the assistance of the Holy Spirit be conditional, then we have no more assurance that they are assisted, than that they do their duty, and do not sin.

2. Now let us suppose what this duty is: certainly, "if the gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost;" and all that come to the knowledge of the truth, must come to it by such means which are spiritual and holy dispositions, in order to a holy and spiritual end. They must be "shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace," that is, they must have peaceable and docible dispositions, nothing with them that is violent and resolute to encounter those gentle and sweet assistances: and the rule they are to follow, is the rule which the Holy Spirit hath consigned to the catholic church, that is, the Holy Scripture, either entirely,[r] or at least for the greater part of the rule: so that now if the bishops be factious and prepossessed with persuasions depending upon interest, it is certain they may judge amiss: and if they recede from the rule, it is certain they do judge amiss; and this I say upon their grounds who most advance the authority of general councils: for if a general council may err if a pope confirm it not, then most certainly if in any thing it recede from Scripture, it does also err; because that they are to expect the pope's confirmation they offer to prove from Scripture: now if the pope's confirmation be required by authority of Scripture, and that therefore the defailance of it does evacuate the authority of the council, then also are the council's decrees invalid, if they recede from any other part of Scripture: so that Scripture is the rule they are to follow, and a man would have thought it had been needless to have proved it, but that we are fallen into ages in which no truth is certain, no reason concluding, nor is there any thing that can convince some men. For Stapleton,[s] with extreme boldness against the piety of christendom, against the public sense of the ancient church, and the practice of all pious assemblies of bishops, affirms the decrees of a council to be binding, "Etiamsi non confirmetur ne probabili testimonio Scripturarum;" nay, though it be quite "extra Scripturam;" but all wise and good men have ever said that sense which St. Hilary expressed in these words, "Quæ extra evangelium sunt, non defendam;" this was it which the good emperor Constantine propounded to the fathers met at Nice; "Libri Evangelici, oracula apostolorum, et veterum prophetarum clarè nos instruunt quid sentiendum in divinis."[t] And this is confessed by a sober man of the Roman church itself, the cardinal of Cusa; "Oportet quòd omnia talia quæ legere debent, contineantur in auctoritatibus sacrarum Scripturarum."[u] Now then all the advantage I shall take from hence, is this, that if the apostles commended them who examined their sermons by their conformity to the law and the prophets, and the men of Berea were accounted "noble for searching the Scriptures, whether those things which they taught were so or no;" I suppose it will not be denied, but the councils' decrees may also be tried whether they be conform to Scripture, yea, or no; and although no man can take cognizance and judge the decrees of a council "pro auctoritate publicâ," yet "pro informatione privatâ," they may; the authority of a council is not greater than the authority of the apostles, nor their dictates more sacred or authentic. Now then put case a council should recede from Scripture; whether or no were we bound to believe its decrees? I only ask the question: for it were hard to be bound to believe what to our understanding seems contrary to that which we know to be the word of God: but if we may lawfully recede from the councils' decrees, in case they be contrariant to Scripture, it is all that I require in this question. For if they be tied to a rule, then they are to be examined and understood according to the rule, and then we are to give ourselves that liberty of judgment which is requisite to distinguish us from beasts, and to put us into a capacity of reasonable people, following reasonable guides. But however, if it be certain that the councils are to follow Scripture, then if it be notorious that they do recede from Scripture, we are sure we must obey God rather than men, and then we are well enough. For unless we are bound to shut our eyes, and not to look upon the sun, if we may give ourselves liberty to believe what seems most plain, and unless the authority of a council be so great a prejudice as to make us to do violence to our understanding, so as not to disbelieve the decree, because it seems contrary to Scripture, but to believe it agrees with Scripture, though we know not how, therefore because the council hath decreed it,—unless, I say, we be bound in duty to be so obediently blind and sottish, we are sure that there are some councils which are pretended general, that have retired from the public notorious words and sense of Scripture. For what wit of man can reconcile the decree of the thirteenth session of the council of Constance with Scripture, in which session the half communion was decreed, in defiance of Scripture, and with a "non obstante" to Christ's institution. For in the preface of the decree, Christ's institution and the practice of the primitive church are expressed, and then, with a "non obstante," communion in one kind is established. Now then suppose the "non obstante" in the form of words relates to the primitive practice, yet since Christ's institution was taken notice of in the first words of the decree, and the decree made quite contrary to it, let the "non obstante" relate whither it will, the decree (not to call it a defiance) is a plain recession from the institution of

[r] Vide Optat. Milev. l. 5. adv. Parm. Baldvin. in eundem. et S. August. in ps. 21. Expos. 2.
[s] Relect. controv. 4. q. 1. a. 3.
[t] Lib. 2. ad Constant. Apud Theod. l. 1. c. 7.
[u] Concord. Cathol. l. 2. c. 10.

Christ, and therefore the "non obstante" will refer to that without any sensible error; and, indeed, for all the excuses to the contrary, the decree was not so discreetly framed, but that, in the very form of words, the defiance and the "non obstante" are too plainly relative to the first words. For what sense can there else be in the first "licet?" "*licet* Christus in utrâque specie," and "*licet* ecclesia primitiva," &c. "tamen hoc non obstante," &c. the first "licet" being a relative term, as well as the second "licet," must be bounded with some correspondent. But it matters not much; let them whom it concerns, enjoy the benefit of all excuses they can imagine, it is certain Christ's institution and the council's sanction are as contrary as light and darkness.—Is it possible for any man to contrive a way to make the decree of the council of Trent, commanding the public offices of the church to be in Latin, friends with the fourteenth chapter of the Corinthians? It is not amiss to observe how the hyperaspists of that council sweat to answer the allegations of St. Paul; and the wisest of them do it so extremely poor, that it proclaims to all the world that the strongest man that is, cannot eat iron, or swallow a rock. Now then, would it not be an unspeakable tyranny to all wise persons, (who as much hate to have their souls enslaved as their bodies imprisoned,) to command them to believe, that these decrees are agreeable to the word of God? Upon whose understanding soever these are imposed, they may at the next session reconcile them to a crime, and make any sin sacred, or persuade him to believe propositions contradictory to a mathematical demonstration. All the arguments in the world, that can be brought to prove the infallibility of councils, cannot make it so certain that they are infallible, as these two instances do prove infallibly that these were deceived; and if ever we may safely make use of our reason, and consider whether councils have erred or no, we cannot by any reason be more assured, that they have or have not, than we have in these particulars; so that, either our reason is of no manner of use, in the discussion of this question, and the thing itself is not at all to be disputed, or if it be, we are certain that these actually were deceived, and we must never hope for a clearer evidence in any dispute. And if these be, others might have been, if they did as these did, that is, depart from their rule. And it was wisely said of Cusanus, "Notandum est experimento rerum universale concilium posse deficere:"[x] The experience of it is notorious, that councils have erred: and all the arguments against experience are but plain sophistry.

3. And therefore I make no scruple to slight the decrees of such councils, wherein the proceedings were as prejudicate and unreasonable, as in the council wherein Abailardus was condemned, where the presidents having pronounced "Damnamus," they at the lower end being awaked at the noise, heard the latter part of it, and concurred as far as *Muamus* went, and that was as good as *Damnamus*; for if they had been awake at the pronouncing the whole word, they would have given sentence accordingly. But by this means St. Bernard numbered the major part of voices against his adversary Abailardus:[y] and as far as these men did do their duty, the duty of priests, and judges, and wise men; so we may presume them to be assisted: but no further. But I am content this (because but a private assembly) shall pass for no instance: but what shall we say of all the Arian councils celebrated with so great fancy, and such numerous assemblies? we all say that they erred. And it will not be sufficient to say they were not lawful councils: for they were convened by that authority, which all the world knows did at that time convocate councils, and by which (as it is[z] confessed and is notorious) the first eight generals did meet, that is, by the authority of the emperor: all were called, and as many and more did come to them, than came to the most famous council of Nice: so that the councils were lawful, and if they did not proceed lawfully, and therefore did err, this is to say, that councils are then not deceived, when they do their duty, when they judge impartially, when they decline interest, when they follow their rule; but this says also, that it is not infallibly certain that they will do so; for these did not, and therefore the others may be deceived as well as these were. But another thing is in the wind; for councils not confirmed by the pope, have no warrant that they shall not err, and they, not being confirmed, therefore failed. But whether is the pope's confirmation after the decree or before? It cannot be supposed before; for there is nothing to be confirmed, till the decree be made, and the article composed. But if it be after, then possibly the pope's decree may be requisite in solemnity of law, and to make the authority popular, public, and human; but the decree is true or false before the pope's confirmation, and is not at all altered by the supervening decree, which being postnate to the decree, alters not what went before: "Nunquam enim crescit ex postfacto præteriti æstimatio," is the voice both of law and reason. So that it cannot make it divine, and necessary to be heartily believed. It may make it lawful, not make it true; that is, it may possibly by such means become a law, but not a truth. I speak now upon supposition the pope's confirmation were necessary, and required to the making of conciliary and necessary sanctions. But if it were, the case were very hard: for suppose a heresy should invade, and possess the chair of Rome, what remedy can the church have in that case, if a general council be of no authority, without the pope confirm it? Will the pope confirm a council against himself? will he condemn his own heresy? That the pope may be a heretic appears in the canon law,[a] which says, he may for heresy be deposed, and therefore by a council, which in this case hath plenary authority without the pope. And therefore in the synod of Rome held under Pope Adrian the Second, the censure of the sixth synod against Honorius, who was convict of heresy, is approved with this appendix, that, in this case, the case

[x] Lib. 2. c. 14. Concordat. Cathol.
[y] Epist. Abailardi ad Heliss. conjugem.
[z] Cusanus, l. 2. cap. 25. Concord.
[a] Dist. 40. Can. si Papa.

of heresy, "minores possint de majoribus judicare:" and therefore, if a pope were above a council, yet when the question is concerning heresy, the case is altered; the pope may be judged by his inferiors, who in this case, which is the main case of all, become his superiors. And it is little better than impudence to pretend, that all councils were confirmed by the pope, or that there is a necessity in respect of divine obligation, that any should be confirmed by him, more than by another of the patriarchs. For the council of Chalcedon itself, one of those four which St. Gregory did revere next to the four evangelists, is rejected by Pope Leo, who, in his fifty-third epistle to Anatolius, and in his fifty-fourth to Martian, and in his fifty-fifth to Pulcheria, accuses it of ambition and inconsiderate temerity, and therefore no fit assembly for the habitation of the Holy Spirit; and Galasius, in his tome "de Vinculo Anathematis," affirms, that the council is in part to be received, in part to be rejected, and compares it to heretical books of a mixed matter, and proves his assertion by the place of St. Paul, "Omnia probate, quod bonum est retinete."—And Bellarmine says the same: "In concilio Chalcedonensi quædam sunt bona, quædam mala, quædam recipienda, quædam rejicienda; ita et in libris hæreticorum,"[b] and if any thing be false, then all is questionable, and judicable, and discernible, and not infallible antecedently. And however that council hath "ex postfacto," and by the voluntary consenting of after-ages, obtained great reputation; yet they that lived immediately after it, that observed all the circumstances of the thing, and the disabilities of the persons, and the uncertainty of the truth of its decrees, by reason of the unconcludingness of the arguments brought to attest it, were of another mind, "Quod autem ad concilium Chalcedonense attinet, illud id temporis (viz. Anastasii Imp.) neque palâm in ecclesiis sanctissimis prædicatum fuit, neque ab omnibus rejectum; nam singuli ecclesiarum præsides pro suo arbitratû in eâ re egerunt."[c] And so did all men in the world that were not mastered with prejudices, and undone in their understanding with accidental impertinencies; they judged upon those grounds which they had and saw, and suffered not themselves to be bound to the imperious dictates of other men, who are as uncertain in their determinations as others in their questions. And it is an evidence that there is some deception and notable error, either in the thing or in the manner of their proceeding, when the decrees of a council shall have no authority from the compilers, nor no strength from the reasonableness of the decision, but from the accidental approbation of posterity: and if posterity had pleased, Origen had believed well and been an orthodox person. And it was pretty sport to see that Papias was right for two ages together, and wrong ever since; and just so it was in councils, particularly in this of Chalcedon, that had a fate alterable according to the age, and according to the climate, which, to my understanding, is nothing else but an argument that the business of infallibility is a latter device, and commenced to serve such ends as cannot be justified by true and substantial grounds; and that the pope should confirm it as of necessity, is a fit cover for the same dish.

4. In the sixth general council, Honorius, pope of Rome, was condemned: did that council stay for the pope's confirmation before they sent forth the decree? Certainly they did not think it so needful, as that they would have suspended or cassated the decree, in case the pope had then disavowed it: for, besides the condemnation of Pope Honorius for heresy, the thirteenth and fifty-fifth canons of that council are expressly against the custom of the church of Rome. But this particular is involved in that new question, whether the pope be above a council. Now since the contestation of this question, there was never any free or lawful council that determined for the pope, it is not likely any should; and is it likely that any pope will confirm a council that does not? For the council of Basil is therefore condemned by the last Lateran, which was an assembly in the pope's own palace, and the council of Constance is of no value in this question, and slighted in a just proportion, as that article is disbelieved.[d] But I will not much trouble the question with a long consideration of this particular; the pretence is senseless and illiterate, against reason and experience, and already determined by St. Austin sufficiently as to this particular, "Ecce putemus illos episcopos, qui Romæ judicaverunt non bonos judices fuisse. Restabat adhuc plenarium ecclesiæ universæ concilium, ubi etiam cum ipsis judicibus causa possit agitari, ut si male judicasse convicti essent, eorum sententiæ solverentur."[e] For since popes may be parties, may be simoniacs, schismatics, heretics, it is against reason that in their own causes they should be judges, or that in any causes they should be superior to their judges. And as it is against reason, so is it against all experience too; for the council Sinuessanum (as it is said) was convened to take cognizance of Pope Marcellinus; and divers councils were held at Rome to give judgment in the causes of Damasus, Sixtus III. Symmachus, and Leo III. and IV., as is to be seen in Platina, and the tomes of the councils. And it is no answer to this and the like allegations, to say in matters of fact and human constitution, the pope may be judged by a council; but, in matters of faith, all the world must stand to the pope's determination and authoritative decision: for if the pope can by any colour pretend to any thing, it is to a supreme judicature in matters ecclesiastical, positive and of fact; and if he fails in this pretence, he will hardly hold up his head for any thing else: for the ancient bishops derived their faith from the fountain, and held that in the highest tenure, even from Christ their head; but by reason of the imperial city it became the principal seat, and he surprised the highest judicature, partly by the concession of others, partly by his own accidental advantages; and yet even in these things, although he was

[b] De Laicis, l. 3. c. 20. sect. ad hoc ult.
[c] Evag. lib. 3. cap. 30.
[d] Vid. postea de concil. Sinuessano. sect. 6. n. 9.
[e] Epist. 162. ad Glorium. [f] Vid. Conc. Chalc. act. 15.

"major singulis," yet he was "minor universis." And this is no more than what was decreed of the eighth general synod;[g] which, if it be sense, is pertinent to this question: for general councils are appointed to take cognizance of questions and differences about the bishop of Rome, "non tamen audactèr in eum ferre sententiam." By "audactèr," as is supposed, is meant "præcipitantèr," "hastily and unreasonably:" but if to give sentence against him be wholly forbidden, it is nonsense; for to what purpose is an authority of taking cognizance, if they have no power of giving sentence, unless it were to defer it to a superior judge, which in this case cannot be supposed? For either the pope himself is to judge his own cause after their examination of him, or the general council is to judge him. So that, although the council is by that decree enjoined to proceed modestly and warily, yet they may proceed to sentence, or else the decree is ridiculous and impertinent.

5. But to clear all, I will instance in matters of question and opinion: for not only some councils have made their decrees without or against the pope, but some councils have had the pope's confirmation, and yet have not been the more legitimate or obligatory, but are known to be heretical. For the canons of the sixth synod, although some of them were made against the popes and the custom of the church of Rome, a pope a while after did confirm the council; and yet the canons are impious and heretical, and so esteemed by the church of Rome herself. I instance in the second canon, which approves of that synod of Carthage under Cyprian for rebaptization of heretics, and the seventy-second canon, that dissolves marriage between persons of differing persuasion in matters of christian religion; and yet these canons were approved by Pope Adrian I., who in his epistle to Tharasius, which is in the second action of the seventh synod, calls them "canones divinè et legaliter prædicatos." And these canons were used by Pope Nicolas I. in his epistle "ad Michaelem," and by Innocent III. "(c. à multis: extra. de ætat. ordinandorum.)" So that now (that we may apply this) there are seven general councils, which by the church of Rome are condemned of error. The council of Antioch,[h] A. D. 345, in which St. Athanasius was condemned: the council of Milan, A. D. 354, of above three hundred bishops: the council of Ariminum, consisting of six hundred bishops: the second council of Ephesus, A. D. 449, in which the Eutychian heresy was confirmed, and the patriarch Flavianus killed by the faction of Dioscorus: the council of Constantinople under Leo Isaurus, A. D. 730: and another at Constantinople thirty-five years after: and, lastly, the council of Pisa, one hundred and thirty-four years since. Now that these general councils are condemned, is a sufficient argument that councils may err: and it is no answer to say they were not confirmed by the pope; for the pope's confirmation I have shown not to be necessary; or if it were, yet even that also is an argument, that general councils may become invalid, either by their own fault, or by some extrinsical supervening accident, either of which evacuates their authority. And whether all that is required to the legitimation of a council, was actually observed in any council, is so hard to determine, that no man can be infallibly sure, that such a council is authentic and sufficient probation.

6. Secondly; and that is the second thing I shall observe, There are so many questions concerning the efficient, the form, the matter of general councils, and their manner of proceeding, and their final sanction, that, after a question is determined by a conciliary assembly, there are perhaps twenty more questions to be disputed, before we can with confidence either believe the council upon its mere authority, or obtrude it upon others. And upon this ground, how easy it is to elude the pressure of an argument drawn from the authority of a general council, is very remarkable in the question about the pope's or the council's superiority: which question, although it be defined for the council against the pope by five general councils, the councils of Florence, of Constance, of Basil, of Pisa, and one of the Laterans; yet the Jesuits to this day account this question "pro non definita," and have rare pretences for their escape. As, first, it is true, a council is above a pope, in case there be no pope, or he uncertain: which is Bellarmine's answer, never considering whether he spake sense or no, nor yet remembering that the council of Basil deposed Eugenius, who was a true pope, and so acknowledged.—Secondly: sometimes the pope did not confirm these councils: that is their answer. And although it was an exception that the fathers never thought of, when they were pressed with the authority of the council of Ariminum, or Sirmium, or any other Arian convention; yet the council of Basil was convened by Pope Martin V.; then, in its sixteenth session, declared by Eugenius IV. to be lawfully continued, and confirmed expressly in some of its decrees by Pope Nicolas, and so stood till it was at last rejected by Leo X. very many years after; but that came too late, and with too visible an interest: and this council did decree "fide catholicâ tenendum concilium esse supra papam." But if one pope confirms it, and another rejects it, as it happened in this case and in many more, does it not destroy the competency of the authority? And we see it by this instance, that it so serves the turns of men, that it is good in some cases, that is, when it makes for them, and invalid when it makes against them.—Thirdly, but it is a little more ridiculous in the case of the council of Constance, whose decrees were confirmed by Martin V. But that this may be no argument against them, Bellarmine tells you he only confirmed those things "quæ facta fuerant conciliaritèr, re diligentèr examinatâ:" of which there being no mark, nor any certain rule to judge it, it is a device that may evacuate any thing we have a mind to, it was not done "conciliariter," that is, not accord-

[g] Act. ult. can. 21.

[h] Vid. Socr. l. 2. c. 5. et Sozom. l. 3. c. 5. Gregor. in Regist. lib. 3. caus. 7. ait concilium Numidiæ errâsse. Concilium Aquisgrani erravit. De raptore et rapta dist. 20. can. de libellis. in glossa.

ing to our mind; for "conciliarităr" is a fine new-nothing, that may signify what you please.—Fourthly, but other devices yet more pretty they have; as, whether the council of Lateran was a general council or no, they know not, (no, nor will not know,) which is a wise and plain reservation of their own advantages, to make it general or not general, as shall serve their turns.—Fifthly, as for the council of Florence, they are not sure whether it hath defined the question "satìs apertè;" "apertè" they will grant, if you will allow them not "satìs apertè."—Sixthly and lastly, the council of Pisa is "neque approbatum neque reprobatum:"[i] which is the greatest folly of all, and most prodigious vanity. So that by something or other, either they were not convened lawfully, or they did not proceed "conciliariter," or it is not certain that the council was general or no, or whether the council were "approbatum" or "reprobatum," or else it is "partim confirmatum partim reprobatum," or else it is "neque approbatum neque reprobatum;" by one of these ways, or a device like to these, all councils and all decrees shall be made to signify nothing, and to have no authority.

7. Thirdly: there is no general council that hath determined, that a general council is infallible; no Scripture hath recorded it; no tradition universal hath transmitted to us any such proposition: so that we must receive the authority at a lower rate, and upon a less probability, than the things consigned by that authority. And it is strange that the decrees of councils should be esteemed authentic and infallible, and yet it is not infallibly certain that the councils themselves are infallible, because the belief of the councils' infallibility is not proved to us by any medium but such as may deceive us.

8. Fourthly: but the best instance that some councils are, and all may be, deceived, is the contradiction of one council to another; for in that case both cannot be true, and which of them is true, must belong to another judgment, which is less than the solemnity of a general council; and the determination of this matter can be of no greater certainty after it is concluded, than when it was propounded as a question, being it is to be determined by the same authority, or by a less than itself. But for this allegation we cannot want instances. The council of Trent[k] allows picturing of God the Father: the council of Nice[l] altogether disallows it. The same Nicene council, which was the seventh general, allows of picturing Christ in the form of a lamb: but the sixth synod by no means will endure it, as Caranza affirms. The council of Neocæsarea confirmed by Leo IV. "dist. 20. de libellis," and approved by the first Nicene council, as it is said in the seventh session of the council of Florence,[m] forbids second marriages, and imposes penances on them that are married the second time, forbidding priests to be present at such marriage-feasts: besides that this is expressly against the doctrine of St. Paul, it is also against the doctrine of the council of Laodicea, which took off such penances, and pronounced second marriages to be free and lawful. Nothing is more discrepant than the third council of Carthage, and the council of Laodicea, about assignation of the canon of Scripture; and yet the sixth general synod approves both. And I would fain know if all general councils are of the same mind with the fathers of the council of Carthage, who reckon into the canon five books of Solomon. I am sure St. Austin reckoned but three,[n] and I think all christendom beside are of the same opinion. And if we look into the title of the law "de conciliis," called "concordantia discordantiarum," we shall find instances enough to confirm that the decrees of some councils are contradictory to others, and that no wit can reconcile them. And whether they did or no, that they might disagree, and former councils be corrected by later, was the belief of the doctors in those ages, in which the best and most famous councils were convened; as appears in that famous saying of St. Austin: speaking concerning the rebaptizing of heretics, and how much the Africans were deceived in that question, he answers the allegation of the bishops' letters, and those national councils which confirmed St. Cyprian's opinion, by saying that they were no final determination. For "Episcoporum literæ emendari possunt à conciliis nationalibus, concilia nationalia à plenariis, ipsaque plenaria priora à posterioribus emendari."[o] Not only the occasion of the question, being a matter not of fact, but of faith, as being instanced in the question of rebaptization, but also the very fabric and economy of the words, put by all the answers of all those men, who think themselves pressed with the authority of St. Austin. For as national councils may correct the bishop's letters, and general councils may correct national, so the latter general may correct the former, that is, have contrary and better decrees of manners, and better determinations in matters of faith. And from hence hath risen a question,—whether is to be received, the former or the latter councils, in case they contradict each other? The former are nearer the fountains apostolical, the latter are of greater consideration: the first have more authority, the latter more reason: the first are more venerable, the latter more inquisitive and seeing. And now what rule shall we have to determine our beliefs, whether to authority, or reason, the reason and the authority both of them not being the highest in their kind, both of them being repudiable, and at most but probable? And here it is that this great uncertainty is such as not to determine any body, but fit to serve every body: and it is sport to see that Bellarmine[p] will by all means have the council of Carthage preferred before the council of Laodicea, because it is later; and yet he prefers the second Nicene council[q] before the council of Frankfort, because it is elder. St. Austin

[i] Bellar. de conc. l. 1. c. 8.
[l] Act. 2.
[n] Lib. 17. de Civ. Dei. c. 20.
[o] Lib. 2. de Bapt. Donat. c. 3
[k] Sess. 25.
[m] Can. 82.
[p] Lib. 2. de Conc. c. 8. Sect. respondeo imprimis.
[q] Ibid. Sect. de Concilio autem. Dist. 20. Can. Domino Sancto.

would have the former generals to be mended by the later; but Isidore in Gratian says, when councils do differ, "standum esse antiquioribus," "the elder must carry it." And indeed these probables are buskins to serve every foot, and they are like "magnum et parvum," they have nothing of their own, all that they have is in comparison of others: so these topics have nothing of resolute and dogmatical truth, but in relation to such ends, as an interested person hath a mind to serve upon them.

9. Fifthly: there are many councils corrupted, and many pretended and alleged when there were no such things; both which make the topic of the authority of councils to be little and inconsiderable. There is a council brought to light in the edition of Councils by Binius, viz. Sinuessanum, pretended to be kept in the year three hundred and three, but it was so private till then, that we find no mention of it in any ancient record: neither Eusebius, nor Ruffinus, St. Jerome, nor Socrates, Sozomen, nor Theodoret, nor Eutropius, nor Bede, knew any thing of it; and the eldest allegation of it is by Pope Nicolas I. in the ninth century. And he that shall consider that three hundred bishops, in the midst of horrid persecutions, (for so then they were,) are pretended to have convened, will need no greater argument to suspect the imposture. Besides, he that was the framer of the engine, did not lay his ends together handsomely; for it is said, that the deposition of Marcellinus by the synod was told to Diocletian when he was in the Persian war; when, as it is known, before that time he had returned to Rome, and triumphed for his Persian conquest, as Eusebius in his Chronicle reports; and this is so plain, that Binius and Baronius pretend the text to be corrupted, and to go to[r] mend it by such an emendation, as is a plain contradiction to the sense, and that so unclerklike, viz. by putting in two words, and leaving out one; which whether it may be allowed them by any license less than poetical, let critics judge. St. Gregory[s] saith, that the Constantinopolitans had corrupted the synod of Chalcedon, and that he suspected the same concerning the Ephesine council. And in the fifth synod there was a notorious prevarication, for there were false epistles of Pope Vigilius, and Menna the patriarch of Constantinople, inserted; and so they passed for authentic till they were discovered in the sixth general synod, actions twelve and fourteen. And not only false decrees and actions may creep into the codes of councils; but sometimes the authority of a learned man may abuse the church with pretended decrees, of which there is no copy or shadow in the code itself. And thus Thomas Aquinas says that the Epistle to the Hebrews was reckoned in the canon by the Nicene council, no shadow of which appears in those copies we now have of it; and this pretence and the reputation of the man prevailed so far with Melchior Canus, the learned bishop of the Canaries, that he believed it upon this ground, "Vir sanctus rem adeò gravem non astrueret, nisi compertum habuisset;" and there are many things which have prevailed upon less reason, and a more slight authority. And that very council of Nice hath not only been pretended by Aquinas, but very much abused by others, and its authority and great reputation have made it more liable to the fraud and pretences of idle people. For whereas the Nicene fathers made but twenty canons (for so many and no more were received by Cecilian of Carthage,[t] that was at Nice in the council; by Austin,[u] and two hundred African bishops with him; by St. Cyril[x] of Alexandria, by Atticus[y] of Constantinople, by Ruffinus,[z] Isidore, and Theodoret, as Baronius[a] witnesses); yet there are fourscore lately found out in an Arabian MS. and published in Latin by Turrian and Alfonsus of Pisa, Jesuits surely, and like to be masters of the mint. And not only the canons, but the very acts of the Nicene council, are false and spurious, and are so confessed by Baronius; though how he and[b] Lindanus will be reconciled upon the point, I neither know well nor much care. Now if one council be corrupted, we see, by the instance of St. Gregory, that another may be suspected, and so all; because he found the council of Chalcedon corrupted, he suspected also the Ephesine; and another might have suspected more, for the Nicene was tampered foully with; and so three of the four generals were sullied, and made suspicious, and therefore we could not be secure of any. If false acts be inserted in one council, who can trust the actions of any, unless he had the keeping the records himself, or durst swear for the register? And if a very learned man, as Thomas Aquinas was, did either wilfully deceive us, or was himself ignorantly abused, in allegation of a canon which was not, it is but a very fallible topic at the best; and the most holy man that is, may be abused himself, and the wisest may deceive others.

10. Sixthly and lastly, to all this and to the former instances, by way of corollary, I add some more particulars, in which it is notorious that councils general and national,—that is, such as were either general by original, or by adoption into the canon of the catholic church,—did err, and were actually deceived. The first council of Toledo admits to the communion him that hath a concubine, so he have no wife besides; and this council is approved by Pope Leo in the ninety-second epistle to Rusticus, bishop of Narbona. Gratian says, that the council means by a concubine, a wife married "sine dote et solennitate;"[c] but this is daubing with untempered mortar. For though it was a custom amongst the Jews to distinguish wives from their concubines, by dowry and legal solemnities, yet the christian distinguished them no otherwise than as lawful and unlawful, than as chastity

[r] Pro [cùm esset in bello Persarum] legi volunt [cùm reversus esset è bello Persarum.] Euseb. Chronicon. Vide Binium in notis ad Concil. Sinuessanum, tom. 1. Concil. et Baron. Annal. tom. 3. A. D. 303. num. 107.
[s] Lib. 5. Ep. 14. ad Narsem. Comment. in Hebr.
[t] Con. Carthag. VI. cap. 2. [u] Con. Afric.
[x] Ibid. c. 102. c. 133. [y] Lib. 1. Eccl. Hist. c. 6.
[z] In princ. Con. de Synod. princ.
[a] Baronius, tom. 3. A. D. 325. n. 156. tom. 3. ad A. D. 325. n. 62, 63.
[b] Panopl. lib. 2. c. 6. [c] Dist. 34. can. omnibus.

and fornication. And besides, if by a concubine is meant a lawful wife without a dowry, to what purpose should the council make a law, that such a one might be admitted to the communion? For I suppose it was never thought to be a law of christianity, that a man should have a portion with his wife, nor he that married a poor virgin, should deserve to be excommunicate. So that Gratian and his followers are pressed so with this canon, that to avoid the impiety of it, they expound it to a signification without sense or purpose. But the business then was, that adultery was so public and notorious a practice, that the council did choose rather to endure simple fornication, that by such permission of a less, they might slacken the public custom of a greater; just as at Rome they permit stews, to prevent unnatural sins. But that, by a public sanction, fornicators, habitually and notoriously such, should be admitted to the holy communion, was an act of priests so unfit for priests, that no excuse can make it white or clean. The council of Worms[d] does authorize a superstitious custom at that time too much used, of discovering stolen goods by the holy sacrament, which [e] Aquinas justly condemns for superstition. The [f] sixth synod separates persons lawfully married upon an accusation and crime of heresy. The Roman council under [g] Pope Nicolas II. defined, that not only the sacrament of Christ's body, but the very body itself of our blessed Saviour, is handled and broke by the hands of the priest, and chewed by the teeth of the communicants: which is a manifest error derogatory from the truth of Christ's beatifical resurrection, and glorification in the heavens, and disavowed by the church of Rome itself. But Bellarmine,[h] that answers all the arguments in the world, whether it be possible or not possible, would fain make the matter fair, and the decree tolerable; for, says he, the decree means that the body is broken, not in itself, but in the sign; and yet the decree says, that not only the sacrament, (which, if any thing be, is certainly the sign,) but the very body itself, is broken and champed with hands and teeth respectively: which indeed was nothing but a plain over-acting the article in contradiction to Berengarius. And the answer of Bellarmine is not sense: for he denies that the body itself is broken in itself, (that was the error we charged upon the Roman synod,) and the sign abstracting from the body is not broken (for that was the opinion that council condemned in Berengarius): but, says Bellarmine, the body in the sign. What is that? for neither the sign, nor the body, nor both together, are broken. For if either of them distinctly, they either rush upon the error which the Roman synod condemned in Berengarius, or upon that which they would fain excuse in Pope Nicolas: but if both are broken, then it is true to affirm it of either, and then the council is blasphemous in saying, that Christ's glorified body is passible and frangible by natural manducation. So that it is and it is not this way, and yet it is no way else; but it is some way, and they know not how and the council spake blasphemy, but it must be made innocent; and therefore it was requisite a cloud of a distinction should be raised, that the unwary reader might be amused, and the decree scape untouched: but the truth is, they that undertake to justify all that other men say, must be more subtle than they that said it, and must use such distinctions which possibly the first authors did not understand. But I will multiply no more instances, for what instance soever I shall bring, some or other will be answering it; which thing is so far from satisfying me in the particulars, that it increases the difficulty in the general, and satisfies me in my first belief. For [i] if no decrees of councils can make against them, though they seem never so plain against them, then let others be allowed the same liberty (and there is all the reason in the world they should), and no decree shall conclude against any doctrine that they have already entertained: and by this means the church is no fitter instrument to decree controversies than the Scripture itself, there being as much obscurity and disputing in the sense, and the manner, and the degree, and the competency and the obligation of the decree of a council, as of a place of Scripture. And what are we the nearer for a decree, if any sophister shall think his elusion enough to contest against the authority of a council, yet this they do that pretend highest for their authority: which consideration, or some like it, might possibly make Gratian prefer St. Jerome's single testimony before a whole council, because he had Scripture on his side, which says, that the authority of councils is not *αὐτόπιστος*, and that councils may possibly recede from their rule, from Scripture: and in that, which indeed was the case, a single person proceeding according to rule is a better argument: so saith Panormitan; "In concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati esse dicto Papæ aut totius concilii preferendum, si ille moveretur melioribus argumentis."[k]

11. I end this discourse with representing the words of Gregory Nazianzen in his epistle to Procopius: "Ego, si vera scribere oportet, ità animo affectus sum, ut omnia episcoporum concilia fugiam, quoniam nullius concilii finem lætum faustumque vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potiùs quàm accessionem et incrementum habuerit."[l]—But I will not be so severe and dogmatical against them: for I believe many councils to have been called with sufficient authority, to have been managed with singular piety and prudence, and to have been finished with admirable success and truth. And when we find such councils, he that will not with all veneration believe their decrees, and receive their sanctions, understand not that great duty he owes to them who have the care of our souls, whose

[d] Cap. 3. [e] Per. 3. q. 80. a. 6. ad 3. m.
[f] Can. 72.
[g] Can. ego Berengar. de Consecrat. dist. 2.
[h] Lib. 2. c. 8. de Concil.
[i] Illa demum eis videntur edicta et concilia, quæ in rem suam faciunt; reliqua non pluris æstimant quàm conventum muliercularum in textrinâ vel thermis. Lud. Vives in Sch liis. l. 20. Aug. de Civ. Dei. c. 26. 36. q. 2. c. placuit.
[k] Par. 1. de election. et elect. potest. c. significâsti.
[l] Athanas. lib. de Synod. Frustrà igitur circumcursitant prætexunt ob fidem se synodos postulare, cùm sit Divi Scriptura omnibus potentior.

"faith we are bound to follow," saith St. Paul;[m] that is, so long as they follow Christ: and certainly many councils have done so. But this was then when the public interest of christendom was better conserved in determining a true article, than in finding a discreet temper or a wise expedient to satisfy disagreeing persons. (As the fathers at Trent did, and the Lutherans and Calvinists did at Sendomir in Polonia, and the Sublapsarians and Supralapsarians did at Dort.) It was in ages when the sum of religion did not consist in maintaining the *grandezza* of the papacy; where there was no order of men with a fourth vow upon them to advance St. Peter's chair; when there was no man, nor any company of men, that esteemed themselves infallible; and therefore they searched for truth, as if they meant to find it, and would believe it if they could see it proved, not resolved to prove it because they had upon chance or interest believed it; then they had rather have spoken a truth, than upheld their reputation but only in order to truth. This was done sometimes, and when it was done, God's Spirit never failed them, but gave them such assistances as were sufficient to that good end for which they were assembled, and did implore his aid. And therefore it is that the four general councils, so called by way of eminency, have gained so great a reputation above all others; not because they had a better promise, or more special assistances, but because they proceeded better according to the rule, with less faction, without ambition and temporal ends.

12. And yet those very assemblies of bishops had no authority by their decrees to make a divine faith, or to constitute new objects of necessary credence; they made nothing true that was not so before, and therefore they are to be apprehended in the nature of excellent guides, and whose decrees are most certainly to determine all those, who have no argument to the contrary of greater force and efficacy than the authority or reasons of the council. And there is a duty owing to every parish-priest, and to every diocesan bishop; these are appointed over us, and to answer for our souls, and are therefore morally to guide us, as reasonable creatures are to be guided, that is, by reason and discourse: for in things of judgment and understanding, they are but in form next above beasts that are to be ruled by the imperiousness and absoluteness of authority, unless the authority be Divine, that is, infallible. Now then, in a juster height, but still in its true proportion, assemblies of bishops are to guide us with a higher authority, because, in reason, it is supposed they will do it better, with more argument and certainty, and with decrees, which have the advantage by being the results of many discourses of very wise and good men. But that the authority of general councils was never esteemed absolute, infallible, and unlimited, appears in this, that before they were obliging, it was necessary that each particular church respectively should accept them, "Concurrente universali totius ecclesiæ consensû, &c., in declaratione veritatum quæ credendæ sunt," &c.[n] That is the way of making the decrees of councils become authentic, and be turned into a law, as Gerson observes; and till they did, their decrees were but a dead letter: and therefore it is that these later popes have so laboured that the council of Trent should be received in France; and Carolus Molineus, a great lawyer, and of the Roman communion, disputed[o] against the reception. And this is a known condition in the canon law; but it proves plainly that the decrees of councils have their authority from the voluntary submission of the particular churches, not from the prime sanction and constitution of the council. And there is great reason it should: for as the representative body of the church derives all power from the diffusive body which is represented, so it resolves into it; and though it may have all the legal power, yet it hath not all the natural; for more able men may be unsent than sent; and they who are sent, may be wrought upon by stratagem, which cannot happen to the whole diffusive church. It is therefore most fit, that since the legal power, that is, the external, was passed over to the body representative, yet the efficacy of it and the internal should so still remain in the diffusive, as to have power to consider whether their representatives did their duty yea or no, and so to proceed accordingly. For unless it be in matters of justice, in which the interest of a third person is concerned, no man will or can be supposed to pass away all power from himself of doing himself right, in matters personal, proper, and of so high concernment: it is most unnatural and unreasonable. But besides that they are excellent instruments of peace, the best human judicatories in the world, rare sermons for the determining a point in controversy, and the greatest probability from human authority; besides these advantages, I say, I know nothing greater that general councils can pretend to with reason and argument sufficient to satisfy any wise man. And as there was never any council so general, but it might have been more general; for in respect of the whole church, even Nice itself was but a small assembly; so there is no decree so well constituted, but it may be proved by an argument higher than the authority of the council: and therefore general councils, and national, and provincial, and diocesan, in their several degrees, are excellent guides for the prophets, and directions and instructions for their prophesyings; but not of weight and authority to restrain their liberty so wholly, but that they may dissent, when they see a reason strong enough so to persuade them, as to be willing, upon the confidence of that reason and their own sincerity, to answer to God for such their modesty, and peaceable, but, as they believe, their necessary, disagreeing.

[m] Heb. xiii. 7.

[n] Vid. St. August. l. 1. c. 18. de Bapt. contra Donat.

[o] So did the third estate of France in the convention of the three estates under Louis XIII. earnestly contend against it.

SECTION VII.

Of the Fallibility of the Pope, and the uncertainty of his expounding Scripture, and resolving Questions.

1. BUT since the question between the council and the pope grew high, there have not wanted abettors so confident on the pope's behalf, as to believe general councils to be nothing but pomps and solemnities of the catholic church, and that all the authority of determining controversies is formally and effectually in the pope. And therefore to appeal from the pope to a future council is a heresy, yea, and treason too, said Pope Pius II., and therefore it concerns us now to be wise and wary. But before I proceed, I must needs remember that Pope Pius II., while he was the wise and learned Æneas Sylvius,[p] was very confident for the pre-eminence of a council, and gave a merry reason why more clerks were for the popes than the council, though the truth was on the other side, even because the pope gives bishopries and abbeys, but councils give none: and yet as soon as he was made pope, as if he had been inspired, his eyes were open to see the great privileges of St. Peter's chair, which before he could not see, being amused with the truth, or else with the reputation of a general council. But, however, there are many that hope to make it good, that the pope is the universal and the infallible doctor, that he breathes decrees as oracles, that to dissent from any of his cathedral determinations is absolute heresy, the rule of faith being nothing else but conformity to the chair of Peter. So that here we have met a restraint of prophecy indeed: but yet, to make amends, I hope we shall have an infallible guide; and when a man is in heaven, he will never complain that his choice is taken from him, and that he is confined to love and to admire, since his love and his admiration are fixed upon that which makes him happy, even upon God himself. And in the church of Rome there is in a lower degree, but in a true proportion, as little cause to be troubled that we are confined to believe just so, and no choice left us for our understandings to discover, or our wills to choose, because though we be limited, yet we are pointed out where we ought to rest, we are confined to our centre, and there where our understandings will be satisfied, and therefore will be quiet, and where, after all our strivings, studies, and endeavours, we desire to come, that is, to truth; for there we are secured to find it, because we have a guide that is infallible. If this prove true, we are well enough. But if it be false or uncertain, it were better we had still kept our liberty, than be cozened out of it with gay pretences. This then we must consider.

2. And here we shall be oppressed with a cloud of witnesses: for what more plain than the commissio given to Peter? "Thou art Peter, and upon th rock will I build my church;" and, "To thee wi I give the keys:" and again, "For thee have prayed that thy faith fail not; but thou, when tho art converted, confirm thy brethren." And agai "If thou lovest me, feed my sheep." Now nothin of this being spoken to any of the other apostle by one of these places St. Peter must needs be a pointed foundation or head of the church, and b consequence he is to rule and govern all. By som other of these places he is made the supreme pa tor, and he is to teach and determine all, and e abled with an infallible power so to do. And in right understanding of these authorities, the fathe speak great things of the chair of Peter; for w are as much bound to believe that all this wa spoken to Peter's successors, as to his person: tha must by all means be supposed, and so did the ol doctors, who had as much certainty of it as we hav and no more: but yet let us hear what they hav said.[q] "To this church, by reason of its mo powerful principality, it is necessary all churche round about should convene."—"In this, traditio apostolical always was observed, and therefore communicate with this bishop, with this[r] churc was to be in communion with the church catholic —"[s] To this church error or perfidiousness cann have access."—"[t] Against this see the gates of he cannot prevail."—"[u] For we know this church be built upon a rock."—"And whoever eats th lamb not within this house, is profane; he that not in the ark of Noah, perishes in the inundatio of waters. He that gathers not with this bisho he scatters; and he that belongeth not to Chris must needs belong to antichrist." And that is h final sentence. But if you would have all th proved by an infallible argument, [x] Optatus of M levis in Africa supplies it to us from the very nam of Peter: for therefore Christ gave him the co nomination of Cephas ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, to sho that St. Peter was the visible *head* of the catholi church. "Dignum patellâ operculum!" Thi long harangue must needs be full of tragedy to a them that take liberty to themselves to follow Scri ture and their best guides, if it happens in tha liberty that they depart from the persuasions of th communion of Rome. But indeed, if with th peace of the bishops of Rome I may say it, thi scene is the most unhandsomely laid, and the wors carried, of any of those pretences that have latel abused christendom.

3. First: against the allegations of Scripture shall lay no greater prejudice than this, that if person disinterested should see them, and conside what the products of them might possibly be, th last thing that he would think of would be, hov that any of these places should serve the ends o pretences of the church of Rome. For to instanc

[p] Epist. ad Norimberg. Patrum et avorum nostrorum tempore pauci audebant dicere Papam esse supra concilium, l. 1. de gestis Consil. Basil.
[q] Irenæ. contra hæres. l. 3. c. 3.
[r] Ambr. de Obitu Salyri, et l. 1. Ep. 4. ad Imp. Cyp. Ep. 52.
[s] Cyp. Ep. 55. ad Cornel.
[t] St. Austin in Psal. contra partem Donat.
[u] Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Damasum.
[x] Lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

in one of the particulars, that man had need have a strong fancy who imagines, that because Christ prayed for St. Peter, that (being he had designed him to be one of those, upon whose preaching and doctrine he did mean to constitute a church) "his faith might not fail," (for it was necessary that no bitterness or stopping should be in one of the first springs, lest the current be either spoiled or obstructed,) that therefore the faith of Pope Alexander VI., or Gregory, or Clement, fifteen hundred years after, should be preserved by virtue of that prayer, which the form of words, the time, the occasion, the manner of the address, the effect itself, and all the circumstances of the action and person, did determine to be personal. And when it was more than personal, St. Peter did not represent his successors at Rome, but the whole catholic church, say Aquinas and the divines of the university of Paris. "Volunt enim pro sola ecclesia esse oratum," says Bellarmine of them: and the gloss upon the canon law plainly denies the effect of this prayer at all to appertain to the pope; "Quære de quâ ecclesiâ intelligas quod hîc dicitur quòd non possit errare: an de ipso papa qui ecclesia dicitur? sed certum est quòd papa errare potest—Respondeo, ipsa congregatio fidelium hîc dicitur ecclesia, et talis ecclesia non potest non esse; nam ipse Dominus orat pro ecclesiâ, et voluntate labiorum suorum non fraudabitur." But there is a little danger in this argument when we well consider it; but it is likely to redound on the head of them whose turns it should serve. For it may be remembered, that for all this prayer of Christ for St. Peter, the good man fell foully, and denied his Master shamefully: and shall Christ's prayer be of greater efficacy for his successors, for whom it was made but indirectly and by consequence, than for himself, for whom it was directly and in the first intention? And if not, then for all this argument, the popes may deny Christ as well as their chief predecessor Peter. But it would not be forgotten how the Roman doctors will by no means allow, that St. Peter was then the chief bishop or pope, when he denied his master. But then much less was he chosen chief bishop, when the prayer was made for him, because the prayer was made before his fall; that is, before that time in which it is confessed he was not as yet made pope: and how then the whole succession of the papacy should be entitled to it, passes the length of my hand to span. But then also if it be supposed and allowed, that these words shall entail infallibility upon the chair of Rome, why shall not also all the apostolical sees be infallible as well as Rome? why shall not Constantinople or Byzantium, where St. Andrew sat? why shall not Ephesus, where St. John sat? or Jerusalem, where St. James sat? for Christ prayed for them all, "ut Pater sanctificaret eos suâ veritate."[y]

4. Secondly: for "tibi dabo claves,"[z] was it personal or not? If it were, then the bishops of Rome have nothing to do with it: if it were not, then by what argument will it be made evident that St. Peter in the promise represented only his successors, and not the whole college of apostles, and the whole hierarchy? For if St. Peter was chief of the apostles, and head of the church, he might fair enough be the representative of the whole college, and receive it in their right as well as his own: which also is certain that it was so; for the same promise of binding and loosing (which certainly was all that the keys were given for) was made afterward to all the apostles,[a] and the power of remitting and retaining (which in reason and according to the style of the church is the same thing in other words) was actually given to all the apostles: and unless that was the performing the first and second promise, we find it not recorded in Scripture how or when, or whether yet or no, the promise be performed. That promise, I say, which did not pertain to Peter principally and by origination, and to the rest by communication, society, and adherence, but that promise which was made to Peter first, but not for himself, but for all the college, and for all their successors; and then made a second time to them all, without representation, but in diffusion, and performed to all alike in presence, except St. Thomas. And if he went to St. Peter to derive it from him, I know not; I find no record for that; but that Christ conveyed the promise to him by the same commission, the church yet never doubted, nor had she any reason. But this matter is too notorious: I say no more to it, but repeat the words and argument of St. Austin; "Si hoc Petro tantùm dictum est, non facit hoc ecclesia:"[b] If the keys were only given and so promised to St. Peter, that the church hath not the keys, then the church can neither bind nor loose, remit nor retain; which God forbid. If any man should endeavour to answer this argument, I leave him and St. Austin to contest it.

5. Thirdly: for "pasce oves," there is little in that allegation, besides the boldness of the objectors: for were not all the apostles bound to feed Christ's sheep? Had they not all the commission from Christ and Christ's Spirit immediately? St. Paul had certainly. Did not St. Peter himself say to all the bishops of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, that they should feed the flock of God, and the great Bishop and Shepherd should give them an immarcessible crown? plainly implying, that from whence they derive their authority, from him they were sure of a reward: in pursuance of which St. Cyprian laid his argument upon this basis, "Nam cùm statutum sit omnibus nobis," &c. "et singulis pastoribus portio gregis," &c.[c] "Did not St. Paul call to the bishops of Ephesus to feed the flock of God, of which the Holy Ghost hath made them bishops or overseers?" And that this very commission was spoken to St. Peter not in a personal, but a public capacity, and in him spoke to all the apostles, we see attested by St. Austin, St. Ambrose,[d]

[y] 2. 2æ q. 2. a. 6. ar. 6. ad 3 m. Lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. c. 3. sect. 1. Caus. 21. cap. â recta. q. 1. 29. dist. Anastasius 60. dist. si Papa.

[z] John xvii. [a] Matt. xviii.
[b] Tra. 50. in Joann. [c] Lib. 1. Epist. 3.
[d] De Agone Christi, c. 30.

and generally by all antiquity: and it so concerned even every priest, that Damasus was willing enough to have St. Jerome explicate many questions for him. And Liberius writes an epistle to Athanasius, with much modesty requiring his advice in a question of faith, ἵνα κἀγὼ πεποιθὼς ὦ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι, "That I also may be persuaded without all doubting of those things, which you shall be pleased to command me."[e] Now Liberius needed not to have troubled himself to have written into the east to Athanasius; for if he had but seated himself in his chair, and made the dictate, the result of his pen and ink would certainly have taught him and all the church: but that the good pope was ignorant that either "pasces oves" was his own charter and prerogative, or that any other words of Scripture had made him to be infallible; or if he was not ignorant of it, he did very ill to compliment himself out of it. So did all those bishops of Rome, that in that troublesome and unprofitable question of Easter, being unsatisfied in the supputation of the Egyptians, and the definitions of the mathematical bishops of Alexandria, did ye require and entreat St. Ambrose to tell them his opinion, as he himself witnesses.[f] If "pasce oves" belongs only to the pope by primary title, in these cases the sheep came to feed the shepherd; which, though it was well enough in the thing, is very ill for the pretensions of the Roman bishops. And if we consider how little many of the popes have done towards feeding the sheep of Christ, we shall hardly determine which is the greater prevarication, that the pope should claim the whole commission to be granted to him, or that the execution of the commission should be wholly passed over to others. And, it may be, there is a mystery in it, that since St. Peter sent a bishop with his staff to raise up a disciple of his from the dead, who was afterwards bishop of Triers, the popes of Rome never wear a pastoral staff except it be in that diocess, says Aquinas;[g] for great reason that he who does not do the office, should not bear the symbol. But a man would think that the pope's master of the ceremonies was ill advised not to assign a pastoral staff to him, who pretends the commission of "pasce oves" to belong to him by prime right and origination. But this is not a business to be merry in.

6. But the great support is expected from "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam," &c. Now there being so great difference in the exposition of these words, by persons disinterested, who, if any, might be allowed to judge in this question, it is certain that neither one sense nor other can be obtruded for an article of faith, much less as a catholicon instead of all, by constituting an authority which should guide us in all faith, and determine us in all questions. For if the church was not built upon the person of Peter, then his successors can challenge nothing from this instance: now that it was the confession of Peter upon which the church was to rely for ever, we have witnesse very credible, St. Ignatius,[h] St. Basil,[i] St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nyssen,[l] St. Gregory the Great,[m] S Austin,[n] St. Cyril of Alexandria,[o] Isidore Pelusiot and very many more. And although all these wi nesses concurring cannot make a proposition to b true, yet they are sufficient witnesses, that it wa not the universal belief of christendom that th church was built upon St. Peter's person. Ca dinal Perron hath a fine fancy to elude this variet of exposition, and the consequents of it. For, sait he, these expositions are not contrary or exclusiv of each other, but inclusive and consequent to eac other: for the church is founded casually upon th confession of St. Peter, formally upon the ministr of his person, and this was a reward or a conse quent of the former; so that these expositions ar both true, but they are conjoined as mediate an immediate, direct and collateral, literal and mora original and perpetual, accessory and temporal, th one consigned at the beginning, the other intro duced upon occasion. For before the spring of th Arian heresy, the fathers expounded these words c the person of Peter; but after the Arians trouble them, the fathers finding great authority and energ in this confession of Peter for the establishment c the natural filiation of the Son of God, to advanc the reputation of these words and the force of th argument, gave themselves license to expound thes words to the present advantage, and to make th confession of Peter to be the foundation of th church, that if the Arians should encounter thi authority, they might with more prejudice to thei persons declaim against their cause by saying the overthrew the foundation of the church. Beside that this answer does much dishonour the reputatio of the fathers' integrity, and makes their interpre tations less credible, as being made, not of know ledge or reason, but of necessity, and to serve present turn, it is also false: for Ignatius[q] ex pounds it in a spiritual sense, which also the liturg attributed to St. James calls ἐπὶ πέτραν τῆς πίστεω —and Origen[r] expounds it mystically to a thir purpose, but exclusively to this: and all these wer before the Arian controversy. But if it be lawfu to make such unproved observations, it would hav been to better purpose and more reason to have ob served it thus: the fathers, so long as the bisho of Rome kept himself to the limits prescribed hi by Christ, and indulged to him by the constitutio or concession of the church, were unwary and apt t expound this place of the person of Peter; bu when the church began to enlarge her phylacteric by the favour of princes and the sunshine of a pro perous fortune,—and the pope by the advantage c the imperial seat and other accidents began to in vade upon the other bishops and patriarchs, ther that he might have no colour from Scripture fo such new pretensions, they did most generally tur the stream of their expositions from the person t

[e] Epist. ad Athanas. apud Athanas. tom. 1. p. 42. Paris.
[f] Lib. 10. Epist. 83.
[g] M. 4. Sent. dist. 24.
[h] Ad. Philadelph.
[i] Seleuc. orat. 25.
[k] Lib. 6. de Trinit.
[l] De Trinitate advers. Judæos.
[m] Lib. 3. Ep. 33.
[n] In 1. Ep. Joann. tr. 10.
[o] De Trinit. l. 4.
[p] Lib. 1. Ep. 235.
[q] Epist. ad Philadelph.
[r] In c. 16. Matt. tract. 1.

the confession of Peter, and declared that to be the foundation of the church. And thus I have requited fancy with fancy: but for the main point, that these two expositions are inclusive of each other, I find no warrant. For though they may consist together well enough, if Christ had so intended them; yet unless it could be shown by some circumstance of the text, or some other extrinsical argument, that they must be so, and that both senses were actually intended, it is but "gratis dictum," and a begging of the question, to say that they are so, and the fancy so new, that when St. Austin had expounded this place of the person of Peter, he reviews it again, and his Retractations leaves every man to his liberty which to take, as having nothing certain in this article: which had been altogether needless if he had believed them to be inclusively in each other; neither of them had need to have been retracted, both were alike true, both of them might have been believed. But I said the fancy was new, and I had reason; for it was so unknown till yesterday, that even the late writers of his own side expound the words of the confession of St. Peter exclusively to his person or any thing else, as is to be seen in Marsitius,[s] Petrus de Aliaco,[t] and the gloss upon Dist. 19. can. "ità Dominus," ut suprà. Which also was the interpretation of Phavorinus Camers their own bishop, from whom they learnt the resemblance of the words Πέτρος and Πέτρα, of which they have made so many gay discourses. Πέτρα στερεά ἐστι πίστις ἀῤῥαγὴς Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ ἡγεμονικῷ θεμελίῳ προθεμελιουμένη.

7. Fifthly: but upon condition I may have leave at another time to recede from so great and numerous testimony of fathers, I am willing to believe that it was not the confession of St. Peter, but his person, upon which Christ said he would build his church, or that these expositions are consistent with and consequent to each other; that this confession was the objective foundation of faith, and Christ and his apostles the subjective; Christ principally, and St. Peter instrumentally: and yet I understand not any advantage will hence accrue to the see of Rome. For upon St. Peter it was built, but not alone; for it was "upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone;" and when St. Paul reckoned the economy of hierarchy, he reckons not Peter first, and then the apostles; but first apostles, secondarily prophets, &c. And whatsoever is first, either is before all things else, or at least nothing is before it. So that at least St. Peter is not before all the rest of the apostles; which also St. Paul expressly avers; "I am in nothing inferior to the very chiefest of the apostles," no, not in the very being a rock and a foundation: and it was of the church of Ephesus that St. Paul said in particular it was "columna et firmamentum veritatis;" that church was,—not excluding others, for they also were as much as she: for so we keep close and be united to the corner-stone, although some be master-builders, yet all may build; and we have known whole nations converted by laymen and women, who have been builders so far as to bring them to the corner-stone.[u]

8. Sixthly: but suppose all these things concern St. Peter in all the capacities can be with any colour pretended, yet what have the bishops of Rome to do with this? For how will it appear that these promises and commissions did relate to him as a particular bishop, and not as a public apostle? since this latter is so much the more likely, because the great pretence of all seems in reason more proportionable to the founding of a church, than its continuance. And yet if they did relate to him as a particular bishop, (which yet is a farther degree of improbability, removed farther from certainty,) yet why shall St. Clement or Linus rather succeed in this great office of headship than St. John or any of the apostles that survived Peter? It is no way likely a private person should skip over the head of an apostle. Or why shall his successors at Rome more enjoy the benefit of it than his successors at Antioch? since that he was at Antioch and preached there, we have a divine authority; but that he did so at Rome, at most we have but a human. And if it be replied that because he died at Rome, it was argument enough that there his successors were to inherit his privilege, this besides that at most it is but one little degree of probability, and so not of strength sufficient to support an article of faith, it makes that the great divine right of Rome, and the apostolical presidency, was so contingent and fallible as to depend upon the decree of Nero; and if he had sent him to Antioch there to have suffered martyrdom, the bishops of that town had been heads of the catholic church. And this thing presses the harder, because it is held by no mean persons in the church of Rome, that the bishopric of Rome and the papacy are things separable, and the pope may quit that see, and sit in another; which to my understanding is an argument, that he that succeeded Peter at Antioch, is as much supreme by divine right as he that sits at Rome; both alike, that is, neither by divine ordinance.[x] For if the Roman bishops by Christ's intention were to be head of the church, then by the same intention the succession must be continued in that see; and then let the pope go whither he will, the bishop of Rome must be the head: which they themselves deny, and the pope himself did not believe, when in a schism he sat at Avignon. And that it was to be continued in the see of Rome, it is but offered to us upon conjecture, upon an act of providence, as they fancy it, so ordering it by vision; and this proved by an author which themselves call fabulous and apocryphal under the name of Linus, in "Biblioth. Patrum de passione Petri et Pauli." A goodly building which relies upon an event that was accidental, whose purpose was but insinuated, the meaning of it but conjectured at, and this conjecture so uncertain, that it was an imperfect aim at the pur-

[s] Defens. Pacis, part. 2. c. 28.
[t] Recommend. Sacr. Scrip.

[u] Vid. Socrat. l. 1. c. 19, 20. Sozom. l. 2. c. 11. Niceph. l. 11. c. 40.
[x] Vid. Camerascens. Qu. vespert.

pose of an event, which whether it was true or no was so uncertain, that it is ten to one there was no such matter. And yet again, another degree of uncertainty is, to whom the bishops of Rome do succeed. For St. Paul was as much bishop of Rome as St. Peter was; there he presided, there he preached, and he it was that was the doctor of the uncircumcision and of the gentiles, St. Peter of the circumcision and of the Jews only; and therefore the converted Jews at Rome might with better reason claim the privilege of St. Peter, than the Romans, and the churches in her communion, who do not derive from Jewish parents.

9. Seventhly: if the words were never so appropriate to Peter, or also communicated to his successors, yet of what value will the consequent be? what prerogative is entailed upon the chair of Rome? For that St. Peter was the ministerial head of the church, is the most that is desired to be proved by those and all other words brought for the same purposes, and interests of that see. Now let the ministerial head have what dignity can be imagined, let him be the first (and in all communities that are regular and orderly there must be something that is first upon certain occasions, where an equal power cannot be exercised, and made pompous or ceremonial): but will this ministerial headship infer an infallibility? will it infer more than the headship of the Jewish synagogue, where clearly the high priest was supreme in many senses, yet in no sense infallible; will it infer more to us than it did amongst the apostles, amongst whom if for order's sake St. Peter was the first, yet he had no compulsory power over the apostles? there was no such thing spoken of, nor any such thing put in practice. And that the other apostles were by a personal privilege as infallible as himself, is no reason to hinder the exercise of jurisdiction, or any compulsory power over them; for though in faith they were infallible, yet in manners and matter of fact as likely to err as St. Peter himself was: and certainly there might have something happened in the whole college that might have been a record of his authority, by transmitting an example of the exercise of some judicial power over some one of them. If he had but withstood any of them to their faces, as St. Paul did him, it had been more than yet is said in his behalf. Will the ministerial headship infer any more than that when the church, in a community or a public capacity, should do any act of ministry ecclesiastical, he shall be first in order? Suppose this to be a dignity to preside in councils which yet was not always granted him: suppose it to be a power of taking cognizance of the major causes of bishops when councils cannot be called: suppose it a double voice, or the last decisive, or the negative in the causes exterior: suppose it to be what you will of dignity or external regiment, which, when all churches were united in communion, and neither the interest of states nor the engagement of opinions had made disunion, might better have been acted than now it can: yet this will fall infinitely short of a power to determine controversies infallibly, and to prescribe to all men's faith and consciences. A ministerial headship or the prime minister cannot in any capacity, become the foundation of the church to any such purpose. And therefore men are causelessly amused with such premises, and are afraid of such conclusions which will never follow from the admission of any sense of these words, that can with any probability be pretended.

10. Eighthly: I consider that these arguments from Scripture are too weak to support such an authority, which pretends to give oracles, and to answer infallibly in questions of faith, because there is greater reason to believe the popes of Rome have erred, and greater certainty of demonstration than these places give that they are infallible; as will appear by the instances and perpetual experiment of their being deceived, of which there is no question, but of the sense of these places there is. And, indeed, if I had as clear scripture for their infallibility, as I have against their half communion, against their service in an unknown tongue, worshipping of images, and divers other articles, I would make no scruple of believing, but limit and conform my understanding to all their dictates, and believe it reasonable all prophesying should be restrained: but till then, I have leave to discourse and to use my reason. And to my reason it seems not likely that neither Christ nor any of his apostles nor St. Peter himself, nor St. Paul writing to the church of Rome, should speak the least word of title of the infallibility of their bishops; for it was certainly as convenient to tell us of a remedy, as to foretell that certainly there must needs be heresies and need of a remedy. And it had been a certain determination of the question, if, when so rare an opportunity was ministered in the question about circumcision, that they should have sent to Peter who for his infallibility in ordinary, and his power of headship, would not only with reason enough, as being infallibly assisted, but also for his authority have best determined the question, if at least the first christians had known so profitable and so excellent a secret. And although we have but little record that the first council of Jerusalem did much observe the solemnities of law, and the forms of conciliary proceedings, and the ceremonials; yet so much of it as is recorded, is against them. St. James, and not St. Peter, gave the final sentence, and although St. Peter determined the question "pro libertate," yet St. James made the decree and the "assumentum" too, and gave sentence they should abstain from some things there mentioned which by way of temper he judged most expedient, and so it passed. And St. Peter showed no sign of a superior authority, nothing of superior jurisdiction. Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης, οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς οὐδ' ἀρχικῶς.[y]

11. So that if the question be to be determined by Scripture, it must either be ended by plain places or by obscure. Plain places there are none, and these that are with greatest fancy pretended, are expounded by antiquity to contrary purposes. But if obscure places be all the αὐθεντία, by what means shall we infallibly find the sense of them? The

[y] St. Chrysost. hom. 3. in act. Apost.

pope's interpretation, though in all other cases it might be pretended, in this cannot: for it is the thing in question, and therefore cannot determine for itself. Either therefore we have also another infallible guide besides the pope, and so we have two foundations and two heads, (for this as well as the other upon the same reason,) or else (which is indeed the truth) there is no infallible way to be infallibly assured that the pope is infallible. Now it being against the common condition of men, above the pretences of all other governors ecclesiastical, against the analogy of Scripture, and the deportment of the other apostles, against the economy of the church, and St. Peter's own entertainment, the presumption lies against him, and these places are to be left to their prime intentions, and not put upon the rack, to force them to confess what they never thought.

12. But now for antiquity; if that be deposed in this question, there are so many circumstances to be considered to reconcile their words and their actions, that the process is more troublesome than the argument can be concluding, or the matter considerable: but I shall a little consider it, so far at least as to show either antiquity said no such thing as is pretended; or, if they did, it is but little considerable, because they did not believe themselves; their practice was the greatest evidence in the world against the pretence of their words. But I am much eased of a long disquisition in this particular, (for I love not to prove a question by arguments, whose authority is in itself as fallible, and by circumstances made as uncertain, as the question,) by the saying of Æneas Sylvius, "that before the Nicene council every man lived to himself, and small respect was had to the church of Rome;" which practice could not well consist with the doctrine of their bishop's infallibility, and, by consequence, supreme judgment and last resolution in matters of faith: but especially by the insinuation and consequent acknowledgment of Bellarmine,[z] that for one thousand years together the fathers knew not of the doctrine of the pope's infallibility; for Nilus, Gerson, Almain, the divines of Paris, Alphonsus de Castro, and Pope Adrian VI., persons who lived one thousand four hundred years after Christ,—affirm that infallibility is not seated in the pope's person, that he may err, and sometimes actually hath: which is a clear demonstration that the church knew no such doctrine as this; there had been no decree, nor tradition, nor general opinion of the fathers, or of any age before them; and therefore this opinion, which Bellarmine would fain blast if he could, yet in his conclusion, he says it is not "propriè hæretica:" a device and an expression of his own, without sense or precedent. But if the fathers had spoken of it and believed it, why may not a disagreeing person as well reject their authority when it is in behalf of Rome, as they of Rome without scruple cast them off, when they speak against it? For Bellarmine,—being pressed with the authority of Nilus, bishop of Thessalonica,—and other fathers, says that the pope acknowledges no fathers, but they are all his children, and therefore they cannot depose against him: and if that be true, why shall we take their testimonies for him? for if sons depose in their fathers' behalf, it is twenty to one but the adverse party will be cast, and therefore, at the best, it is but "suspectum testimonium." But indeed this discourse signifies nothing but a perpetual uncertainty in such topics, and that, where a violent prejudice or a concerning interest is engaged, men, by not regarding what any man says, proclaim to all the world, that nothing is certain but Divine authority.

13. But I will not take advantage of what Bellarmine says, nor what Stapleton, or any one of them all say, for that will be but to press upon personal persuasions, or to urge a general question with a particular defaillance, and the question is never the nearer to an end: for if Bellarmine says any thing that is not to another man's purpose or persuasion, that man will be tried by his own argument, not by another's. And so would every man do that loves his liberty, as all wise men do, and therefore retain it by open violence or private evasions. But to return.

14. An authority from Irenæus in this question, and on behalf of the pope's infallibility, or the authority of the see of Rome, or of the necessity of communicating with them, is very fallible; for besides that there are almost a dozen answers to the words of the allegation, as is to be seen in those that trouble themselves in this question with the allegation, and answering such authorities; yet if they should make for the affirmative of this question, it is "protestatio contra factum." For Irenæus had no such great opinion of Pope Victor's infallibility, that he believed things in the same degree of necessity that the pope did: for therefore he chides him for excommunicating the Asian bishops ἀθρόως, "all at a blow," in the question concerning Easter-day: and in a question of faith he expressly disagreed from the doctrine of Rome; for Irenæus was of the millenary opinion, and believed it to be a tradition apostolical. Now if the church of Rome was of that opinion then, why is she not now? where is the succession of her doctrine? But if she was not of that opinion then, and Irenæus was, where was his belief of that church's infallibility? The same I urge concerning St. Cyprian, who was the head of a sect in opposition to the church of Rome in the question of rebaptization; and he and the abettors, Firmilian and the other bishops of Cappadocia and the vicinage, spoke harsh words of Stephen, and such as became them not to speak to an infallible doctor, and the supreme head of the church. I will urge none of them to the disadvantage of that see, but only note the satires of Firmilian against him, because it is of good use, to show that it is possible for them, in their ill carriage, to blast the reputation and efficacy of a great authority. For he says that the church did pretend the authority of the apostles, "cùm in multis sacramentis divinæ rei à principio discrepet, et ab ecclesiâ Hierosolymitanâ, et defamet Petrum et Paulum tanquam auctores." And a little after, "Justè dedignor" (says he) "apertam et manifestam stultitiam Ste-

[z] De Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 2. sect. secunda sententia.

phani, per quam veritas christianæ petræ aboletur."[a] Which words say plainly, that for all the goodly pretence of apostolical authority, the church of Rome did then, in many things of religion, disagree from Divine institution; (and from the church of Jerusalem, which they had as great esteem of, for religion's sake, as of Rome for its principality;) and that still in pretending to St. Peter and St. Paul they dishonoured those blessed apostles, and destroyed the honour of their pretence by their untoward prevarication. Which words, I confess, pass my skill to reconcile them to an opinion of infallibility: and although they were spoken by an angry person, yet they declare that, in Africa, they were not then persuaded, as now they are at Rome: "Nam nec Petrus, quem primùm Dominus elegit, vindicavit sibi aliquid, insolentèr, aut arrogantèr assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere."[b] That was their belief then; and how the contrary hath grown up to that height where now it is, all the world is witness. And now I shall not need to note concerning St. Jerome, that he gave a compliment to Damasus that he would not have given to Liberius; "Qui tecum non colligit, spargit." For it might be true enough of Damasus, who was a good bishop and a right believer: but if Liberius's name had been put instead of Damasus, the case had been altered with the name; for St. Jerome did believe and write it so, that Liberius had subscribed to Arianism.[c] And if either he or any of the rest had believed the pope could not be a heretic, nor his faith fail, but be so good and of so competent authority as to be a rule to christendom; why did they not appeal to the pope in the Arian controversy? why was the bishop of Rome made a party and a concurrent, as other good bishops were, and not a judge and an arbitrator in the question? why did the fathers prescribe so many rules and cautions and provisos for the discovery of heresy? why were the emperors at so much charge, and the church at so much trouble, as to call and convene councils respectively, to dispute so frequently, to write so sedulously, to observe all advantages against their adversaries, and for the truth, and never offered to call for the pope to determine the question in his chair? Certainly no way could have been so expedite, none so concluding and peremptory, none could have convinced so certainly, none could have triumphed so openly over all discreants, as this, if they had known of any such thing as his being infallible, or that he had been appointed by Christ to be the judge of controversies. And therefore I will not trouble this discourse to excuse any more words either pretended or really said to this purpose of the pope, for they would but make books swell, and the question endless: I shall only to this purpose observe, that the old writers were so far from believing the infallibility of the Roman church or bishop, that many bishops and many churches did actually live and continue ou of the Roman communion; particularly St. Austin, who with two hundred and seventeen bishops an their successors for one hundred years togethe stood separate from that church, if we may believ their own records. So did Ignatius of Constant nople, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, Firmilian, thos bishops of Asia that separated in the question Easter, and those of Africa, in the question of re baptization. But besides this, most of them ha opinions which the church of Rome disavows now and therefore did so then, or else she hath inn vated in her doctrine; which though it be mos true and notorious, I am sure she will never co fess. But no excuse can be made for St. Au tin's disagreeing and contesting in the questio of appeals to Rome, the necessity of communicatin infants, the absolute damnation of infants to th pains of hell, if they die before baptism, and diver other particulars. It was a famous act of the bisho of Liguria and Istria, who,—seeing the pope Rome consenting to the fifth synod in disparag ment of the famous council of Chalcedon, which f their own interests they did not like of,—renounce subjection to his patriarchate, and erected a patr arch at Aquileia, who was afterward translated Venice, where his name remains to this day. It also notorious, that most of the fathers were opinion, that the souls of the faithful did not enjo the beatific vision before doomsday. Whethe Rome was then of that opinion or no, I know no I am sure now they are not, witness the councils Florence and Trent: but of this I shall give a mo full account afterward. But if to all this which already noted, we add that great variety of opinio amongst the fathers and councils in assignation the canon, they not consulting with the bishop Rome, nor any of them thinking themselves boun to follow his rule in enumeration of the books Scripture,—I think no more need to be said as this particular.

15. Eighthly: but now if, after all this, there some popes which were notorious heretics an preachers of false doctrine, some that made impio decrees both in faith and manners, some that hav determined questions with egregious ignorance an stupidity, some with apparent sophistry, and man to serve their own ends most openly, I suppose the the infallibility will disband, and we may do to hi as to other good bishops, believe him when the is a cause; but if there be none, then to use ou consciences. "Non enim salvat Christianum, quò pontifex constantèr affirmat præceptum suum ess justum; sed oportet illud examinari, et se juxta regu lam superiùs datam dirigere."[e] I would not instanc and repeat the errors of dead bishops, if the extrem boldness of the pretence did not make it necessary But if we may believe Tertullian, Pope Zepherinu

[a] Ep. Firmiliani cont. Steph. ad Cyp. Vide etiam Ep. Cypriani ad Pompeium.

[b] Cyprian Epist. ad Quintum fratrem.

[c] De Script. Eccles. in Fortunatian.

[d] Ubi illa Augustini et reliquorum prudentia? quis jam ferat crassissimæ ignorantiæ illam vocem in tot et tantis Patribus? Alan. Cop. dialog. p. 76, 77. Vide etiam Bonifac. II. Ep. ad Eulalium Alexandrinum; Lindanum Panopsi. 4. c. 89. in fine; Salmeron, tom. 12. tract. 68. sect. a Canonem; Sander, de visibili Monarchiâ, l. 7. n. 411. Baro tom. 10. A. D. 878.

[e] Tract. de interdict. compos. à Theol. Venet. prop. 1 Lib. advers. Praxeam.

approved the prophecies of Montanus, and upon that approbation granted peace to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, till Praxeas persuaded him to revoke his act. But let this rest upon the credit of Tertullian, whether Zepherinus were a Montanist or no: some such thing there was for certain. Pope Vigilius[f] denied two natures in Christ; and in his epistle to Theodora the empress, anathematized all them that said he had two natures in one person. St. Gregory himself permitted priests to give confirmation, which is all one as if he should permit deacons to consecrate, they being by Divine ordinance annexed to the higher orders: and upon this very ground Adrianus affirms that the pope may err "in definiendis dogmatibus fidei."[g] And that we may not fear we shall want instances, we may, to secure it, take their own confession; "Nam multæ sunt decretales hæreticæ," (says Occham as he is cited by Almain,) "et firmitèr hoc credo" (says he for his own particular): "sed non licet dogmatizare oppositum, quoniam sunt determinatæ."[h] So that we may as well see that it is certain that popes may be heretics, as that it is dangerous to say so; and therefore there are so few that teach it. All the patriarchs, and the bishop of Rome himself, subscribed to Arianism, as Baronius confesses: and [i]Gratian affirms that Pope Anastasius II. was stricken of God for communicating with the heretic Photinus.[k] I know it will be made light of, that Gregory VII. saith, the very exorcists of the Roman church are superior to princes. But what shall we think of that decretal of Gregory the Third, who wrote to Boniface his legate in Germany, "quòd illi quorum uxores infirmitate aliquâ morbidâ debitum reddere noluerunt, aliis poterant nubere."[l] Was this a doctrine fit for the head of the church, an infallible doctor? It was plainly, if any thing ever was, "doctrina dæmoniorum," and is noted for such by Gratian, "caus. 32. q. 7. can. quod proposuisti:" where the gloss also intimates that the same privilege was granted to the Englishmen by Gregory, "quia novi erant in fide."—And sometimes we had little reason to expect much better: for not to instance in that learned discourse in the[m] canon law "de majoritate et obedientiâ," where the pope's supremacy over kings is proved from the first chapter of Genesis, and the pope is the sun, and the emperor is the moon, for that was the fancy of one pope perhaps, though made authentic and doctrinal by him; it was, if it be possible, more ridiculous, that Pope Innocent the Third urges, that the Mosaical law was still to be observed, and that upon this argument; "Sanè," saith he, "cùm Deuteronomium secunda lex interpretur, ex vi vocabuli comprobatur, ut quod ibi decernitur, in Testamento Novo debeat observari." Worse yet; for when there was a corruption crept into the decree called "Sancta Romana,"[n] where, instead of these words, "Sedulii opus *heroicis* versibus descriptum," all the old copies, till of late, read, *hæreticis* versibus descriptum;" this very mistake made many wise men, (as Pierius says,) yea, Pope Adrian[o] the Sixth, no worse man, believe, that "all poetry was heretical;" because, forsooth, Pope Gelasius, whose decree that was, although he believed Sedulius to be a good catholic, yet, as they thought, concluded his verses to be heretical. But these were ignorances; it hath been worse amongst some others, whose errors have been more malicious. Pope Honorius was condemned by the sixth general synod, and his epistles burnt; and in the seventh action of the eighth synod, the acts of the Roman council under Adrian the Second are recited, in which it is said that Honorius was justly anathematized, because he was convicted of heresy. Bellarmine says, it is probable that Pope Adrian and the Roman council were deceived with false copies of the sixth synod, and that Honorius was no heretic. To this I say, that although the Roman synod, and the eighth general synod, and Pope Adrian, all together are better witnesses for the thing than Bellarmine's conjecture is against it; yet if we allow his conjecture, we shall lose nothing in the whole: for either the pope is no infallible doctor, but may be a heretic, as Honorius was; or else a council is to us no infallible determiner. I say, as to us: for if Adrian, and the whole Roman council, and the eighth general were all cozened with false copies of the sixth synod, which was so little a while before them, and whose acts were transacted and kept in the theatre and records of the catholic church; he is a bold man that will be confident, that he hath true copies now. So that let which they please stand or fall, let the pope be a heretic, or the councils be deceived and palpably abused, (for the other, we will dispute it upon other instances and arguments, when we shall know which part they will choose,) in the mean time we shall get in the general what we lose in particular. This only, this device of saying the copies of the councils were false, was the stratagem of Albertus Pighius nine hundred years after the thing was done; of which invention Pighius was presently admonished, blamed, and wished to recant.[p] Pope Nicolas explicated the mystery of the sacrament with so much ignorance and zeal, that in condemning Berengarius he taught a worse impiety. But what need I any more instances? It is a confessed case by Baronius, by Biel, by Stella, Almain, Occham, and Canus, and generally by the best scholars in the church of Rome, that a pope may be a heretic, and that some of them actually were so; and no less than three general councils did believe the same thing, viz. the sixth, seventh, and eighth, as Bellarmine is pleased to acknowledge in his fourth book "De Pontifice Romano, c. 11. resp. ad Arg. 4." And the canon "Si papa, dist. 40." affirms it in express terms, that a pope is judicable and pun-

[f] Vid. Liberal. in breviaro, cap. 22. Durand. 4. dist. 7. q. 4.
[g] Quæ. de confirm. art. ult. [h] 3. dist. 21. q. unicâ.
[i] A. D. 357. n. 44. [k] Dist. 19. c. 9. Lib. 4. Ep. 2.
[l] Vid. Corranz. Sum. Concil. fol. 218. edit. Antwerp.
[m] Cap. per venerab. qui filii sint legitimi.
[n] Dist. 15. apud Gratian. [o] De Sacerd. barb.
[p] Vide diatrib. de act. 6. et 7æ. synod. prefatione ad Lectorum, et Dominicum Bannes 22æ. q. 1. a. 10. dub. 2. Picus Mirand. in exposit. theorem. 4.

ishable in that case. But there is no wound but some empiric or other will pretend to cure it; and there is a cure for this too. For though it be true, that if a pope were a heretic, the church might depose him,—yet no pope can be a heretic; not but that the man may, but the pope cannot, for he is "ipso facto" no pope, for he is no christian; so Bellarmine:[q] and so when you think you have him fast, he is gone, and nothing of the pope left. But who sees not the extreme folly of this evasion? For besides that out of fear and caution he grants more than he needs, more than was sought for in the question,—the pope hath no more privilege than the abbot of Cluny; for he cannot be a heretic, nor be deposed by a council: for if he be manifestly a heretic, he is "ipso facto" no abbot, for he is no christian; and if the pope be a heretic privately and occultly, for that he may be accused and judged, said the gloss upon the canon "Si Papa, dist. 40." and the abbot of Cluny and one of his meanest monks can be no more, therefore the case is all one. But this is fitter to make sport with, than to interrupt a serious discourse. And therefore, although the canon "Sancta Romana" approves all the decretals of popes, yet that very decretal hath not decreed it firm enough, but that they are so warily received by them, that when they list they are pleased to dissent from them. And it is evident in the Extravagant of Sixtus IV. "cum de reliquiis," who appointed a feast of the immaculate conception, a special office for the day, and indulgences enough to the observers of it: and yet the Dominicans were so far from believing the pope to be infallible,[r] and his decree authentic, that they declaimed against it in their pulpits so furiously and so long, till they were prohibited under pain of excommunication to say the Virgin Mary was conceived in original sin. Now what solemnity can be more required for the pope to make a cathedral determination of an article? The article was so concluded, that a feast was instituted for its celebration, and pain of excommunication threatened to them which should preach the contrary; nothing more solemn, nothing more confident and severe. And yet after all this, to show that whatsoever those people would have us to believe, they will believe what they list themselves, this thing was not determined "de fide," saith Victorellus; nay, the author of the gloss of the canon law hath these express words, "De festo conceptionis nihil dicitur, quia celebrandum non est, sicut in multis regionibus fit, et maximè in Angliâ; et hæc est ratio, quia in peccatis concepta fuit, sicut et cæteri sanctii." And the commissaries of Sixtus V. and Gregory XIII. did not expunge these words, but left them upon record, not only against a received and more approved opinion of the Jesuits and Franciscans, but also in plain defiance of a decree made by their visible head of the church, who (if ever any thing was decreed by a pope with an intent to oblige all christendom) decreed this to that purpose.[s]

16. So that, without taking particular notice of it, that egregious sophistry and flattery of the late writers of the Roman church are, in this instance, besides divers others before mentioned, clearly made invalid. For here the bishop of Rome, not as a private doctor, but as Pope, not by declaring his own opinion, but with an intent to oblige the church, gave sentence in a question which the Dominicans will still account "pro non determinata." And every decretal recorded in the canon law, if it be false in the matter, is just such another instance. And Alphonsus à Castro says to the same purpose, in the instance of Cælestine dissolving marriages for heresy, "Neque Cælestini error talis fuit, qui soli negligentiæ imputari debeat; ità ut illum errâsse dicamus velut privatam personam, et non ut Papam: quoniam hujusmodi Cælestini definitio habetur in antiquis decretalibus, in cap. 'Laudabilem,' titulo 'De Conversione Infidelium;' quam ego ipse vidi et legi." (Lib. 1. adv. hæres. cap. 4.) And therefore it is a most intolerable folly to pretend that the pope cannot err in his chair, though he may err in his closet, and may maintain a false opinion even to his death. For besides that it is sottish to think, that either he would not have the world of his own opinion (as all men naturally would); or that, if he were set in his chair, he would determine contrary to himself in his study; and therefore to represent it as possible, they are fain to fly to a miracle, for which they have no colour, neither instructions, nor insinuation, nor warrant, nor promise; besides that it were impious and unreasonable to depose him for heresy, who may so easily, even by setting himself in his chair and reviewing his theorems, be cured; it is also against a very great experience. For besides the former allegations, it is most notorious that Pope Alexander III. in a council at Rome, of three hundred archbishops and bishops, A. D. 1179, condemned Peter Lombard of heresy in a matter of great concernment, no less than something about the incarnation; from which sentence he was, after thirty-six years abiding it, absolved by Pope Innocent III. without repentance or dereliction of the opinion. Now if the sentence was not a cathedral dictate, as solemn and great as could be expected or as is said to be necessary to oblige all christendom, let the great hyperaspists of the Roman church be judges, who tell us, that a particular council with the pope's confirmation is made œcumenical by adoption, and is infallible, and oblige all christendom: so Bellarmine.[t] And therefore he says, that it is "temerarium, erroneum, et proximum hæresi," to deny it. But whether it be or not it is all one as to my purpose. For, it is certain

[q] Lib. 2. c. 30. ubi suprà. sect. est ergó.

[r] Vide Alphons. à Cast. l. 1. adv. hæres. c. 4. hoc lemma ridentem affabrè. Vid. etiam Innocentium Ser. 2. de consecrat. Pontif. act. 7. 8æ. Synodi, et Concil. 5. sub Symmadio. Vide Collat. 8. can. 12. ubi patres judicialem sententiam p. Vigilii in causâ trium Capitulorum damnârunt expressè. Extrav. comm. Extrav. grave, Tit. X. De Angelo custod. fol. 59. de consecrat. dist. 3. can. pronunciand. gloss. verb Nativ.

[s] Hâc in perpetuum valiturâ constitutione statuimus, &c. De reliquiis, &c. Extrav. Com. Sixt. 4. cap. 1.

[t] Lib. 2. de Concil. cap. 5.—De Pontif. Rom. c. 14. sect respondeo. In 3. sent. d. 21. q. in cont. 6. dub. 6. in fine.

that in a particular council confirmed by the pope, if ever, then and there the pope sat himself in his chair; and it is as certain, that he sat beside the cushion, and determined ridiculously and falsely in this case. But this is a device for which there is no scripture, no tradition, no one dogmatical resolute saying of any father, Greek or Latin, for above one thousand years after Christ; and themselves, when they list, can acknowledge as much. And therefore Bellarmine's saying, I perceive, is believed of them to be true. That there are many things in the Decretal Epistles which make not articles to be "de fide."[u] And therefore, "Non est necessariò credendum determinatis per summum Pontificem," says Almain. And this serves their turns in every thing they do not like; and therefore, I am resolved it shall serve my turn also for something, and that is, that the matter of the pope's infallibility is so ridiculous and improbable, that they do not believe it themselves. Some of them clearly practised the contrary; and although Pope Leo X. hath determined the pope to be above a council, yet the Sorbonne to this day scorn it at the very heart. And I might urge upon them that scorn that[x] Almain truly enough by way of argument alleges. It is a wonder that they who affirm the pope cannot err in judgment, do not also affirm that he cannot sin; they are like enough to say so, says he, if the vicious lives of the popes did not make a daily confutation of such flattery. Now, for my own particular, I am as confident, and think it as certain, that popes are actually deceived in matters of christian doctrine, as that they do prevaricate the laws of christian piety. And therefore[y] Alphonsus à Castro calls them "impudentes papæ assentatores," that ascribe to him infallibility in judgment or interpretation of Scripture.

17. But if themselves did believe it heartily, what excuse is there in the world for the strange uncharitableness or supine negligence of the popes, that they do not set themselves in their chair, and write infallible commentaries, and determine all controversies without error, and blast all heresies with the word of their mouth, declare what is and what is not "de fide," that his disciples and confidents may agree upon it, reconcile the Franciscans and Dominicans, and expound all mysteries? For it cannot be imagined but he that was endued with so supreme power, in order to so great ends, was also fitted with proportionable, that is extraordinary, personal abilities, succeeding and derived upon the persons of all the popes. And then the doctors of his church need not trouble themselves with study, nor writing explications of Scripture, but might wholly attend to practical devotion, and leave all their scholastical wranglings, the distinguishing opinions of their orders, and they might have a fine church, something like fairy-land, or Lucian's kingdom in the moon. But if they say they cannot do this when they list, but when they are moved to it by the Spirit, then we are never the nearer: for so may the bishop of Angoulême write infallible commentaries, when the Holy Ghost moves him to it; for I suppose his motions are not ineffectual, but he will sufficiently assist us in performing of what he actually moves us to. But among so many hundred decrees which the popes of Rome have made, or confirmed and attested, (which is all one,) I would fain know, in how many of them did the Holy Ghost assist them? If they know it, let them declare it, that it may be certain which of their decretals are "de fide;" for as yet none of his own church knows. If they do not know, then neither can we know it from them, and then we are as uncertain as ever. And, besides, the Holy Ghost may possibly move him, and he, by his ignorance of it, may neglect so profitable a motion; and then his promise of infallible assistance will be to very little purpose, because it is with very much fallibility applicable to practice. And therefore it is absolutely useless to any man or any church: because, suppose it settled "in thesi," that the pope is infallible; yet whether he will do his duty, and perform those conditions of being assisted which are required of him, or whether he be a secret simoniac, (for if he be, he is "ipso facto" no pope,) or whether he be a bishop, or priest, or a christian, being all uncertain, every one of these depending upon the intention and power of the baptizer or ordainer, which also are fallible, because they depend upon the honesty and power of other men; we cannot be infallibly certain of any pope that he is infallible: and therefore, when our questions are determined, we are never the nearer, but may hug ourselves in an imaginary truth; the certainty of finding truth out depending upon so many fallible and contingent circumstances. And therefore the thing, if it were true, being so to no purpose, it is to be presumed that God never gave a power so impertinently, and from whence no benefit can accrue to the christian church, for whose use and benefit, if at all, it must needs have been appointed.

18. But I am too long in this impertinency. If I were bound to call any man master upon earth, and to believe him upon his own affirmative and authority, I would of all men least follow him that pretends he is infallible, and cannot prove it. For he that cannot prove it, makes me as uncertain as ever; and that he pretends to infallibility, makes him careless of using such means, which will morally secure those wise persons, who, knowing their own aptness to be deceived, use what endeavours they can to secure themselves from error, and so become the better and more probable guides.

19. Well, thus far we are come: although we are secured in fundamental points from involuntary error by the plain, express, and dogmatical places of Scripture; yet in other things we are not, but may be invincibly mistaken, because of the obscurity and difficulty in the controverted parts of Scripture,

[u] Proverbialiter olim dictum erat de Decretalibus, Malè cum rebus humanis actum esse, ex quo Decretis alæ accesserunt; scil. cùm Decretales post Decretum Gratiani sub nomine Gregorii noni edebantur.

[x] De Auctorit. Eccles. cap. 10. in fine.

[y] Lib. 1. cap. 4. advers. hæres. edit. Paris. 1531 In seqq. non expurgantur ista verba, at idem sensus manet.

by reason of the uncertainty of the means of its interpretation, since tradition is of an uncertain reputation, and sometimes evidently false; councils are contradictory to each other, and therefore certainly many of them are equally deceived, and therefore all may; and then the popes of Rome are very likely to mislead us, but cannot ascertain us of truth in matter of question; and in this world we believe in part, and prophesy in part, and this imperfection shall never be done away, till we be translated to a more glorious state: either then we must throw our chances, and get truth by accident or predestination; or else we must lie safe in a mutual toleration, and private liberty of persuasion, unless some other anchor can be thought upon, where we may fasten our floating vessels, and ride safely.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Disability of Fathers, or Writers Ecclesiastical, to determine our Questions with Certainty and Truth.

1. THERE are some that think they can determine all questions in the world by two or three sayings of the fathers, or by the consent of so many as they will please to call a concurrent testimony; but this consideration will soon be at an end. For if the fathers, when they are witnesses of tradition, do not always speak truth, as it happened in the case of Papias, and his numerous followers for almost three ages together; then is their testimony more improbable, when they dispute or write commentaries.

2. The fathers of the first ages spake unitedly concerning divers questions of secret theology, and yet were afterwards contradicted by one personage of great reputation, whose credit had so much influence upon the world, as to make the contrary opinion become popular: why then may not we have the same liberty, when so plain an uncertainty is in their persuasions, and so great contrariety in their doctrines? But this is evident in the case of absolute predestination, which till St. Austin's time no man preached, but all taught the contrary; and yet the reputation of this one excellent man altered the scene. But if he might dissent from so general a doctrine, why may not we do so too, (it being pretended that he is so excellent a precedent to be followed,) if we have the same reason? He had no more authority nor dispensation to dissent than any bishop hath now. And therefore, St. Austin hath dealt ingenuously; and as he took this liberty to himself, so he denies it not to others, but indeed forces them to preserve their own liberty. And therefore, when St. Jerome had a great mind to follow the fathers in a point that he fancied, and the best security he had was "Patiaris me cum talibus errare," St. Austin would not endure it, but answered his reason, and neglected the authority. And therefore it had been most unreasonable that we should do that now though in his behalf, which he towards greater personages (for so they were then) at that time judged to be unreasonable. It is a plain recession from antiquity which was determined by the council of Florence,[z] "piorum animas purgatas," &c. "mox in cœlum recipi, et intueri clarè ipsum Deum trinum et unum, sicuti est;" as who please to try, may see it dogmatically resolved to the contrary by Justin Martyr,[a] by Irenæus,[b] by Origen,[c] by St. Chrysostom,[d] Theodoret,[e] Arethas Cæsariensis,[f] Euthymius,[g] who may answer for the Greek church. And it is plain, that it was the opinion of the Greek church by that great difficulty the Romans had, of bringing the Greeks to subscribe to the Florentine council where the Latins acted their masterpiece of wit and stratagem, the greatest that hath been till the famous and super-politic design of Trent. And for the Latin church, Tertullian,[h] St Ambrose,[i] St. Austin,[k] St. Hilary,[l] Prudentius,[m] Lactantius,[n] Victorinus Martyr,[o] and St. Bernard,[p] are known to be of opinion, that the souls of the saints are "in abditis receptaculis et exterioribus atriis," where they expect the resurrection of their bodies, and the glorification of their souls; and though they all believe them to be happy, yet they enjoy not the beatific vision before the resurrection. Now there being so full a consent of fathers, (for many more may be added,) and the decree of Pope John XXII. besides who was so confident for his decree, that he commanded the university of Paris to swear that they would preach it and no other, and that none should be promoted to degrees in theology that did not swear the like, as Occham,[q] Gerson,[r] Marsilius,[s] and Adrianus,[t] report: since it is esteemed lawful to dissent from all these, I hope no man will be so unjust to press other men to consent to an authority, which he himself judges to be incompetent. These two great instances are enough; but if more were necessary, I could instance in the opinion of the Chiliasts, maintained by the second and third centuries, and disavowed ever since: in the doctrine of communicating infants, taught and practised as necessary by the fourth and fifth centuries, and detested by the Latin church in all the following ages: in the variety of opinions concerning the very form of baptism, some keeping close to the institution and the words of its first sanction, others affirming it to be sufficient if it be administered "in nomine Christi;" particularly St. Ambrose, Pope Nicholas the First, Venerable Bede,[u] and St. Bernard,[x] besides some writers of after-ages, as Hugo de Sancto

[z] Sess. ult. [a] Q. 60. ad Christian. [b] Lib. 5. c. 108. et l. 12. de Civ. Dei, c. 9. et in Ps. xxxvi. et in l. 1. Retract. c. 14. Vid. insuper testimonia quæ collegit Spalat. l. 5. c. 8. n. 98. de Repub. Eccl. et Sixt. Senens. l. 6. annot. 315.
[c] Hom. 7. in Levit. [d] Hom. 39. in 1 Cor.
[e] In c. 11. ad Heb. [f] In c. 6. Apoc.
[g] In 16. c. Luc. [h] Lib. 4. adv. Marc.
[i] L. 2. de Cain. c. 2. [k] Ep. 111. ad Fortunatian.
[l] In Psal. cxxxviii. [m] De exeq. defunctor.
[n] L. 7. c. 21. [o] In. c. 6. Apoc.
[p] Serm. 3. de omn. sanctis. Vid. etiam S. Aug. in Enchir.
[q] In oper. 90. dierum. [r] Serm. de Pasch.
[s] In 4. sent. q. 13. a 3. [t] In 4. de Sacram. confirmat.
[u] De consecrat. dist. 4. c. à quodam Judæo. In c. 10. Act.
[x] Ep. 310.

Victore, and the doctors generally his contemporaries. And it would not be inconsiderable to observe, that if any synod, general, national, or provincial, be receded from by the church of the later age, (as there have been very many,) then so many fathers, as were then assembled and united in opinion, are esteemed no authority to determine our persuasions. Now suppose two hundred fathers assembled in such a council, if they had all writ books, and two hundred authorities had been alleged in confirmation of an opinion,—it would have made a mighty noise, and loaded any man with an insupportable prejudice that should dissent: and yet every opinion, maintained against the authority of any one council, though but provincial, is, in its proportion, such a violent recession and neglect of the authority and doctrine of so many fathers as were then assembled, who did as much declare their opinion in those assemblies by their suffrages, as if they had writ it in so many books; and their opinion is more considerable in the assembly than in their writings, because it is more deliberate, assisted, united, and more dogmatical. In pursuance of this observation, it is to be noted, by way of instance, that St. Austin and two hundred and seventeen bishops, and all their successors,[y] for a whole age together, did consent in denying appeals to Rome; and yet the authority of so many fathers (all true catholics) is of no force now at Rome in this question: but if it be in a matter they like, one of these fathers alone is sufficient. The doctrine of St. Austin alone brought in the festival and veneration of the assumption of the blessed Virgin; and the hard sentence passed at Rome upon unbaptized infants, and the Dominican opinion concerning predetermination, derived from him alone as from their original. So that if a father speaks for them, it is wonderful to see what tragedies are stirred up against them that dissent, as is to be seen in that excellent nothing of Campian's Ten Reasons. But if the fathers be against them, then "patres in quibusdam non levitèr lapsi sunt," says Bellarmine;[z] and "constat quosdam ex præcipuis," it is certain the chiefest of them have foully erred. Nay, Posa, Salmeron, and Wadding, in the question of the immaculate conception, make no scruple to dissent from antiquity, to prefer new doctors before the old: and to justify themselves, bring instances in which the church of Rome had determined against the fathers. And it is not excuse enough to say, that singly the fathers may err, but if they concur, they are certain testimony. For there is no question this day disputed by persons that are willing to be tried by the fathers, so generally attested on either side, as some points are which both sides dislike severally or conjunctly. And therefore it is not honest for either side to press the authority of the fathers as a concluding argument in matter of dispute, unless themselves will be content to submit in all things to the testimony of an equal number of them; which, I am certain, neither side will do.

3. If I should reckon all the particular reasons against the certainty of this topic, it would be more than needs as to this question, and therefore I will abstain from all disparagement of those worthy personages, who were excellent lights to their several diocesses and cures. And therefore I will instance that Clemens Alexandrinus[a] taught that Christ felt no hunger or thirst, but ate only to make demonstration of the verity of his human nature; nor that St. Hilary taught that Christ, in his sufferings, had no sorrow; nor that Origen taught the pains of hell not to have an eternal duration; nor that St. Cyprian taught rebaptization; nor that Athenagoras condemned second marriages; nor that St. John Damascenus said Christ only prayed in appearance, not really and in truth: I will let them all rest in peace, and their memories in honour: for if I should inquire into the particular probations of this article, I must do to them as I should be forced to do now; if any man should say, that the writings of the schoolmen were excellent argument and authority to determine men's persuasions, I must consider their writings, and observe their defailances, their contradictions, the weakness of their arguments, the misallegations of Scripture, their inconsequent deductions, their false opinions, and all the weaknesses of humanity, and the failings of their persons; which no good man is willing to do, unless he be compelled to it by a pretence that they are infallible; or that they are followed by men even into errors or impiety. And therefore, since there is enough in the former instances to cure any such mispersuasion and prejudice, I will not instance in the innumerable particularities, that might persuade us to keep our liberty entire, or to use it discreetly. For it is not to be denied but that great advantages are to be made by their writings, "et probabile est, quod omnibus, quod pluribus, quod sapientibus videtur:" If one wise man says a thing, it is an argument to me to believe it in its degree of probation, that is, proportionable to such an assent as the authority of a wise man can produce, and when there is nothing against it that is greater; and so in proportion higher and higher, as more wise men (such as the old doctors were) do affirm it. But that which I complain of is, that we look upon wise men that lived long ago, with so much veneration and mistake, that we reverence them, not for having been wise men, but that they lived long since. But when the question is concerning authority, there must be something to build it on; a Divine commandment, human sanction, excellency of spirit, and greatness of understanding, on which things all human authority is regularly built. But now if we had lived in their times, (for so we must look upon them now, as they did who without prejudice beheld them,) I suppose we should then have beheld them, as we

[y] Vid. Epist. Bonifacii II. apud Nicolinum, tom. 2. Concil. pag. 511. et exemplar precum Eulalii apud eundem, ibid. p. 525. Qui anathematizat omnes decisores suos, qui in eâ causâ, Romæ se opponendo, rectæ fidei regulam prævaricati sunt; inter quos tamen fuit Augustinus, quem pro maledicto Cælestinus tacitè agnoscit, admittendo sc. exemplar præcum. Vid. Doctor. Mart. de jurisdict. part 4. p. 273. et Erasm. annot. in Hieron. præfat. in Daniel.

[z] De Verbo Dei, l. 3. c. 10. sect. Dices.

[a] Strom. l. 3. et 6.

in England look on those prelates who are of great reputation for learning and sanctity: here only is the difference; when persons are living, their authority is depressed by their personal defailances, and the contrary interests of their contemporaries, which disband when they are dead, and leave their credit entire upon the reputation of those excellent books and monuments of learning and piety which are left behind. But beyond this, why the bishop of Hippo shall have greater authority than the bishop of the Canaries, "cæteris paribus," I understand not. For did they, that lived (to instance) in St. Austin's time, believe all that he wrote? If they did, they were much to blame; or else himself was to blame for retracting much of it a little before his death. And while he lived, his affirmative was no more authority than derives from the credit of one very wise man, against whom also very wise men were opposed, I know not why his authority should prevail further now; for there is nothing added to the strength of his reason since that time, but only that he hath been in great esteem with posterity. And if that be all, why the opinion of the following ages shall be of more force than the opinion of the first ages, against whom St. Austin, in many things, clearly did oppose himself, I see no reason. Or whether the first ages were against him or no, yet that he is approved by the following ages, is no better argument; for it makes his authority not be innate, but derived from the opinion of others, and so to be "precaria," and to depend upon others, who if they should change their opinions, (and such examples there have been many,) then there were nothing left to urge our consent to him, which when it was at the best was only this, because he had the good fortune to be believed by them that came after, he must be so still: and because it was no argument for the old doctors before him, this will not be very good in his behalf. The same I say of any company of them, I say not so of all of them, it is to no purpose to say it; for there is no question this day in contestation, in the explication of which all the old writers did consent. In the assignation of the canon of Scripture, they never did consent for six hundred years together; and then, by that time, the bishops had agreed indifferently well, and but indifferently, upon that,—they fell out in twenty more: and except it be in the apostles' creed, and articles of such nature, there is nothing which may with any colour be called a consent, much less tradition universal.

4. But I will rather choose to show the uncertainty of this topic by such an argument which was not in the fathers' power to help, such as makes no invasion upon their great reputation, which I desire should be preserved as sacred as it ought. For other things, let who please read M. Daillé "du Vray Usage des Pères:" but I shall only consider that the writings of the fathers have been so corrupted by the intermixture of heretics, so many false books put forth in their names, so many of their writings lost which would more clearly have explicated their sense, and at last an open profession made and a trade of making the fathers speak, not what themselves thought, but what other men pleased, that it is a great instance of God's providence and care of his church, that we have so much good preserved in the writings which we receive from the fathers, and that all truth is not as clear gone as is the certainty of their great authority and reputation.

5. The publishing books with the inscription of great names, began in St. Paul's time; for some had troubled the church of Thessalonica with a false epistle in St. Paul's name, against the inconvenience of which he arms them in 2 Thess. ii. 1. And this increased daily in the church. The Arians wrote an epistle to Constantine under the name of Athanasius,[a] and the Eutychians wrote against Cyril of Alexandria under the name of Theodoret; and of the age in which the seventh synod was kept, Erasmus reports, "Libris falso celebrium virorum titulo commendatis scatere omnia." It was then a public business, and a trick not more base than public: but it was more ancient than so, and it is memorable in the books attributed to St. Basil, containing thirty chapters "de Spiritu Sancto," whereof fifteen were plainly by another hand under the covert of St. Basil,—as appears in the difference of the style, in the impertinent digressions, against the custom of that excellent man,—by some passages contradictory to others of St. Basil,—by citing Meletius as dead before him, who yet lived three years[b] after him,—and by the very frame and manner of the discourse: and yet it was so handsomely carried, and so well served the purposes of men, that it was indifferently quoted under the title of St. Basil by many, but without naming the number of chapters, and by St. John Damascenus in these words; "Basilius in opere triginta capitum de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphilochium;" and to the same purpose, and in the number of twenty-seven and twenty-nine chapters, he is cited by[d] Photius, by Euthymius, by Burchard, by Zonaras, Balsamon, and Nicephorus. But for this, see more in Erasmus's preface upon this book of St. Basil. There is an epistle goes still under the name of St. Jerome "ad Demetriadem virginem," and is of great use in the question of predestination with its appendices; and yet a very learned man eight hundred years ago did believe it to be written by a Pelagian, and undertakes to confute divers parts of it, as being high and confident Pelagianism, and written by Julianus, Episc. Eclanensis; but Gregorius Ariminensis[f] from St. Austin affirms it to have been written by Pelagius himself. I might instance in too many: there is not any one of the fathers who is esteemed author of any considerable number of books, that hath escaped untouched. But the abuse in this kind hath been so evident, that now if any interested person of any side be pressed with an authority very pregnant

[a] Apol. Athanas. ad Constant. Vid. Baron. A. D. 553.
[b] Vid. Baron. in. Annal.
[c] Lib. 1. de imag. orat. 1.
[d] Nomocan. tit. 1. cap. 3.
[e] V. Beda de gratia Christi adv. Julianum.
[f] Greg. Arim. in 2. sent. dist. 26. q. 1—3.

against him, he thinks to escape by accusing the edition, or the author, or the hands it passed through, or at last he therefore suspects it because it makes against him: both sides being resolved that they are in the right, the authorities that they admit they will believe not to be against them; and they which are too plainly against them, shall be no authorities. And indeed the whole world hath been so much abused, that every man thinks he hath reason to suspect whatsoever is against him, that is, what he pleaseth: which proceeding only produces this truth, that there neither is nor can be any certainty, nor very much probability, in such allegations.

6. But there is a worse mischief than this, besides those very many which are not yet discovered, —which, like the pestilence, destroys in the dark, and grows into inconvenience more insensibly and more irremediably, and that is, corruption of particular places, by inserting words and altering them to contrary senses: a thing which the fathers of the sixth general synod complained of, concerning the constitutions of St. Clement, "quibus jam olim ab iis, qui à fide aliena sentiunt, adulterina quædam, etiam à pietate aliena, introducta sunt, quæ divinorum nobis decretorum elegantem et venustam speciem obscurârunt."[g] And so also have his recognitions, so have his epistles been used, if at least they were his at all; particularly the fifth decretal epistle that goes under the name of St. Clement, in which community of wives is taught upon the authority of St. Luke, saying, the first christians had all things common;—if all things, then wives also, says the epistle: a forgery like to have been done by some Nicolaitan, or other impure person. There is an epistle of Cyril extant to Successus, bishop of Diocæsarea, in which he relates that he was asked by Budas bishop of Emessa, whether he did approve of the epistle of Athanasius to Epictetus bishop of Corinth; and that his answer was, "Si hæc apud vos scripta non sint adultera: nam plura ex his ab hostibus ecclesiæ deprehenduntur esse depravata."[h] And this was done even while the authors themselves were alive: for so Dionysius of Corinth complained, that his writings were corrupted by heretics; and Pope Leo, that his epistle to Flavianus was perverted by the Greeks. And in the synod of Constantinople before quoted (the sixth synod) Marcarius and his disciples were convicted, "quòd sanctorum testimonia aut truncârint aut depravârint."[i] Thus the third chapter of St. Cyprian's book "de Unitate Ecclesiæ," in the edition of Pamelius, suffered great alteration; these words— "primatus Petro datur"—wholly inserted, and these—"super cathedram Petri fundata est ecclesia:" and whereas it was before, "super unum ædificat ecclesiam Christus," that not being enough, they have made it "super *illum* unum." Now these additions are against the faith of all old copies before Minutius and Pamelius, and against Gratian, even after himself had been chastised by the Roman correctors, the commissaries of Gregory XIII. as is to be seen where these words are alleged; "Decret. c. 24. q. 1. can. Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum." So that we may say of Cyprian's works, as Pamelius himself said concerning his writings and the writings of others of the fathers, "Unde colligimus (saith he) Cypriana scripta, ut et aliorum veterum, à librariis variè fuisse interpolata."[k] But Gratian himself could do as fine a feat when he listed, or else somebody did it for him, and it was in this very question, their beloved article of the pope's supremacy; for "de Pœnit. dist. 1. c. Potest fieri," he quotes these words out of St. Ambrose, "Non habent Petri hæreditatem, qui non habent Petri sedem:" "*fidem*," not "*sedem*," it is in St. Ambrose; but this error was made authentic by being inserted into the code of the law of the catholic church. And considering how little notice the clergy had of antiquity but what was transmitted to them by Gratian, it will be no great wonder that all this part of the world swallowed such a bole, and the opinion that was wrapped in it. But I need not instance in Gratian any farther, but refer any one that desires to be satisfied concerning this collection of his, to Augustinus archbishop of Tarracon, "in emendatione Gratiani," where he shall find fopperies and corruptions good store noted by that learned man. But that the "indices expurgatorii," commanded by authority, and practised with public license, profess to alter and correct the sayings of the fathers, and to reconcile them to the catholic sense, by putting in and leaving out,—is so great an imposture, so unchristian a proceeding, that it hath made the faith of all books and all authors justly to be suspected.[l] For considering their infinite diligence and great opportunity, as having had most of the copies in their own hands, together with an unsatisfiable desire of prevailing in their right or in their wrong, they have made an absolute destruction of this topic: and when the fathers speak Latin,[m] or breathe in a Roman diocess, although the providence of God does infinitely overrule them, and that it is next to a miracle that in the monuments of antiquity there is no more found that can pretend for their advantage than there is, which indeed is infinitely inconsiderable; yet our questions and uncertainties are infinitely multiplied, instead of a probable and reasonable determination. For since the Latins always complained of the Greeks for privately corrupting the ancient records both of councils and fathers,[n] and now the Latins make open profession not of *corrupting*, but of *correcting*, their writings, (that is the word,) and at the most it was but a human authority, and that of persons not always learned, and very often deceived; the whole matter is so unreasonable, that it is not worth a farther disquisition. But if any one desires to inquire

[g] Can. 2. [h] Euseb. l. 4. c. 23.
[i] Act. 8. vid. etiam synod. 7. act. 4.
[k] Annot. Cyprian. super Concil. Carthag. n. 1.
[l] Vid. Ind. Expurg. Belg. in Bertram. et Flandr. Hispan. Portugal. Neapolitan. Romanum; Junium in præfat. ad Ind. Expurg. Belg. Hasenmullerum, pag. 275. Withrington. Apolog. num. 149.
[m] Videat Lector Andream Christovium in Bello Jesuitico, et Joh. Reynolds in lib. de idol. Rom.
[n] Vid. Ep. Nicolai ad Michael. Imperat.

farther, he may be satisfied in Erasmus, in Henry and Robert Stephens, in their prefaces before the editions of the Fathers, and their observations upon them; in Bellarm. "de Scrip. Eccl.;" in D. Reynolds "de Lib. Apoc.;" in Scaliger; and Robert Coke, of Leeds in Yorkshire, in his book "de Censurâ Patrum."

SECTION IX.

Of the Incompetency of the Church, in its diffusive Capacity, to be Judge of Controversies; and the Impertinency of that Pretence of the Spirit.

1. AND now, after all these considerations of the several topics, tradition, councils, popes, and ancient doctors of the church, I suppose it will not be necessary to consider the authority of the church apart. For the church either speaks by tradition, or by a representative body in a council, by popes, or by the fathers: for the church is not a chimera, not a shadow, but a company of men believing in Jesus Christ; which men either speak by themselves immediately, or by their rulers, or by their proxies and representatives. Now I have considered it in all senses but in its diffusive capacity; in which capacity she cannot be supposed to be a judge of controversies, both because in that capacity she cannot teach us; as also, because if, by a judge, we mean all the church diffused in all its parts and members, so there can be no controversy: for if all men be of that opinion, then there is no question contested: if they be not all of a mind, how can the whole diffusive catholic church be pretended in defiance of any one article, where the diffusive church being divided, part goes this way, and part another? But if it be said, the greatest part must carry it, (besides that it is impossible for us to know which way the greatest part goes in many questions,) it is not always true that the greater part is the best; sometimes the contrary is most certain; and it is often very probable, but it is always possible. And when paucity of followers was objected to Liberius, he gave this in answer, There was a time, when but three children of the captivity resisted the king's decree.[o] And Athanasius wrote on purpose against those that did judge of truth by multitudes: and indeed it concerned him so to do, when he alone stood in the gap against the numerous armies of the Arians.[p]

2. But if there could, in this case, be any distinct consideration of the church, yet to know which is the true church is so hard to be found out, that the greatest questions of christendom are judged, before you can get to your judge; and then there is no need of him. For those questions which are concerning the judge of questions, must be determined before you can submit to his judgment; and if you can yourselves determine those great questions, which consist much in universalities, then also you may determine the particulars, as being of less difficulty. And he that considers how many notes there are given to know the true church by, no less than fifteen by Bellarmine, and concerning every one of them almost, whether it be a certain note or no there are very many questions and uncertainties and when it is resolved which are the notes, there is more dispute about the application of these notes than of the *πρωτοκρινόμενον*;—will quickly be satisfied that he had better sit still than to go round about a difficult and troublesome passage, and at last get no farther, but return to the place from whence he first set out. And there is one note amongst the rest, holiness of doctrine, that is, so as to have nothing false either in "doctrina fidei" or "morum," (for so Bellarmine explicates it,) which supposes all your controversies judged before they can be tried by the authority of the church; and when we have found out all true doctrine, (for that is necessary to judge of the church by, that, as St Austin's counsel is, "Ecclesiam in verbis Christi investigemus,") then we are bound to follow because we judge it true, not because the church hath said it; and this is to judge of the church by her doctrine, not of the doctrine by the church. And indeed it is the best and only way: but then how to judge of that doctrine will be afterwards inquired into. In the mean time the church, that is, the governors of the churches, are to judge for themselves, and for all those who cannot judge for themselves. For others, they must know that their governors judge for them too, so as to keep them in peace and obedience, though not for the determination of their private persuasions. For the economy of the church requires, that her authority be received by all her children. Now this authority is Divine in its original, for it derives immediately from Christ; but it is human in its ministration. We are to be led like men, not like beasts. A rule is prescribed for the guides themselves to follow, as we are to follow the guides: and although, in matters indeterminable or ambiguous, the presumption lies on behalf of the governors (for we do nothing for authority, if we suffer it not to weigh that part down of an indifferency and a question which she chooses); yet if there be "error manifestus," as it often happens; or if the church-governors themselves be rent into innumerable sects, as it is this day in christendom;—then we are to be as wise as we can in choosing our guides, and then to follow so long as that reason remains, for which we first chose them. And even in that government, which was an immediate sanction of God, I mean the ecclesiastical government of the synagogue, (where God had consigned the high priest's authority with a menace of death to them that should disobey, that all the world might know the meaning and extent of such precepts, and that there is a limit beyond which they cannot command, and we ought not to obey,) it came once to that pass, that if the priest had been obeyed in his conciliary decrees, the whole nation had been bound to believe the condemnation of our blessed Saviour to have been just; and a

[o] Theod. l. 2. c. 16. hist.

[p] Tom. 2.

another time the apostles must no more have preached in the name of JESUS. But here was manifest error. And the case is the same to every man, that invincibly, and therefore innocently, believes it so. "Deo potiùs quàm hominibus," is our rule in such cases. For although every man is bound to follow his guide, unless he believes his guide to mislead him; yet when he sees reason against his guide, it is best to follow his reason; for though in this he may fall into error, yet he will escape the sin; he may do violence to truth, but never to his own conscience; and an honest error is better than a hypocritical profession of truth, or a violent luxation of the understanding; since if he retains his honesty and simplicity, he cannot err in a matter of faith or absolute necessity; God's goodness hath secured all honest and careful persons from that; for other things, he must follow the best guides he can; and he cannot be obliged to follow better than God hath given him.

3. And there is yet another way pretended of infallible expositions of Scripture, and that is, by the Spirit. But of this I shall say no more, but that it is impertinent as to this question. For put the case, the Spirit is given to some men, enabling them to expound infallibly; yet because this is but a private assistance, and cannot be proved to others,—this infallible assistance may determine my own assent, but shall not enable me to prescribe to others; because it were unreasonable I should, unless I could prove to him that I have the Spirit, and so can secure him from being deceived if he relies upon me. In this case I may say, as St. Paul in the case of praying with the Spirit; "He verily giveth thanks well, but the other is not edified." So that let this pretence be as true as it will, it is sufficient that it cannot be of consideration in this question.

4. The result of all is this: since it is not reasonable to limit and prescribe to all men's understandings by any external rule in the interpretation of difficult places of Scripture, which is our rule;—since no man nor company of men is secure from error, or can secure us that they are free from malice, interest, and design;—and since all the ways by which we usually are taught, as tradition, councils, decretals, &c., are very uncertain in the matter, in their authority, in their being legitimate and natural, and many of them certainly false, and nothing certain but the Divine authority of Scripture, in which all that is necessary is plain, and much of that that is not necessary, is very obscure, intricate, and involved:—either we must set up our rest only upon articles of faith and plain places, and be incurious of other obscurer revelations; (which is a duty for persons of private understandings, and of no public function;) or if we will search farther, (to which in some measure the guides of others are obliged,) it remains we inquire how men may determine themselves, so as to do their duty to God, and not to disserve the church, that every such man may do what he is bound to in his personal capacity, and as he relates to the public as a public minister.

SECTION X.

Of the Authority of Reason; and that it, proceeding upon best Grounds, is the best Judge.

1. HERE then I consider, that although no man may be trusted to judge for all others, unless this person were infallible and authorized so to do, which no man nor no company of men is; yet every man may be trusted to judge for himself, I say, every man that can judge at all; as for others, they are to be saved as it pleaseth God: but others that can judge at all, must either choose their guides who shall judge for them, and then they oftentimes do the wisest, and always save themselves a labour, but then they choose too; or if they be persons of greater understanding, then they are to choose for themselves in particular what the others do in general, and by choosing their guide: and for this any man may be better trusted for himself, than any man can be for another. For in this case his own interest is most concerned; and ability is not so necessary as honesty, which certainly every man will best preserve in his own case, and to himself,—and if he does not, it is he that must smart for it; and it is not required of us not to be in error, but that we endeavour to avoid it.

2. He that follows his guide so far as his reason goes along with him, or, which is all one, he that follows his own reason, not guided only by natural arguments, but by Divine revelation, and all other good means,—hath great advantages over him that gives himself wholly to follow any human guide whatsoever, because he follows all their reasons and his own too: he follows them till reason leaves them, or till it seems so to him, which is all one to his particular; for, by the confession of all sides, an erroneous conscience binds him, when a right guide does not bind him. But he that gives himself up wholly to a guide, is oftentimes (I mean, if he be a discerning person) forced to do violence to his own understanding, and to lose all the benefit of his own discretion, that he may reconcile his reason to his guide. And of this we see infinite inconveniences in the church of Rome: for we find persons of great understanding oftentimes so amused with the authority of their church, that it is pity to see them sweat in answering some objections, which they know not how to do, but yet believe they must, because the church hath said it. So that if they read, study, pray, search records, and use all the means of art and industry, in the pursuit of truth, it is not with a resolution to follow that which shall seem truth to them, but to confirm what before they did believe: and if any argument shall seem unanswerable against any article of their church, they are to take it for a temptation, not for an illumination, and they are to use it accordingly; which makes them make the devil to be the author of that, which God's Spirit hath assisted them to find in the use of lawful means and the search of truth. And when the devil of falsehood is like to be cast out by God's Spirit, they say that it is through

Beelzebub: which was one of the worst things that ever the Pharisees said or did. And was it not a plain stifling of the just and reasonable demands made by the emperor, by the kings of France and Spain, and by the ablest divines among them, which was used in the council of Trent, when they demanded the restitution of priests to their liberty of marriage, the use of the chalice, the service in the vulgar tongue; and these things not only in pursuance of truth, but for other great and good ends, even to take away an infinite scandal and a great schism? and yet, when they themselves did profess it, and all the world knew these reasonable demands were denied merely upon a politic consideration, yet that these things should be framed into articles and decrees of faith, and they for ever after bound, not only not to desire the same things, but to think the contrary to be Divine truths; never was reason made more a slave or more useless. Must not all the world say, either they must be great hypocrites, or do great violence to their understanding, when they not only cease from their claim, but must also believe it to be unjust? If the use of their reason had not been restrained by the tyranny and imperiousness of their guide, what the emperor and the kings and their theologues would have done, they can best judge who consider the reasonableness of the demand, and the unreasonableness of the denial. But we see many wise men who with their "optandum esset ut ecclesia licentiam daret," &c., proclaim to all the world, that in some things they consent and do not consent, and do not heartily believe what they are bound publicly to profess; and they themselves would clearly see a difference, if a contrary decree should be framed by the church; they would with an infinitely greater confidence rest themselves in other propositions than what they must believe as the case now stands; and they would find that the authority of a church is a prejudice, as often as a free and modest use of reason is a temptation.

3. God will have no man pressed with another's inconveniences in matters spiritual and intellectual, no man's salvation to depend upon another: and every tooth that eats sour grapes, shall be set on edge for itself, and for none else; and this is remarkable in that saying of God by the prophet; "If the prophet ceases to tell my people of their sins, and leads them into error, the people shall die in their sins, and the blood of them I will require at the hands of that prophet;"[q] meaning, that God hath so set the prophets to guide us, that we also are to follow them by a voluntary assent, by an act of choice and election. For although accidentally and occasionally the sheep may perish by the shepherd's fault; yet that which hath the chiefest influence upon their final condition, is their own act and election; and therefore God hath so appointed guides to us, that if we perish, it may be accounted upon both our scores, upon our own and the guides' too, which says plainly, that although we are intrusted to our guides, yet we are intrusted to ourselves too. Our guides must direct us; and yet, if they fail, God hath not so left us to them, but he hath given us enough to ourselves to discover their failings, and our own duties in all things necessary. And for other things, we must do as well as we can. But it is best to follow our guides, if we know nothing better; but if we do, it is better to follow the pillar of fire than a pillar of cloud, though both possibly may lead to Canaan. But then also it is possible that it may be otherwise. But I am sure if I do my own best, then if it be best to follow a guide, and if it be also necessary, I shall be sure, by God's grace, and my own endeavour, to get to it; but if I, without the particular engagement of my own understanding, follow a guide possibly I may be guilty of extreme negligence; or I may extinguish God's Spirit; or do violence to my own reason. And whether intrusting myself wholly with another be not a laying up my talent in a napkin, I am not so well assured. I am certain the other is not. And since another man's answering for me will not hinder but that I also shall answer for myself, as it concerns him to see he does not wilfully misguide me, so it concerns me to see that he shall not, if I can help it; if I can not, it will not be required at my hands; whether it be his fault, or his invincible error, I shall be charged with neither.

4. This is no other than what is enjoined as a duty. For since God will be justified with a free obedience, and there is an obedience of understanding as well as of will and affection, it is of great concernment, as to be willing to believe whatever God says, so also to inquire diligently whether the will of God be so as is pretended. Even our acts of understanding are acts of choice; and therefore it is commanded as a duty, to "search the Scriptures;" to "try the spirits whether they be of God or no;" "of ourselves to be able to judge what is right;" "to try all things, and to retain that which is best."[r] For he that resolves not to consider resolves not to be careful whether he have truth or no; and therefore hath an affection indifferent to truth or falsehood, which is all one as if he did choose amiss; and since when things are truly propounded, and made reasonable and intelligible we cannot but assent, and then it is no thanks to us; we have no way to give our wills to God in matters of belief, but by our industry in searching it, and examining the grounds, upon which the propounders build their dictates. And the not doing it is oftentimes a cause that God gives a man over εἰς νοῦν ἀδόκιμον, "into a reprobate and undiscerning mind and understanding."

5. And this very thing, though men will not understand it, is the perpetual practice of all men in the world, that can give a reasonable account of their faith. The very catholic church itself is "rationabilis et ubique diffusa," saith Optatus[s] "reasonable, as well as diffused every where."

[q] Ezek. xxxiii.

[r] Matt. xv. 10. John v. 39. 1 John iv. 1. Eph. v. 17. Luke xxiv. 25. Rom. i. 28. iii. 11. Apoc. ii. 2. Acts xvii. 11.

[s] Lib. 3.

For, take the proselytes of the church of Rome, even in their greatest submission of understanding, they seem to themselves to follow their reason most of all. For if you tell them, Scripture and tradition are their rules to follow, they will believe you when they know a reason for it; and if they take you upon your word, they have a reason for that too; either they believe you a learned man, or a good man, or that you can have no ends upon them, or something that is of an equal height to fit their understandings. If you tell them they must believe the church, you must tell them why they are bound to it; and if you quote Scripture to prove it, you must give them leave to judge, whether the words alleged speak your sense or no, and therefore, to dissent, if they say no such thing. And although all men are not wise, and proceed discreetly, yet all make their choice some way or other. He that chooses to please his fancy, takes his choice as much as he that chooses prudently. And no man speaks more unreasonably than he that denies to men the use of their reason in choice of their religion. For that I may, by the way, remove the common prejudice, reason and authority are not things incompetent or repugnant, especially when the authority is infallible and supreme; for there is no greater reason in the world than to believe such an authority. But then we must consider whether every authority that pretends to be such, is so indeed. And therefore "Deus dixit, ergò hoc verum est," is the greatest demonstration in the world for things of this nature. But it is not so in human dictates, and yet reason and human authority are not enemies. For it is a good argument for us to follow such an opinion, because it is made sacred by the authority of councils and ecclesiastical tradition, and sometimes it is the best reason we have in a question, and then it is to be strictly followed; but there may also be, at other times, a reason greater than it that speaks against it, and then the authority must not carry it. But then the difference is not between reason and authority, but between this reason and that which is greater; for authority is a very good reason, and is to prevail, unless a stronger comes and disarms it, but then it must give place. So that in this question, by *reason* I do not mean a distinct topic, but a transcendent that runs through all topics; for reason, like logic, is instrument of all things else; and when revelation, and philosophy, and public experience, and all other grounds of probability or demonstration, have supplied us with matter, then reason does but make use of them: that is, in plain terms, there being so many ways of arguing, so many sects, such differing interests, such variety of authority, so many pretences, and so many false beliefs, it concerns every wise man to consider which is the best argument, which proposition relies upon the truest grounds. And if this were not his only way, why do men dispute and urge arguments? why do they cite councils and fathers? why do they allege Scripture and tradition, and this on all sides, and to contrary purposes? If we must judge, then we must use our reason; if we must not judge, why do they produce evidence? Let them leave disputing, and decree propositions magisterially; but then we may choose whether we will believe them or no: or if they say, we must believe them, they must prove it, and tell us why. And all these disputes concerning tradition, councils, fathers, &c., are not arguments against or besides reason, but contestations and pretences to the best arguments, and the most certain satisfaction of our reason. But then all these coming into question submit themselves to reason, that is, to be judged by human understanding, upon the best grounds and information it can receive. So that Scripture, tradition, councils, and fathers, are the evidence in a question, but reason is the judge: that is, we being the persons that are to be persuaded, we must see that we be persuaded reasonably: and it is unreasonable to assent to a lesser evidence, when a greater and clearer is propounded. But of that every man for himself is to take cognizance, if he be able to judge: if he be not, he is not bound under the tie of necessity to know any thing of it: that what is necessary shall be certainly conveyed to him, God, that best can, will certainly take care for that; for if he does not, it becomes to be not necessary; or if it should still remain necessary, and he damned for not knowing it, and yet to know it be not in his power, then who can help it? there can be no further care in this business. In other things, there being no absolute and prime necessity, we are left to our liberty to judge that way that makes best demonstration of our piety and of our love to God and truth, not that way that is always the best argument of an excellent understanding; for this may be a blessing, but the other only is a duty.

6. And now that we are pitched upon that way, which is most natural and reasonable in determination of ourselves, rather than of questions, which are often indeterminable, since right reason, proceeding upon the best grounds it can, viz. of divine revelation and human authority and probability, is our guide, "stando in humanis;" and supposing the assistance of God's Spirit,—which he never denies them that fail not of their duty in all such things, in which he requires truth and certainty—it remains that we consider how it comes to pass, that men are so much deceived in the use of their reason and choice of their religion, and that, in this account, we distinguish those accidents which make error innocent, from those which make it become a heresy.

SECTION XI.

Of some Causes of Error in the Exercise of Reason, which are inculpate in themselves.

1. THEN I consider that there are a great many inculpable causes of error, which are arguments of human imperfections, not convictions of a sin. And

first, The variety of human understandings is so great, that what is plain and apparent to one, is difficult and obscure to another; one will observe a consequent from a common principle, and another from thence will conclude the quite contrary. When St. Peter saw the vision of the sheet let down with all sorts of beasts in it, and a voice saying, "Surge, Petre, macta et manduca," if he had not, by a particular assistance, been directed to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, possibly he might have had other apprehensions of the meaning of that vision; for to myself it seems naturally to speak nothing but the abolition of the Mosaical rights, and the restitution of us to that part of christian liberty, which consists in the promiscuous eating of meats: and yet besides this, there want not some understandings in the world, to whom these words seem to give St. Peter a power to kill heretical princes. Methinks it is a strange understanding that makes such extractions; but Bozius and Baronius did so. But men may understand what they please, especially when they are to expound oracles. It was an argument of some wit, but of singularity of understanding, that happened in the great contestation between the missals of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory. The lot was thrown, and God made to be judge; so as he was tempted to a miracle, to answer a question which themselves might have ended without much trouble. The two missals were laid upon the altar, and the church-door shut and sealed. By the morrow matins they found St. Gregory's missal torn in pieces, (saith the story,) and thrown about the church; but St. Ambrose's opened and laid upon the altar in a posture of being read. If I had been to judge of the meaning of this miracle, I should have made no scruple to have said, it had been the will of God that the missal of St. Ambrose, which had been anciently used, and publicly tried and approved of, should still be read in the church; and that of Gregory let alone, it being torn by an angelical hand as an argument of its imperfection, or of the inconvenience of innovation. But yet they judged it otherwise; for by the tearing and scattering about, they thought it was meant it should be used over all the world, and that of St. Ambrose read only in the church of Milan. I am more satisfied that the former was the true meaning, than I am of the truth of the story: but we must suppose that. And now there might have been eternal disputings about the meaning of the miracle, and nothing left to determine, when two fancies are the litigants, and the contestations about probabilities "hinc inde." And I doubt not this was one cause of so great variety of opinions in the primitive church, when they proved their several opinions,—which were mysterious questions of christian theology,—by testimonies out of the obscurer prophets, out of the Psalms and Canticles; as who please to observe their arguments of discourse, and actions of council, shall perceive they very much used to do. Now although men's understandings be not equal, and that it is fit the best understandings should prevail; yet that will not satisfy the weaker understandings, because all men will not think that another understanding is better than his own, at least not in such a particular, i which with fancy he hath pleased himself. B commonly they that are least able are most bol and the more ignorant is the more confident: ther fore it is but reason, if he would have another bea with him, he also should bear with another; and he will not be prescribed to, neither let him pr scribe to others. And there is the more reason i this, because such modesty is commonly to be d sired of the more imperfect: for wise men kno the ground of their persuasion, and have their co fidence proportionable to their evidence; othe have not, but overact their trifles. And therefo I said, it is but a reasonable demand, that they tha have the least reason, should not be most imperi ous: and for others, it being reasonable enough for all their great advantages upon other men, the will be soon persuaded to it. For although wis men might be bolder in respect of the persons o others less discerning; yet they know there are bu few things so certain as to create much boldnes and confidence of assertion. If they do not, the are not the men I take them for.

2. Secondly: when an action or opinion is com menced with zeal and piety against a known vice o a vicious person, commonly all the mistakes of it proceeding are made sacred by the holiness of th principle,—and so abuses the persuasions of goo people, that they make it as a characteristic note t distinguish good persons from bad: and then what ever error is consecrated by this means, is therefor made the more lasting, because it is accounted holy and the persons are not easily accounted heretics because they erred upon a pious principle. There is a memorable instance in one of the greatest ques tions of christendom, viz. concerning images. Fo when Philippicus had espied the images of the si first synods upon the front of a church, he cause them to be pulled down: now he did it in hatred o the sixth synod; for he, being a Monothelite, stood condemned by that synod. The catholics that were zealous for the sixth synod, caused the images an representments to be put up again: and then sprung the question concerning the lawfulness of images i churches. Philippicus and his party strived, b suppressing images, to do disparagement to the sixth synod: the catholics, to preserve the honou of the sixth synod, would uphold images.[t] And then the question came to be changed, and they wh were easy enough to be persuaded to pull down images, were overawed by a prejudice against the Monothelites; and the Monothelites strived to maintain the advantage they had got, by a just and pious pretence against images. The Monothelites would have secured their error by the advantage and consociation of a truth; and the other would rather defend a dubious and disputable error, than lose and let go a certain truth. And thus the case stood, and the successors of both parts were led invincibly. For when the heresy of the Monothelites disbanded, (which it did in a while after,) yet the opinion o the Iconoclasts, and the question of images, grew stronger. Yet since the Iconoclasts at the first

[t] Vid. Paulum Diaconum.

were heretics, not for their breaking images, but for denying the two wills of Christ, his Divine and his human; that they were called Iconoclasts was to distinguish their opinion in the question concerning the images; but that then Iconoclasts so easily had the reputation of heretics, was because of the other opinion, which was conjunct in their persons: which opinion men afterwards did not easily distinguish in them, but took them for heretics in gross, and whatsoever they held, to be heretical. And thus upon this prejudice grew great advantages to the veneration of images; and the persons at first were much to be excused, because they were misguided by that which might have abused the best men. And if Epiphanius, who was as zealous against images in churches as Philippicus or Leo Isaurus, had but begun a public contestation, and engaged emperors to have made decrees against them, christendom would have had other apprehensions of it than they had when the Monothelites began it. For few men will endure a truth from the mouth of the devil; and if the person be suspected, so are his ways too. And it is a great subtilty of the devil, so to temper truth and falsehood in the same person, that truth may lose much of its reputation by its mixture with error, and the error may become more plausible by reason of its conjunction with truth. And this we see by too much experience; for we see many truths are blasted in their reputation, because persons, whom we think we hate upon just grounds of religion, have taught them. And it was plain enough in the case of Maldonat,[u] that said of an explication of a place of Scripture that it was most agreeable to antiquity; but because Calvin had so expounded it, he therefore chose a new one. This was malice. But when a prejudice works tacitly, undiscernibly, and irresistibly of the person so wrought upon, the man is to be pitied, not condemned, though possibly his opinion deserves it highly. And therefore it hath been usual to discredit doctrines by the personal defailances of them that preach them, or with the disreputation of that sect that maintains them in conjunction with other perverse doctrines. Faustus, the Manichee, in St. Austin,[x] glories much that in their religion God was worshipped purely and without images; St. Austin liked it well, for so it was in his too; but from hence Sanders concludes, that to pull down images in churches was the heresy of the Manichees.[y] The Jews endure no images; therefore Bellarmine makes it to be a piece of Judaism to oppose them.[z] He might as well have concluded against saying our prayers and church-music, that it is judaical, because the Jews used it. And he would be loth to be served so himself: for he that had a mind to use such arguments, might, with much better probability, conclude against their sacrament of extreme unction, because when the miraculous healing was ceased, then they were not catholics, but heretics, that did transfer it to the use of dying persons, says Irenæus;[a] for so did the Valentinians. And indeed this argument is something better than I thought for at first, because it was, in Irenæus's time, reckoned amongst the heresies. But there are a sort of men that are even with them, and hate some good things which the church of Rome teaches, because she who teaches so many errors, hath been the publisher, and is the practiser, of those things. I confess the thing is always unreasonable, but sometimes it is invincible and innocent; and then may serve to abate the fury of all such decretory sentences, as condemn all the world but their own disciples.

3. Thirdly: there are some opinions that have gone hand in hand with a blessing and a prosperous profession; and the good success of their defenders hath amused many good people, because they thought they heard God's voice where they saw God's hand, and therefore have rushed upon such opinions with great piety and as great mistaking. For where they once have entertained a fear of God, and apprehension of his so sensible declaration, such a fear produces scruple, and a scrupulous conscience is always to be pitied, because, though it is seldom wise, it is always pious. And this very thing hath prevailed so far upon the understandings even of wise men, that Bellarmine makes it a note of the true church. Which opinion when it prevails is a ready way to make, that instead of martyrs, all men should prove heretics or apostates in persecution: for since men in misery are very suspicious, out of strong desires to find out the cause, that by removing it they may be relieved, they apprehend that to be it that is first presented to their fears; and then if ever truth be afflicted, she shall also be destroyed. I will say nothing in defiance of this fancy, although all the experience in the world says it is false, and that of all men christians should least believe it to be true, to whom a perpetual cross is their certain expectation (and the argument is like the moon, for which no garment can be fit, it alters according to the success of human affairs, and in one age will serve a papist, and in another a protestant): yet when such an opinion does prevail upon timorous persons, the malignity of their error (if any be consequent to this fancy, and taken up upon the reputation of a prosperous heresy) is not to be considered simply and nakedly, but abatement is to be made in a just proportion to that fear, and to that apprehension.

4. Fourthly: education is so great and invincible a prejudice, that he who masters the inconvenience of it, is more to be commended than he can justly be blamed that complies with it. For men do not always call them principles which are the prime fountains of reason, from whence such consequents naturally flow as are to guide the actions and discourses of men; but they are principles which they are first taught, which they sucked in next to their milk, and by a proportion to those first principles they usually take their estimate of propositions. For whatsoever is taught to them at first they believe infinitely, for they know nothing to the

[u] In cap. 6. Johan.
[x] Lib. 20. c. 3. contr. Faustum Man.
[y] Lib. 1. c. ult. de Imagin.
[z] De reliq. SS. l. 2. c. 6. sect. Nicolaus.
[a] Lib. 1. c. 8. adv. hær.

contrary, they have had no other masters whose theorems might abate the strength of their first persuasions; and it is a great advantage in those cases to get possession; and before their first principles can be dislodged, they are made habitual and complexional, it is in their nature then to believe them; and this is helped forward very much by the advantage of love and veneration, which we have to the first parents of our persuasions. And we see it in the orders of regulars in the church of Rome. That opinion which was the opinion of their patron or founder, or of some eminent personage of the institute, is enough to engage all the order to be of that opinion: and it is strange that all the Dominicans should be of one opinion in the matter of predetermination and immaculate conception, and all the Franciscans of the quite contrary, as if their understandings were formed in a different mould, and furnished with various principles by their very rule. Now this prejudice works by many principles; but how strongly they do possess the understanding, is visible in that great instance of the affection and perfect persuasion the weaker sort of people have to that, which they call the religion of their forefathers. You may as well charm a fever asleep with the noise of bells, as make any pretence of reason against that religion, which old men have entailed upon their heirs male so many generations till they can prescribe.[b] And the apostles found this to be most true in the extremest difficulty they met with to contest against the rites of Moses and the long superstition of the gentiles, which they therefore thought fit to be retained, because they had done so formerly; "Pergentes non quò eundum est, sed quò itur:"[c] and all the blessings of this life which God gave them, they had in conjunction with their religion, and therefore they believed it was for their religion; and this persuasion was bound fast in them with ribs of iron: the apostles were forced to unloose the whole conjuncture of parts and principles in their understandings, before they could make them malleable and receptive of any impresses. But the observation and experience of all wise men can justify this truth. All that I shall say to the present purpose is this, that consideration is to be had to the weakness of persons, when they are prevailed upon by so innocent a prejudice: and when there cannot be arguments strong enough to overmaster an habitual persuasion bred with a man, nourished up with him, that always ate at his table, and lay in his bosom, he is not easily to be called heretic; for if he keeps the foundation of faith, other articles are not so clearly demonstrated on either side, but that a man may innocently be abused to the contrary. And therefore in this case to handle him charitably, is but to do him justice. And when an opinion "in minoribus articulis" is entertained upon the title and stock of education, it may be the better permitted to him, since, upon no better stock nor stronger arguments, most men entertain their whole religion, even christianity itself.

5. Fifthly; there are some persons of a different persuasion, who therefore are the rather to be tolerated; because the indirect practices and impostures of their adversaries have confirmed them, that those opinions which they disavow are not from God, as being upheld by means not of God's appointment. For it is no unreasonable discourse to say, that God will not be served with a lie; for he does not need one, and he hath means enough to support all those truths which he hath commanded and hath supplied every honest cause with enough for its maintenance, and to contest against its adversaries. And (but that they which use indirect arts, will not be willing to lose any of their unjust advantages, nor yet be charitable to those persons whom either to gain or to undo they leave nothing unattempted) the church of Rome hath much reason not to be so decretory in her sentences against persons of a differing persuasion: for if their cause were entirely the cause of God, they have given wise people reason to suspect it, because some of them have gone to the devil to defend it. And if it be remembered what tragedies were stirred up against Luther, for saying the devil had taught him an argument against the mass; it will be of a great advantage against them, that they go to the devil for many arguments to support not only the mass, but the other distinguishing articles of their church. I instance in the notorious forging of miracles, and framing of false and ridiculous legends. For the former I need no other instances than what happened in the great contestation about the immaculate conception, when there were miracles brought on both sides to prove the contradictory parts: and though it be more than probable that both sides played the jugglers, yet the Dominicans had the ill luck to be discovered, and the actor burnt at Berne. But this discovery happened by Providence; for the Dominican opinion hath more degrees of probability than the Franciscan, is clearly more consonant both to Scripture and all antiquity; and this part of it is acknowledged by the greatest patrons themselves, as Salmeron, Posa, and Wadding: yet because they played the knaves in the just question, and used false arts to maintain a true proposition, God Almighty, to show that he will not be served by a lie, was pleased rather to discover the imposture in the right opinion than in the false; since nothing is more dishonourable to God than to offer a sin in sacrifice to him, and nothing more incongruous in the nature of the thing, than that truth and falsehood should support each other, or that true doctrine should live at the charges of a lie. And he that considers the arguments for each opinion, will easily conclude, that if God would not have truth confirmed by a lie, much less would he himself attest a lie with a true miracle. And by this ground it will easily follow, that the Franciscan party, although they had better luck than the Dominicans, yet had not more honesty, because their cause was worse, and therefore their arguments not

[b] Optima rati ea quæ magno assensu recepta sunt, quorumque exempla multa sunt; nec ad rationem, sed ad similitudinem, vivimus.—SEN.

[c] Vid. Min. Fel. Octav.

whit the better. And, although the argument drawn from miracles is good to attest a holy doctrine, which by its own worth will support itself after way is a little made by miracles; yet of itself and by its own reputation it will not support any fabric: for instead of proving a doctrine to be true, it makes that the miracles themselves are suspected to be illusions, if they be pretended in behalf of a doctrine, which we think we have reason to account false. And therefore the Jews did not believe Christ's doctrine for his miracles, but disbelieved the truth of his miracles, because they did not like his doctrine. And if the holiness of his doctrine, and the Spirit of God by inspirations and infusions, and by that which St. Peter calls "a surer word of prophecy," had not attested the divinity both of his person and his office, we should have wanted many degrees of confidence, which now we have upon the truth of christian religion. But now since we are foretold by this "surer word of prophecy," that is, the prediction of Jesus Christ, that antichrist should come in all wonders and signs and lying miracles, and that the church saw much of that already verified in Simon Magus, Apollonius Tyaneus, and Manetho, and divers heretics, it is now come to that pass, that the argument, in its best advantage, proves nothing so much as that the doctrine which it pretends to prove, is to be suspected; because it was foretold, that false doctrine should be obtruded under such pretences.[d] But then when not only true miracles are an insufficient argument to prove a truth since the establishment of christianity, but that the miracles themselves are false and spurious, it makes that doctrine, in whose defence they come, justly to be suspected; because they are a demonstration, that the interested persons use all means, leave nothing unattempted, to prove their propositions; but since they so fail as to bring nothing from God, but something from the devil, for its justification, it is a great sign that the doctrine is false, because we know the devil, unless it be against his will, does nothing to prove a true proposition that makes against him. And now then those persons who will endure no man of another opinion, might do well to remember how by their exorcisms, their devils' tricks at Lowdon, and the other side pretending to cure mad folks and persons bewitched, and the many discoveries of their juggling, they have given so much reason to their adversaries to suspect their doctrine, that either they must not be ready to condemn their persons who are made suspicious by their indirect proceeding in attestation of that which they value so high as to call their religion; or else they must condemn themselves for making the scandal active and effectual.

6. As for false legends, it will be of the same consideration, because they are false testimonies of miracles that were never done; which differs only from the other as a lie in words from a lie in action; but of this we have witness enough in that decree of Pope Leo X. session the eleventh of the last Lateran council, where he excommunicates all the forgers and inventors of visions and false miracles: which is a testimony that it was then a practice so public as to need a law for its suppression. And if any man shall doubt whether it were so or not, let him see the "centum gravamina" of the princes of Germany, where it is highly complained of. But the extreme stupidity and sottishness of the inventors of lying stories is so great, as to give occasion to some persons to suspect the truth of all church story:[e] witness the legend of Lombardy: of the author of which the bishop of the Canaries gives this testimony; "In illo enim libro miraculorum monstra sæpiùs quàm vera miracula legas. Hanc homo scripsit ferrei oris, plumbei cordis, animi certè parùm severi et prudentis." But I need not descend so low, for St. Gregory and Venerable Bede themselves reported miracles, for the authority of which they only had the report of the common people: and it is not certain that St. Jerome had so much in his stories of St. Paul and St. Anthony, and the fauns and the satyrs which appeared to them, and desired their prayers. But I shall only, by way of eminency, note what Sir Thomas More says in his epistle to Ruthal, the king's secretary, before the dialogue of Lucian "Philopseudes;" that therefore he undertook the translation of that dialogue, to free the world from a superstition that crept in under the face and title of religion. For such lies, says he, are transmitted to us with such authority that a certain impostor had persuaded St. Austin, that the very fable which Lucian scoffs and makes sport withal in that dialogue, was a real story, and acted in his own days.[f] The epistle is worth the reading to this purpose: but he says this abuse grew to such a height, that scarce any life of any saint or martyr is truly related, but is full of lies and lying wonders; and some persons thought they served God, if they did honour to God's saints by inventing some prodigious story or miracle for their reputation. So that now it is no wonder if the most pious men are apt to believe, and the greatest historians are easy enough to report, such stories, which serving to a good end, are also consigned by the report of persons otherwise pious and prudent enough. I will not instance in Vincentius's speculum,—Turonensis,—Thomas Cantipratanus,—John Herolt,—Vitæ Patrum,—nor the revelations of St. Bridget, though confirmed by two popes, Martin V. and Boniface IX. Even the best and most deliberate amongst them, Lippoman, Surius, Lipsius, Bzovius, and Baronius, are so full of fables, that they cause great disreputation to the other monuments and records of antiquity, and yet do no advantage to the cause under which they serve and take pay. They do no good, and much hurt; but yet accidentally they may procure this advantage to charity, since

[d] Vid. Baron. A. D. n. 22. Philostrat. l. 4. p. 485. Compend. Ced. p. 202. Stapleton prompt. Moral. pars æstiva, p. 627.

[e] Τὰ γὰρ μὴ εἰρημένα ἐκβιαζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἀδιάστως εἰρημένα ὑποπτεύεσθαι παρασκευάζουσιν. Isid. Pelus. Vide Lib. II. loc. Theol. cap. 6. Canus ib.

[f] Viz. De duobus spuriis, altero decedente, altero in vitam redeunte post viginti dies; quam in aliis nominibus ridet Lucianus. Vide etiam argumentum Gilberti Cognati, in Annotat. in hunc Dialog. Vic. Palmot. de Sacra sindone, par. I. Epist. ad Lector.

they do none to faith, that since they have so abused the credit of story, that our confidences want much of that support we should receive from her records of antiquity,—yet the men that dissent and are scandalized by such proceedings, should be excused, if they should chance to be afraid of truth, that hath put on garments of imposture; and since much violence is done to the truth and certainty of their judging, let none be done to their liberty of judging; since they cannot meet a right guide, let them have a charitable judge. And since it is one very great argument against Simon Magnus and against Mahomet, that we can prove their miracles to be impostures; it is much to be pitied if timorous and suspicious persons shall invincibly and honestly less apprehend a truth which they see conveyed by such a testimony, which we all use as an argument to reprove the Mahometan superstition.

7. Sixthly: here also come in all the weaknesses and trifling prejudices, which operate not by their own strength, but by advantage taken from the weakness of some understandings. Some men, by a proverb or a common saying, are determined to the belief of a proposition, for which they have no argument better than such a proverbial sentence. And when divers of the common people in Jerusalem were ready to yield their understandings to the belief of the Messias, they were turned clearly from their apprehensions by that proverb, "Look and see, does any good thing come from Galilee?" and this, "When Christ comes, no man knows from whence he is;" but this man was known of what parents, of what city. And thus the weakness of their understanding was abused, and that made the argument too hard for them. And the whole seventh chapter of St. John's Gospel is a perpetual instance of the efficacy of such trifling prejudices, and the vanity and weakness of popular understandings. Some whole ages have been abused by a definition, which being once received, as most commonly they are upon slight grounds, they are taken for certainties in any science respectively, and for principles; and upon their reputation men use to frame conclusions, which must be false or uncertain according as the definitions are. And he that hath observed any thing of the weaknesses of men, and the successions of groundless doctrines from age to age, and how seldom definitions which are put into systems, or that derive from the fathers, or are approved among schoolmen,—are examined by persons of the same interests, will bear me witness how many and great inconveniences press hard upon the persuasions of men, who are abused, and yet never consider who hurt them. Others, and they very many, are led by authority or examples of princes and great personages: "Numquis credit ex principibus?"[g] Some by the reputation of one learned man are carried into any persuasion whatsoever. And in the middle and later ages of the church this was the more considerable, because the infinite ignorance of the clerks and the men of the long robe gave them over to be led by those few guides, which were marked to them by an eminency, much more than their ordinary: which also did the more amuse them, because most commonly they were fit for nothing but to admire what they understood not. Their learning then was some skill in the Master of the Sentences, in Aquinas or Scotus, whom they admired next to the most intelligent order of angels: hence came opinions that made sects and divisions of names, Thomists, Scotists, Albertists, Nominals, Reals, and I know not what monsters of names; and whole families of the same opinion, the whole institute of an order being engaged to believe according to the opinion of some leading man of the same order, as if such an opinion were imposed upon them "in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ." But this inconvenience is greater, when the principle of the mistake runs higher, when the opinion is derived from a primitive man and a saint; for then it often happens that what at first was but a plain innocent seduction, comes to be made sacred by the veneration, which is consequent to the person for having lived long ago; and then, because the person is also since canonized, the error is almost made eternal, and the cure desperate. These and the like prejudices, which are as various as the miseries of humanity or the variety of human understandings, are not absolute excuses, unless to some persons: but truly if they be to any, they are exemptions to all from being pressed with too peremptory a sentence against them; especially if we consider what leave is given to all men by the church of Rome, to follow any one probable doctor in an opinion, which is contested against by many more. And as for the doctors of the other side, they being destitute of any pretences to an infallible medium to determine questions, must of necessity allow the same liberty to the people, to be as prudent as they can in the choice of a fallible guide; and when they have chosen, if they do follow him into error, the matter is not so inexpiable for being deceived in using the best guides we had, which guides, because themselves were abused, did also against their wills deceive me. So that this prejudice may the easier abuse us, because it is almost like a duty to follow the dictates of a probable doctor: or if it be overacted, or accidentally pass into an inconvenience, it is therefore to be excused because the principle was not ill, unless we judge by our event, not by the antecedent probability. Of such men as these it was said by St. Austin, "Cæteram turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas tutissimam facit."[h] And Gregory Nazianzen, Σώζει πολλάκις τὸν λαὸν τὸ ἀβασάνιστον. The common sort of people are safe in their not inquiring, by their own industry, and in the simplicity of their understanding, relying upon the best guides they can get.

8. But this is of such a nature, in which as we may inculpably be deceived, so we may turn it into a vice or a design; and then the consequent errors will alter the property, and become heresies. There are some men, that "have men's persons in admiration because of advantage," and some that have "itching ears," and "heap up teachers to themselves." In these and the like cases the authority

[g] John vii.

[h] Cont. Fund. c. 1. Orat. 21.

of a person and the prejudices of a great reputation are not the excuse, but the fault; and a sin is so far from excusing an error, that error becomes a sin by reason of its relation to that sin as to its parent and principle.

SECTION XII.

Of the Innocency of Error in Opinion in a pious Person.

1. AND therefore, as there are so many innocent causes of error as there are weaknesses within, and harmless and unavoidable prejudices from without; so if ever error be procured by a vice, it hath no excuse, but becomes such a crime, of so much malignity, as to have influence upon the effect and consequent, and by communication makes it become criminal. The apostles noted two such causes, "covetousness," and "ambition;" the former in them of the circumcision, and the latter in Diotrephes and Simon Magus: and there were some that were *ἀγόμενοι ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις*·[i] they were of the long robe too, but they were the she-disciples, upon whose consciences some false apostles had influence by advantage of their wantonness: and thus the three principles of all sin become also the principles of heresy; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. And in pursuance of these arts the devil hath not wanted fuel to set to work incendiaries in all ages of the church. The bishops were always honourable, and most commonly had great revenues, and a bishopric would satisfy the two designs of covetousness and ambition; and this hath been the golden apple very often contended for, and very often the cause of great fires in the church. "Thebulis, quia rejectus ab episcopatu Hierosolymitano, turbare cœpit ecclesiam," said Hegesippus in Eusebius. Tertullian turned Montanist in discontent for missing the bishopric of Carthage after Agrippinus; and so did Montanus himself for the same discontent, saith Nicephorus. Novatus would have been bishop of Rome,—Donatus, of Carthage,—Arius, of Alexandria,—Aerius, of Sebastia; but they all missed, and therefore all of them vexed christendom. And this was so common a thing, that oftentimes the threatening the church with a schism or a heresy was a design to get a bishopric. And Socrates reports of Asterius, that he did frequent the conventicles of the Arians; "Nam episcopatum aliquem ambiebat." And setting aside the infirmities of men and their innocent prejudices, Epiphanius makes pride to be the only cause of heresies; *ὕβρις καὶ πρόκρισις*, "pride and prejudice" cause them all, the one criminally, the other innocently. And indeed St. Paul[k] does almost make pride the only cause of heresies: his words cannot be expounded, unless it be at least the principal; *εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ*, and "consents not to sound words, and the doctrine that is according to godliness," *τετύφωται, μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεις καὶ λογομαχίας· ἐξ ὧν γίνεται φθόνος, ἔρις, βλασφημίαι, ὑπόνοιαι πονηραί.*

2. The sum is this, if ever an opinion be begun with pride, or managed with impiety, or ends in a crime, the man turns heretic: but let the error be never so great, so it be not against an article of creed, if it be simple and hath no confederation with the personal iniquity of the man, the opinion is as innocent as the person, though, perhaps, as false as he is ignorant, and therefore shall burn, though he himself escape. But in these cases, and many more, (for the causes of deception increase by all accidents, and weaknesses, and illusions,) no man can give certain judgment upon the persons of men in particular, unless the matter of fact and crime be accident and notorious. The man cannot, by human judgment, be concluded a heretic, unless his opinion be an open recession from plain demonstrative Divine authority (which must needs be notorious, voluntary, vincible, and criminal); or that there be a palpable serving of an end accidental and extrinsical to the opinion.

3. But this latter is very hard to be discerned, because those accidental and adherent crimes which make the man a heretic, in questions not simply fundamental or of necessary practice, are actions so internal and spiritual, that cognizance can but seldom be taken of them. And therefore, to instance, though the opinion of purgatory be false, yet to believe it cannot be heresy, if a man be abused into the belief of it invincibly; because it is not a doctrine either fundamentally false or practically impious, it neither proceeds from the will, nor hath any immediate or direct influence upon choice and manners. And as for those other ends of upholding that opinion which possibly its patrons may have, as for the reputation of their church's infallibility, for the advantage of dirges, requiems, masses, monthly minds, anniversaries, and other offices for the dead, which usually are very profitable, rich, and easy; these things may possibly have sole influences upon their understanding, but whether they have or no, God only knows. If the proposition and article were true, these ends might justly be subordinate, and consistent with a true proposition. And there are some truths that are also profitable, as the necessity of maintenance to the clergy, the doctrine of restitution, giving alms, lending freely, remitting debts in cases of great necessity: and it would be but an ill argument that the preachers of these doctrines speak false, because possibly in these articles they may serve their own ends. For although Demetrius and the craftsmen were without excuse for resisting the preaching of St. Paul, because it was notorious they resisted the truth upon ground of profit and personal emoluments, and the matter was confessed by themselves; yet if the clergy should maintain their just rights and revenues, which by pious dedications and donatives were long since ascertained upon them, is it to be presumed, in order of law and charity, that this end is in the men subordinate to truth, because it is so in the thing itself, and that therefore no judgment in prejudice of these truths can be made from that observation?

4. But if "aliunde" we are ascertained of the

[i] 2 Tim. iii. [k] 1 Tim. vi. 1.

truth or falsehood of a proposition respectively, yet the judgment of the personal ends of the men cannot ordinarily be certain and judicial, because most commonly the acts are private, and the purposes internal, and temporal ends may sometimes consist with truth; and whether the purposes of the men make these ends principal or subordinate, no man can judge: and be they how they will, yet they do not always prove, that, when they are conjunct with error, the error was caused by these purposes and criminal intentions.

5. But in questions practical, the doctrine itself, and the person too, may with more ease be reproved, because matter of fact being evident, and nothing being so certain as the experiments of human affairs, and these being the immediate consequents of such doctrines, are with some more certainty of observation redargued than the speculative, whose judgment is of itself more difficult, more remote from matter and human observation, and with less curiosity and explicitness declared in Scripture, as being of less consequence and concernment in order to God's and man's great end. In other things, which end in notion and ineffective contemplation, where neither the doctrine is malicious, nor the person apparently criminal, he is to be left to the judgment of God: and as there is no certainty of human judicature in this case, so it is to no purpose it should be judged. For if the person may be innocent with his error, and there is no rule whereby it can certainly be pronounced that he is actually criminal (as it happens in matters speculative); since the end of the commandment is love out of "a pure conscience, and faith unfeigned," and the commandment may obtain its end in a consistence with this simple speculative error; why should men trouble themselves with such opinions, so as to disturb the public charity or the private confidence? Opinions and persons are just so to be judged as other matters and persons criminal. For no man can judge any thing else: it must be a crime, and it must be open, so as to take cognizance, and make true human judgment of it. And this is all I am to say concerning the causes of heresies, and of the distinguishing rules for guiding of our judgments towards others.

6. As for guiding our judgments, and the use of our reason in judging for ourselves, all that is to be said is reducible to this one proposition: since errors are then made sins, when they are contrary to charity, or inconsistent with a good life and the honour of God, that judgment is the truest, or at least that opinion most innocent, that, 1. best promotes the reputation of God's glory; and, 2. is the best instrument of holy life. For in questions and interpretations of dispute, these two analogies are the best to make propositions, and conjectures, and determinations. Diligence and care in obtaining the best guides, and the most convenient assistances, prayer, and modesty of spirit, simplicity of purposes and intentions, humility, and aptness to learn, and a peaceable disposition, are therefore necessary to finding out truths, because they are parts of good life, without which our truths will do us little advantage, and our errors can have no excuse. But with these dispositions, as he is sure to find out all that is necessary, so what truth he inculpably misses of, he is sure is therefore not necessary, because he could not find it, when he did his best and his most innocent endeavours. And this I say to secure the persons; because no rule can antecedently secure the proposition in matters disputable. For even in the proportions and explications of this rule, there is infinite variety of disputes; and when the dispute is concerning free-will, one party denies it, because he believes it magnifies the grace of God, that it works irresistibly; the other affirms it, because he believes it engages us upon greater care and piety of our endeavours. The one opinion thinks God reaps the glory of our good actions, the other thinks it charges our bad actions upon him. So in the question of merit, one part chooses his assertion, because he thinks it encourages us to do good works; the other believes it makes us proud, and therefore he rejects it. The first believes it increases piety; the second believes it increases spiritual presumption and vanity: the first thinks it magnifies God's justice; the other thinks it derogates from his mercy. Now then, since neither this nor any ground can secure a man from possibility of mistaking, we were infinitely miserable if it would not secure us from punishment, so long as we willingly consent not to a crime, and do our best endeavour to avoid an error. Only, by the way, let me observe, that since there are such great differences of apprehension concerning the consequents of an article, no man is to be charged with the odious consequences of his opinion. Indeed his doctrine is, but the person is not, if he understands not such things to be consequent to his doctrine; for if he did, and then avows them, they are his direct opinions, and he stands as chargeable with them as with his first propositions; but if he disavows them, he would certainly rather quit his opinion, than avow such errors or impieties which are pretended to be consequent to it, because every man knows, that can be no truth from whence falsehood naturally and immediately does derive; and he therefore believes his first proposition, because he believes it innocent of such errors as are charged upon it directly or consequently.

7. So that now, since no error, neither for itself nor its consequents, is to be charged as criminal upon a pious person; since no simple error is a sin, nor does condemn us before the throne of God; since he is so pitiful to our crimes, that he pardons many "de toto et integro," in all makes abatement for the violence of temptation, and the surprisal and invasion of our faculties, and therefore much less will demand of us an account for our weaknesses; and since the strongest understanding cannot pretend to such an immunity and exemption from the condition of men, as not to be deceived and confess its weakness; it remains we inquire what deportment is to be used towards persons of a differing persuasion, when we are, I do not say doubtful of a proposition, but, convinced that he that differs from us is in error: for this was the first intention, and the last end, of this discourse.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Deportment to be used towards Persons disagreeing, and the Reasons why they are not to be punished with Death, &c.

1. FOR although every man may be deceived, yet some are right, and may know it too; for every man that may err, does not therefore certainly err; and if he errs because he recedes from his rule, then if he follows it he may do right; and if ever any man upon just grounds did change his opinion, then he was in the right and was sure of it too; and although confidence is mistaken for a just persuasion many times, yet some men are confident, and have reason so to be. Now when this happens, the question is, what deportment they are to use towards persons that disagree from them, and by consequence are in error.

2. First then, no christian is to be put to death, dismembered, or otherwise directly persecuted, for his opinion, which does not teach impiety or blasphemy. If it plainly and apparently brings in a crime, and himself does act it or encourage it, then the matter of fact is punishable according to its proportion or malignity. As if he preaches treason or sedition, his opinion is not his excuse, because it brings in a crime: and a man is never the less traitor, because he believes it lawful to commit treason: and a man is a murderer, if he kills his brother unjustly, although he thinks he does God good service in it. Matters of fact are equally judicable, whether the principle of them be from within or from without. And if a man could pretend to innocence in being seditious, blasphemous, or perjured, by persuading himself it is lawful, there were as great a gate opened to all iniquity as will entertain all the pretences, the designs, the impostures, and disguises of the world. And therefore God hath taken order, that all rules concerning matters of fact and good life shall be so clearly explicated, that without the crime of the man he cannot be ignorant of all his practical duty. And therefore the apostles and primitive doctors made no scruple of condemning such persons for heretics, that did dogmatize a sin. He that teaches others to sin, is worse than he that commits the crime, whether he be tempted by his own interest, or encouraged by the other's doctrine. It was as bad in Basilides to teach it to be lawful to renounce faith and religion, and take all manner of oaths and covenants in time of persecution, as if himself had done so. Nay, it is as much worse as the mischief is more universal, or as a fountain is greater than a drop of water taken from it. He that writes treason in a book, or preaches sedition in a pulpit, and persuades it to the people, is the greatest traitor and incendiary, and his opinion there is the fountain of a sin; and therefore could not be entertained in his understanding upon weakness, or inculpable or innocent prejudice; he cannot, from Scripture or Divine revelation, have any pretence to colour that so fairly as to seduce either a wise or an honest man. If it rest there and goes no farther, it is not cognoscible, and so scapes that way; but if it be published, and comes "à stylo ad machæram," (as Tertullian's phrase is,) then it becomes matter of fact in principle and in persuasion, and is just so punishable as is the crime that it persuades. Such were they of whom St. Paul complains, who "brought in damnable doctrines and lusts." St. Paul's "utinam abscindantur,"[k] is just of them, take it in any sense of rigour and severity, so it be proportionable to the crime or criminal doctrine. Such were those of whom God spake; "If any prophet tempt to idolatry, saying, Let us go after other gods, he shall be slain."[l] But these do not come into this question: but the proposition is to be understood concerning questions disputable "in materiâ intellectuali;" which also, for all that law of killing such false prophets, were permitted with impunity in the synagogue, as appears beyond exception in the great divisions and disputes between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. I deny not but certain and known idolatry, or any other sort of practical impiety with its principiant doctrine, may be punished corporally, because it is no other but matter of fact; but no matter of mere opinion, no errors that of themselves are not sins, are to be persecuted or punished by death or corporal inflictions. This is now to be proved.

3. Secondly: all the former discourse is sufficient argument, how easy it is for us in such matters to be deceived. So long as christian religion was a simple profession of the articles of belief, and a hearty prosecution of the rules of good life, the fewness of the articles and the clearness of the rule was cause of the seldom prevarication. But when divinity is swelled up to so great a body, when the several questions which the peevishness and wantonness of sixteen ages have commenced, are concentrated into one, and from all these questions something is drawn into the body of theology, till it hath ascended up to the greatness of a mountain, and the sum of divinity collected by Aquinas makes a volume as great as was that of Livy, mocked at in the epigram,

Quem mea vix totum bibliotheca capit;

it is impossible for any industry to consider so many particulars in the infinite numbers of questions as are necessary to be considered, before we can, with certainty, determine any. And after all the considerations, which we can have in a whole age, we are not sure "not to be deceived." The obscurity of some questions, the nicety of some articles, the intricacy of some revelations, the variety of human understandings, the windings of logic, the tricks of adversaries, the subtilty of sophisters, the engagement of educations, personal affections, the portentous number of writers, the infinity of authorities, the vastness of some arguments, as consisting in enumeration of many particulars, the uncertainty of others, the several degrees of probability, the difficulties of Scripture, the invalidity of probation of tradition, the opposition of all exterior arguments to

[k] Gal. v. [l] Deut. xiii.

each other, and their open contestation, the public violence done to authors and records, the private arts and supplantings, the falsifyings, the indefatigable industry of some men to abuse all understandings and all persuasions into their own opinions, these and thousands more, even all the difficulty of things, and all the weaknesses of man, and all the arts of the devil, have made it impossible for any man, in so great variety of matter, not to be deceived. No man pretends to it but the pope, and no man is more deceived than he is in that very particular.

4. Thirdly: from hence proceeds a danger which is consequent to this proceeding: for if we, who are so apt to be deceived, and so insecure in our resolution of questions disputable, should persecute a disagreeing person, we are not sure we do not fight against God. For if his proposition be true and persecuted, then, because all truth derives from God, this proceeding is against God, and therefore this is not to be done, upon Gamaliel's ground, "lest peradventure we be found to fight against God;" of which, because we can have no security (at least) in this case, we have all the guilt of a doubtful or an uncertain conscience. For if there be no security in the thing, as I have largely proved, the conscience in such cases is as uncertain as the question is: and if it be not doubtful where it is uncertain, it is because the man is not wise, but as confident as ignorant; the first without reason, and the second without excuse. And it is very disproportionable for a man to persecute another certainly for a proposition, that, if he were wise, he would know is not certain; at least the other person may innocently be uncertain of it. If he be killed, he is certainly killed; but if he be called heretic, it is not so certain that he is a heretic. It were good therefore that proceedings were according to evidence, and the rivers not swell over the banks, nor a certain definitive sentence of death passed upon such persuasions, which cannot certainly be defined. And this argument is of so much the more force, because we see that the greatest persecutions that ever have been, were against truth, even against christianity itself; and it was a prediction of our blessed Saviour, that persecution should be the lot of true believers. And if we compute the experience of suffering christendom, and the prediction that truth should suffer, with those few instances of suffering heretics, it is odds but persecution is on the wrong side, and that it is error and heresy that is cruel and tyrannical; especially since the truth of Jesus Christ and of his religion is so meek, so charitable, and so merciful. And we may in this case exactly use the words of St. Paul; "But as then he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now;" and so it ever will be till Christ's second coming.

5. Fourthly: whoever persecutes a disagreeing person, arms all the world against himself, and all pious people of his own persuasion,[m] when the scales of authority return to his adversary, and attest his contradictory; and then what can he urge for mercy for himself or his party, that showeth none to others. If he says that he is to be spared because he believes true, but the other was justly persecuted because he was in error, he is ridiculous. For he is as confidently believed to be a heretic, as he believes his adversary such; and "whether he be or no" being the thing in question, of this he is not to be his own judge; but he that hath authority on his side, will be sure to judge against him. So that, what either side can indifferently make use of, it is good that neither would, because neither side can with reason sufficiently do it in prejudice of the other. If a man will say, that every man must take his adventure, and if it happens authority to be with him, he will persecute his adversaries, and if it turns against him, he will bear it as well as he can, and hope for a reward of martyrdom and innocent suffering;—besides that this is so equal to be said of all sides, and besides that this is a way to make an eternal disunion of hearts and charities, and that it will make christendom nothing but a shambles and a perpetual butchery; and as fast as men's wits grow wanton, or confident, or proud, or abused, so often there will be new executions and massacres; besides all this, it is most unreasonable and unjust, as being contrariant to those laws of justice and charity, whereby we are bound with greater zeal to spare and preserve an innocent than to condemn a guilty person, and there is less malice and iniquity in sparing the guilty than in condemning the good: because it is in the power of men to remit a guilty person to Divine judicature, and for divers causes not to use severity; but in no case it is lawful; neither hath God at all given to man a power to condemn such persons as cannot be proved other than pious and innocent. And therefore it is better, if it should so happen, that we should spare the innocent person, and one that is actually deceived, than that, upon the turn of the wheel, the true believers should be destroyed.

6. And this very reason he, that had authority sufficient and absolute to make laws, was pleased to urge as a reasonable inducement for the establishing of that law which he made for the indemnity of erring persons. It was in the parable of the tares mingled with the good seed "in agro dominico." The good seed (Christ himself being the interpreter) are the children of the kingdom, the tares are the children of the wicked one: upon this comes the precept, "Gather not the tares by themselves, but let them both grow together till the harvest," that is, till the day of judgment. This parable hath been tortured infinitely to make it confess its meaning, but we shall soon despatch it. All the difficulty and variety of exposition are reducible to these two questions, What is meant by "Gather not," and what by "tares?" that is, what kind of sword is forbidden, and what kind of persons are to be tolerated. The former is clear; for the spiritual sword

[m] Quo comperto illi in nostram pernicicm licentiore audaciâ grassabuntur. St. Aug. ep. ad Donat. Procons. et contr. ep Fund. Ità nunc debeo sustinere et tantâ patientiâ vobiscum agere, quantâ mecum egerunt proximi mei, cùm in vestro dogmate rabiosus ac cæcus errarem.

is not forbidden to be used to any sort of criminals, for that would destroy the power of excommunication. The prohibition therefore lies against the use of the temporal sword, in cutting off some persons. Who they are, is the next difficulty. But by "tares," or the "children of the wicked one," are meant either persons of ill lives, wicked persons only "in re practicâ;" or else another kind of evil persons, men criminal or faulty "in re intellectuali." One or other of these two must be meant; a third I know not. But the former cannot be meant, because it would destroy all bodies politic, which cannot consist without laws, nor laws without a compulsory and a power of the sword: therefore if criminals were to be let alone till the day of judgment, bodies politic must stand or fall "ad arbitrium impiorum," and nothing good could be protected, not innocence itself, nothing could be secured but violence and tyranny. It follows then, that since a kind of persons which are indeed faulty, are to be tolerated, it must be meant of persons faulty in another kind, in which the gospel had not, in other places, clearly established a power externally compulsory: and therefore since in all actions practically criminal a power of the sword is permitted, here, where it is denied, must be meant a crime of another kind, and by consequence errors intellectual, commonly called heresy.

7. And after all this, the reason there given confirms this interpretation;[n] for therefore it is forbidden to cut off these tares, "lest we also pull up the wheat with them:" which is the sum of these two last arguments. For because heresy is of so nice consideration and difficult sentence, in thinking to root up heresies we may by our mistakes destroy true doctrine:[o] which although it be possible to be done in all cases of practical question by mistake; yet because external actions are more discernible than inward speculations and opinions, innocent persons are not so easily mistaken for the guilty in actions criminal, as in matters of inward persuasion. And upon that very reason St. Martin was zealous to have procured a revocation of a commission granted to certain tribunes to make inquiry in Spain for sects and opinions; for under colour of rooting out the Priscillianists, there was much mischief done, and more likely to happen, to the orthodox. For it happened then as oftentimes since, "Pallore potius et veste quàm fide hæreticus dijudicare solebat aliquando ber tribunos Maximi." They were no good inquisitors of heretical pravity, so Sulpitius witnesses. But, secondly, the reason says, that therefore these persons are so to be permitted as not to be persecuted, lest when a revolution of human affairs sets contrary opinions in the throne or chair, they who were persecuted before, should now themselves become persecutors of others; and so, at one time or other, before or after, the wheat be rooted up and the truth be persecuted. But as these reasons confirm the law and this sense of it; so, abstracting from the law, it is of itself concluding by an argument "ab incommodo," and that founded upon the principles of justice and right reason, as I formerly alleged.

8. Fifthly: we are not only uncertain of finding out truths in matters disputable, but we are certain that the best and ablest doctors[p] of christendom have been actually deceived in matters of great concernment; which thing is evident in all those instances of persons, from whose doctrine all sorts of christians respectively take liberty to dissent. The errors of Papias, Irenæus, Lactantius, Justin Martyr in the millenary opinion, of St. Cyprian, Firmilian, the Asian and African fathers in the question of rebaptization, St. Austin in his decretory and uncharitable sentence against the unbaptized children of christian parents, the Roman or the Greek doctors in the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and in the matter of images, are examples beyond exception. Ἀμφὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων φρεσὶν Ἀμπλακίαι ἀναρίθμητοι κρέμανται. Now if these great personages had been persecuted or destroyed for their opinions, who should have answered the invaluable loss the church of God should have sustained in missing so excellent, so exemplary, and so great lights? But then if these persons erred, and by consequence might have been destroyed, what should have become of others whose understanding was lower, and their security less, their errors more, and their danger greater? At this rate all men should have passed through the fire: for who can escape, when St. Cyprian and St. Austin cannot? Now to say these persons were not to be persecuted, because although they had errors, yet none condemned by the church at that time or before, is to say nothing to the purpose, nor nothing that is true. Not true; because St. Cyprian's error was condemned by Pope Stephen, which, in the present sense of the prevailing party in the church of Rome, is to be condemned by the church. Not to the purpose; because it is nothing else but to say, that the church did tolerate their errors. For since those opinions were open and manifest to the world, that the church did not condemn them, it was either because those opinions were by the church not thought to be errors; or, if they were, yet she thought fit to tolerate the error and the erring person. And if she would do so still, it would in most cases be better than now it is. And yet if the church had condemned them, it had not altered the case as to this question; for either the persons upon the condemnation of their error should have been persecuted, or not. If not, why shall they now, against the instance and precedent of those ages who were confessedly wise and pious, and whose practices are often made to us arguments to follow? If yea, and that they had been perse-

[n] Vide St. Chrysost. Homil. 47. in cap. 13. Matt. et St. August. Quæst. in cap. 13. Matt. St. Cyprian. Ep. lib. 3. Ep. 1. Theophyl. in 13. Matt.

[o] St. Hieron. in cap. 13. Matt. ait per hanc parabolam significari, nè in rebus dubiis præceps fiat judicium. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quàm difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quàm rarum et arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quibus et suspiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacunque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremò, illi in vos sæviant, qui nullo tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident.—St. August. Cont. Ep. Fund.

cuted, it is a thing which this argument condemns, and the loss of the church had been invaluable in the losing or the provocation and temptation of such rare personages; and the example and the rule of so ill consequence, that all persons might upon the same ground have suffered; and though some had escaped, yet no man could have any more security from punishment than from error.

9. Sixthly: either the disagreeing person is in error, or not, but a true believer: in either of the cases to persecute him is extremely imprudent. For if he be a true believer, then it is a clear case that we do open violence to God, and his servants, and his truth. If he be in error, what greater folly and stupidity than to give to error the glory of martyrdom, and the advantages which are accidentally consequent to a persecution? For as it was true of the martyrs, "Quoties morimur, toties nascimur," and the increase of their trouble was the increase of their confidence and the establishment of their persuasions; so it is in all false opinions; for that an opinion is true or false, is extrinsical or accidental to the consequents and advantages it gets by being afflicted. And there is a popular pity that follows all persons in misery, and that compassion breeds likeness of affections, and that very often produces likeness of persuasion; and so much the rather, because there arises a jealousy and pregnant suspicion that they who persecute an opinion, are destitute of sufficient arguments to confute it, and that the hangman is the best disputant. For if those arguments which they have for their own doctrine, were a sufficient ground of confidence and persuasion, men would be more willing to use those means and arguments, which are better compliances with human understanding, which more naturally do satisfy it, which are more humane and christian, than that way is which satisfies none, which destroys many, which provokes more, and which makes all men jealous. To which add, that those who die for their opinion, leave in all men great arguments of the heartiness of their belief, of the confidence of their persuasion, of the piety and innocency of their persons, of the purity of their intention and simplicity of purposes, that they are persons totally disinterested and separate from design. For no interest can be so great as to be put in balance against a man's life and his soul; and he does very imprudently serve his ends who, seeingly and foreknowingly, loses his life in the prosecution of them. Just as if Titius should offer to die for Sempronius upon condition he might receive twenty talents, when he had done his work. It is certainly an argument of a great love, and a great confidence, and a great sincerity, and a great hope, when a man lays down his life in attestation of a proposition. "Greater love than this hath no man, than to lay down his life," saith our blessed Saviour. And although laying of a wager is an argument of confidence more than truth; yet laying such a wager, staking of a man's soul, and pawning his life, give a hearty testimony that the person is honest, confident, resigned, charitable, and noble. And I know not whether truth can do a person or a cause more advantages than these can do to an error. And therefore, besides the impiety, there is great imprudence in canonizing a heretic, and consecrating an error by such means, which were better preserved as encouragements of truth and comforts to real and true martyrs. And it is not amiss to observe, that this very advantage was given by heretics, who were ready to show and boast their catalogues of martyrs: in particular the Circumcellians did so, and the Donatists; and yet the first were heretics, the second schismatics. And it was remarkable in the scholars of Priscillian, who as they had their master in the reputation of a saint while he was living, so when he was dead, they had him in veneration as a martyr; they with reverence and devotion carried his and the bodies of his slain companions to an honourable sepulture, and counted it religion to swear by the name of Priscilian. So that the extinguishing of the person gives life and credit to his doctrine, and when he is dead he yet speaks more effectually.

10. Seventhly: it is unnatural and unreasonable to persecute disagreeing opinions. Unnatural; for understanding, being a thing wholly spiritual, cannot be restrained, and therefore neither punished by corporal afflictions. It is "in alienâ republicâ," a matter of another world. You may as well cure the cholic by brushing a man's clothes, or fill a man's belly with a syllogism. These things do not communicate in matter, and therefore neither in action nor passion. And since all punishments in a prudent government punish the offender to prevent a future crime, and so it proves more medicinal than vindictive, the punitive act being in order to the cure and prevention; and since no punishment of the body can cure a disease in the soul; it is disproportionable in nature, and in all civil government, to punish where the punishment can do no good. It may be an act of tyranny, but never of justice. For is an opinion ever the more true or false for being persecuted? Some men have believed it the more, as being provoked into a confidence and vexed into a resolution; but the thing itself is not the truer: and though the hangman may confute a man with an inexplicable dilemma, yet not convince his understanding; for such premises can infer no conclusion but that of a man's life: and a wolf may as well give laws to the understanding, as he whose dictates are only propounded in violence, and writ in blood: and a dog is as capable of a law as a man if there be no choice in his obedience, nor discourse in his choice, nor reason to satisfy his discourse. And as it is unnatural, so it is unreasonable, that Sempronius should force Caius to be of his opinion because Sempronius is consul this year and commands the lictors. As if he that can kill a man, can not but be infallible: and if he be not, why should I do violence to my conscience, because he can do violence to my person?

11. Eighthly: force in matters of opinion can do no good, but is very apt to do hurt; for no man can change his opinion when he will, or be satisfied in his reason that his opinion is false, because discountenanced. If a man could change his opinion when he lists, he might cure many inconveniences of his life: all his

fears and his sorrows would soon disband, if he would but alter his opinion, whereby he is persuaded that such an accident that afflicts him is an evil, and such an object formidable: let him but believe himself impregnable, or that he receives a benefit when he is plundered, disgraced, imprisoned, condemned, and afflicted, neither his steps need to be disturbed, nor his quietness discomposed. But if a man cannot change his opinion when he lists, nor ever does heartily or resolutely but when he cannot do otherwise, then to use force may make him a hypocrite, but never to be a right believer; and so instead of erecting a trophy to God and true religion, we build a monument for the devil. Infinite examples are recorded in church-story to this very purpose. But Socrates instances in one for all: for when Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum was threatened by the emperor Valens with banishment and confiscation, if he did not subscribe to the decree of Ariminum,—at last he yielded to the Arian opinion, and presently fell into great torment of conscience, openly at Cyzicum recanted the error, asked God and the church forgiveness, and complained of the emperor's injustice: and that was all the good the Arian party got by offering violence to his conscience. And so many families in Spain, which are (as they call them) new christians, and of a suspected faith, into which they were forced by the tyranny of the inquisition, and yet are secret Moors, are evidence enough of the inconvenience of preaching a doctrine "in ore gladii cruentandi." For it either punishes a man for keeping a good conscience, or forces him into a bad; it either punishes sincerity, or persuades hypocrisy; it persecutes a truth, or drives into error: and it teaches a man to dissemble and to be safe, but never to be honest.

12. Ninthly: it is one of the glories of christian religion, that it was so pious, excellent, miraculous, and persuasive, that it came in upon its own piety and wisdom, with no other force but a torrent of arguments and demonstration of the Spirit; a mighty rushing wind to beat down all strong holds and every high thought and imagination; but towards the persons of men it was always full of meekness and charity, compliance and toleration, condescension and bearing with one another, "restoring persons overtaken with an error, in the spirit of meekness, considering lest we also be tempted." The consideration is as prudent, and the proposition as just, as the precept is charitable, and the precedent was pious and holy. Now things are best conserved with that which gives it the first being, and which is agreeable to its temper and constitution. That precept which it chiefly preaches in order to all the blessedness in the world, that is, of meekness, mercy, and charity, should also preserve itself and promote its own interest. For indeed nothing will do it so well, nothing doth so excellently insinuate itself into the understandings and affections of men, as when the actions and persuasions of a sect, and every part and principle and promotion, are univocal. And it would be a mighty disparagement to so glorious an institution, that in its principle it should be merciful and humane, and in the promotion and propagation of it so inhuman: and it would be improbable and unreasonable that the sword should be used in the persuasion of one proposition, and yet in the persuasion of the whole religion nothing like it. To do so may serve the end of a temporal prince, but never promote the honour of Christ's kingdom; it may secure a design of Spain, but will very much disserve christendom, to offer to support it by that which good men believe to be a distinctive cognizance of the Mahometan religion from the excellency and piety of christianity, whose sense and spirit are described in those excellent words of St. Paul; "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging the truth."[r] They that oppose themselves, must not be stricken by any of God's servants; and if yet any man will smite these who are his opposites in opinion, he will get nothing by that, he must quit the title of being "a servant of God" for his pains. And I think, a distinction of persons secular and ecclesiastical will do no advantage for an escape, because even the secular power, if it be christian, and a servant of God, must not be πληκτικός. Δοῦλον Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι· I mean, in those cases where meekness of instruction is the remedy; or if the case be irremediable, abscission by censures is the penalty.

13. Tenthly: and if yet in the nature of the thing it were neither unjust nor unreasonable, yet there is nothing, under God Almighty, that hath power over the soul of man, so as to command a persuasion, or to judge a disagreeing. Human positive laws direct all external acts in order to several ends, and the judges take cognizance accordingly; but no man can command the will, or punish him that obeys the law against his will: for because its end is served in external obedience, it neither looks after more, neither can it be served by more, nor take notice of any more. And yet possibly the understanding is less subject to human power than the will: for that human power hath a command over external acts, which naturally and regularly flow from the will, "et ut plurimùm" suppose a direct act of will, but always either a direct or indirect volition, primary or accidental; but the understanding is a natural faculty subject to no command, but where the command is itself a reason fit to satisfy and persuade it. And therefore God, commanding us to believe such revelations, persuades and satisfies the understanding by his commanding and revealing: for there is no greater probation in the world that a proposition is true, than because God hath commanded us to believe it. But because no man's command is a satisfaction to

[q] Ejusmodi fuit Hipponensium conversio, cujus quidem specie decepit August. ità ut opinaretur hæreticos, licèt non morte trucidandos, vi tamen coercendos. Experientia enim demonstravit eos tam facilè ad Arianismum transiisse atque ad catholicismum, cùm Ariani principes rerum in eâ civitate potirentur.

[r] 2 Tim. ii. 24.

the understanding, or a verification of the proposition, therefore the understanding is not subject to human authority. They may persuade, but not enjoin where God hath not; and where God hath, if it appears so to him, he is an infidel if he does not believe it. And if all men have no other efficacy or authority on the understanding but by persuasion, proposal, and entreaty, then a man is bound to assent but according to the operation of the argument, and the energy of persuasion; neither indeed can he, though he would never so fain: and he that out of fear, and too much compliance, and desire to be safe, shall desire to bring his understanding with some luxation to the belief of human dictates and authorities, may as often miss of the truth as hit it, but is sure always to lose the comfort of truth, because he believes it upon indirect, insufficient, and incompetent arguments: and as his desire it should be so is his best argument that it is so, so the pleasing of men is his best reward, and his not being condemned and contradicted, all the possession of a truth.

SECTION XIV.

Of the Practice of Christian Churches towards Persons disagreeing, and when Persecution first came in.

And thus this truth hath been practised in all times of christian religion, when there were no collateral designs on foot, nor interests to be served, nor passions to be satisfied. In St. Paul's time, though the censure of heresy were not so loose and forward as afterwards, and all that were called heretics were clearly such and highly criminal, yet as their crime was, so was their censure, that is, spiritual. They were first admonished, once at least, for so Irenæus,[s] Tertullian,[t] Cyprian,[u] Ambrose,[x] and Jerome,[y] read that place of Titus iii. But since that time all men, and at that time some, read it, "Post unam et alteram admonitionem" reject a heretic: "Rejection from the communion of saints after two warnings," that is the penalty. St. John expresses it by not "eating with them," not "bidding them God-speed;" but the persons against whom he decrees so severely, are such as denied Christ to be come in the flesh, direct antichrists. And let the sentence be as high as it lists in this case, all that I observe is, that since in so damnable doctrines nothing but spiritual censure, separation from the communion of the faithful, was enjoined and prescribed, we cannot pretend to an apostolical precedent, if in matters of dispute and innocent question, and of great uncertainty and no malignity, we should proceed to sentence of death.

2. For it is but an absurd and illiterate arguing, to say that excommunication is a greater punishment,—and killing a less; and therefore whoever may be excommunicated, may also be put to death: which indeed is the reasoning that Bellarmine uses. For first, excommunication is not directly and of itself a greater punishment than corporal death, because it is indefinite and incomplete, and in order to further punishment; which if it happens, then the excommunication was the inlet to it; if it does not the excommunication did not signify half so much as the loss of a member, much less death. For it may be totally ineffectual, either by the iniquity of the proceeding, or repentance of the person; and in all times and cases it is a medicine, if the man please; if he will not, but perseveres in his impiety then it is himself that brings the censure to effect that actuates the judgment, and gives a sting and an energy upon that, which otherwise would be χεὶρ ἄκυρος. Secondly, but when it is at worst, it does not kill the soul; it only consigns it to that death which it had deserved, and should have received independently from that sentence of the church. Thirdly, and yet excommunication is to admirable purpose: for whether it refers to the person censured, or to others, it is prudential in itself, it is exemplary to others, it is medicinal to all. For the person censured is by this means threatened into piety, and the threatening made the more energetical upon him, because by fiction of law, or, as it were, by a sacramental representment, the pains of hell are made presential to him, and so becomes an act of prudent judicature, and excellent discipline and the best instrument of spiritual government because the nearer the threatening is reduced to matter, and the more present and circumstantiate it is made, the more operative it is upon our spirit while they are immerged in matter. And this is the full sense and power of excommunication in its direct intention: consequently and accidentally other evils might follow it; as in the times of the apostles the censured persons were buffeted by Satan, and even at this day there is less security even to the temporal condition of such a person, whom his spiritual parents have anathematized. But beside this, I know no warrant to affirm any thing of excommunication; for the sentence of the church does but declare, not effect, the final sentence of damnation. Whoever deserves excommunication, deserves damnation; and he that repents shall be saved though he die out of the church's external communion; and if he does not repent, he shall be damned though he was not excommunicate.

3. But suppose it greater than the sentence of corporal death, yet it follows not, because heretic may be excommunicate, therefore killed; for from a greater to a less in a several kind of things the argument concludes not. It is a greater thing to make an excellent discourse than to make a shoe; yet he that can do the greater, cannot do this less. An angel cannot beget a man; and yet he can do a greater matter in that kind of operations, which we term spiritual and angelical. And if this were concluding, that whoever may be excommunicate may be killed,—then, because of excommunications, the church is confessed the sole and entire judge, she is also an absolute disposer of the lives of persons

[s] Lib. 3. cap. 3. [t] De præscript. [u] Lib. ad Quirinum. [x] In hunc locum. [y] Ibidem

I believe this will be but ill doctrine in Spain: for in "Bulla Cœnæ Domini" the king of Spain is every year excommunicated on Maundy-Thursday; but if by the same power he might also be put to death, (as upon this ground he may,) the pope might with more ease be invested in that part of St. Peter's patrimony, which that king hath invaded and surprised. But besides this, it were extreme harsh doctrine in a Roman consistory, from whence excommunications issue for trifles, for fees, for not suffering themselves infinitely to be oppressed, for any thing: if this be greater than death, how great a tyranny is that which doth more than kill men for less than trifles! or else how inconsequent is that argument, which concludes its purpose upon so false pretence and supposition!

4. Well, however zealous the apostles were against heretics, yet none were by them, or their dictates, put to death. The death of Ananias and Sapphira, and the blindness of Elymas the sorcerer, amount not to this, for they were miraculous inflictions: and the first was a punishment to vow-breach and sacrilege, the second of sorcery and open contestation against the religion of Jesus Christ; neither of them concerned the case of this present question. Or if the case were the same, yet the authority is not the same: for he that inflicted these punishments, was infallible, and of a power competent; but no man at this day is so. But as yet people were converted by miracles, and preaching, and disputing, and heretics by the same means were redargued, and all men instructed, none tortured for their opinion. And this continued till christian people were vexed by disagreeing persons, and were impatient and peevish by their own too-much confidence, and the luxuriancy of a prosperous fortune: but then they would not endure persons that did dogmatize any thing, which might intrench upon their reputation or their interest. And it is observable that no man nor no age did ever teach the lawfulness of putting heretics to death, till they grew wanton with prosperity. But when the reputation of the governors was concerned, when the interests of men were endangered, when they had something to lose, when they had built their estimation upon the credit of disputable questions, when they began to be jealous of other men, when they overvalued themselves and their own opinions, when some persons invaded bishoprics upon pretence of new opinions; then they, as they thrived in the favour of emperors, and in the success of their disputes, solicited the temporal power to banish, to fine, to imprison, and to kill, their adversaries.

5. So that the case stands thus: In the best times, amongst the best men, when there were fewer temporal ends to be served, when religion and the pure and simple designs of christianity were only to be promoted, in those times and amongst such men no persecution was actual nor persuaded, nor allowed, towards disagreeing persons. But as men had ends of their own and not of Christ, as they receded from their duty and religion from its purity, as christianity began to be compounded with interests and blended with temporal designs, so men were persecuted for their opinions. This is most apparent if we consider when persecution first came in, and if we observe how it was checked by the holiest and the wisest persons.

6. The first great instance I shall note, was in Priscillian and his followers, who were condemned to death by the tyrant Maximus. Which instance, although St. Jerome observes as a punishment and judgment for the crime of heresy, yet is of no use in the present question, because Maximus put some christians of all sorts to death promiscuously, catholic and heretic, without choice; and therefore the Priscillianists might as well have called it a judgment upon the catholics, as the catholics upon them.

7. But when Ursatus and Stacius, two bishops, procured the Priscillianists' death by the power they had at court; St. Martin was so angry at them for their cruelty, that he excommunicated them both. And St. Ambrose upon the same stock denied his communion to the Itaciani. And the account that Sulpicius gives of the story is this; "Hoc modo" (says he) "homines luce indignissimi pessimo exemplo necati sunt." The example was worse than the men. If the men were heretical, the execution of them however was unchristian.

8. But it was of more authority that the Nicene fathers supplicated the emperor, and prevailed for the banishment of Arius.[z] Of this we can give no other account, but that, by the history of the time, we see baseness enough and personal misdemeanour and factiousness of spirit in Arius to have deserved worse than banishment, though the obliquity of his opinion were not put into the balance; which we have reason to believe was not so much as considered, because Constantine gave toleration to differing opinions, and Arius himself was restored upon such conditions to his country and office, which would not stand with the ends of the Catholics, if they had been severe exactors of concurrence and union of persuasions.[a]

9. I am still within the scene of ecclesiastical persons, and am considering what the opinion of the learnedest and the holiest prelates was concerning this great question. If we will believe St. Austin, (who was a credible person,) no good man did allow it; "Nullis tamen bonis in catholica hoc placet, si usque ad mortem in quenquam, licèt hæreticum, sæviatur." This was St. Austin's final opinion:[b] for he had first been of the mind, that it was not honest to do any violence to mispersuaded persons; and when upon an accident happening in Hippo he had altered and retracted that part of the opinion, yet then also he excepted death, and would by no means have any mere opinion made capital. But, for aught appears, St. Austin had greater reason to have retracted that retractation than his first opinion: for

[z] Sozom. l. 1. cap. 20.

[a] Socrates, l. 1. cap. 26. Cont. Crescon. Grammat. lib. 3. cap. 50. Vid. Intiam Epist. 158, 159. et lib. 1. cap. 29. cont. lit. Petilian. Vide etiam Socrat. lib. 3 cap. 3. et cap. 29.

[b] Lib. 2. cap. 5. retractat. vid. Ep. 48. ad Vincent. Script. post retract. et Ep. 50. ad Bonif.

his saying of "nullis bonis placet," was as true as the thing was reasonable it should be so. Witness those known testimonies of Tertullian,[c] Cyprian,[d] Lactantius,[e] St Jerome,[f] Severus Sulpicius,[g] Minutius,[h] Hilary,[i] Damascenus,[k] Chrysostom,[l] Theophylact,[m] and Bernard;[n] and divers others, whom the reader may find quoted by the Archbishop of Spalato, lib. 8. de Rep. Eccl. c. 8.

10. Against this concurrent testimony my reading can furnish me with no adversary, nor contrary instances, but in Atticus of Constantinople, Theodosius of Synada, in Stacius and Ursatus before reckoned. Only indeed some of the later popes of Rome began to be busy and unmerciful: but it was then when themselves were secure, and their interests great, and their temporal concernments highly considerable.

11. For it is most true, and not amiss to observe it, that no man who was under the ferula, did ever think it lawful to have opinions forced, or heretics put to death; and yet many men, who themselves have escaped the danger of a pile and a faggot, have changed their opinion just as the case was altered, that is, as themselves were unconcerned in the suffering. Petilian, Parmenian, and Gaudentius,[o] by no means would allow it lawful, for themselves were in danger, and were upon that side that is ill thought of and discountenanced: but Gregory[p] and Leo,[q] popes of Rome, upon whose side the authority and advantages were, thought it lawful they should be punished and persecuted, for themselves were unconcerned in the danger of suffering. And therefore St. Gregory commends the exarch of Ravenna for forcing them who dissented from those men who called themselves the church. And there were some divines in the lower Germany, who upon great reasons spake against the tyranny of the inquisition, and restraining prophesying, who yet, when they had shaken off the Spanish yoke, began to persecute their brethren. It was unjust in them, in all men unreasonable and uncharitable, and often increases the error, but never lessens the danger.

12. But yet although the church, I mean in her distinct and clerical capacity, was against destroying or punishing difference in opinion, till the popes of Rome did superseminate and persuade the contrary; yet the bishops did persuade the emperors to make laws against heretics, and to punish disobedient persons with fines, with imprisonment, with death and banishment respectively. This indeed calls us to a new account. For the churchmen might not proceed to blood nor corporal inflictions, but might they not deliver over to the secular arm, and persuade temporal princes to do it? For this I am to say, that since it is notorious that the doctrine of the clergy was against punishing heretics, the laws which were made by the emperors against them, might be for restraint of differing religion in order to the preservation of the public peace, which is to frequently violated by the division of opinions. Bu I am not certain whether that was always th reason, or whether or no some bishops of the cou did not also serve their own ends in giving thei princes such untoward counsel: but we find th laws made severally to several purposes, in diver cases and with different severity. Constantine th emperor made a sanction, "Ut parem cum fidelibu ii, qui errant, pacis et quietis fruitionem gaudente accipiant."[r] The emperor Gratian decreed, "U quam quisque vellet religionem sequeretur, et conver tûs ecclesiasticos semoto metu omnes agerent." Bu he excepted the Manichees, the Photinians, and th Eunomians. Theodosius the elder made a law d death against the anabaptists of his time, and ban ished Eunomius, and against other erring person appointed a pecuniary mulct; but he did no execu tions so severe as his sanctions, to show they wer made "in terrorem" only.[s] So were the laws d Valentinian and Martian, decreeing "contra omne qui prava docere tentant," that they should be pu to death; so did[t] Michael the emperor; but Just nian only decreed banishment.

13. But whatever whispers some politics migh make to their princes, as the wisest and holiest di not think it lawful for churchmen alone to do execu tions, so neither did they transmit such persons t the secular judicature. And therefore when th edict of Macedonius the president was so ambiguou that it seemed to threaten death to heretics, unle they recanted; St. Austin admonished him careful to provide, that no heretic should be put to deat alleging it not only to be unchristian, but illegal als and not warranted by imperial constitutions; fo before his time no laws were made for their bein put to death: but however he prevailed that Mac donius published another edict, more explicit, an less seemingly severe. But in his epistle to Don tus the African proconsul he is more confident an determinate; "Necessitate nobis impactâ et indict ut potiùs occîdi ab eis eligamus, quàm eos occide dos vestris judiciis ingeramus."

14. But afterwards many got a trick of givin them over to the secular power; which at the be is no better than hypocrisy, removing envy fro themselves, and laying it upon others; a refusing do that in external act which they do in counsel an approbation; which is a transmitting the act another, and retaining a proportion of guilt un themselves, even their own and the others too. end this with the saying of Chrysostom, "Dogma impia et quæ ab hæreticis profecta sunt, arguere anathematizare oportet; hominibus autem parce dum, et pro salute eorum orandum."[u]

[c] Ad Scapulam. [d] Lib. 3. Ep. 1. Epist.
[e] Lib. 5. c. 20.
[f] In cap. 13. Matt. et in cap. 2. Hos.
[g] In vit. S. Martin. [h] Octav.
[i] Cont. Auxent. Arr. [k] 3. Sect. c. 32.
[l] In cap. 13. Matt. hom. 4. [m] In Evang. Matt.
[n] In verba Apost. fides ex auditu.

[o] Apud Aug. l. 1. c. 7. cont. Ep. Parmenian. et l. 2. c. 1 cont. tit. Petilian. [p] Ep. 1. ad Turbium.
[q] Lib. 1. Ep. 72. [r] Apud Euseb. de vitâ Constan
[s] Vide Socr. l. 7. c. 12. Vid. Cod. de hæretic. L. Manic et Leg. Arriani et l. Quicunque.
[t] Apud. Paulum Diac. l. 16. et l. 24.
[u] Serm. de Anathemate.

SECTION XV.

How far the Church, or Governors, may act to the restraining false or differing Opinions.

But although heretical persons are not to be destroyed, yet heresy, being a work of the flesh, and all heretics criminal persons, whose acts and doctrine have influence upon communities of men, whether ecclesiastical or civil, the governors of the republic or church respectively, are to do their duties in restraining those mischiefs, which may happen to their several charges, for whose indemnity they are answerable. And therefore, according to the effect or malice of the doctrine or the person, so the cognizance of them belongs to several judicatures. If it be false doctrine in any capacity, and doth mischief in any sense, or teaches ill life in any instance, or encourages evil in any particular, δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν, "these men must be silenced," they must be convinced by sound doctrine, and put to silence by spiritual evidence, and restrained by authority ecclesiastical, that is, by spiritual censures, according as it seems necessary to him, who is most concerned in the regiment of the church. For all this we have precept, and precedent apostolical, and much reason. For, by thus doing, the governor of the church uses all that authority that is competent, and all the means that is reasonable, and that proceeding which is regular, that he may discharge his cure, and secure his flock. And that he possibly may be deceived, in judging a doctrine to be heretical, and by consequence the person excommunicate suffers injury, is no argument against the reasonableness of the proceeding; for all the injury that is, is visible and in appearance, and so is his crime. Judges must judge according to their best reason, guided by law of God as their rule, and by evidence and appearance as their best instrument; and they can judge no better. If the judges be good and prudent, the error of proceeding will not be great nor ordinary; and there can be no better establishment of human judicature, than is a fallible proceeding upon an infallible ground. And if the judgment of heresy be made by estimate and proportion of the opinion to a good or a bad life respectively, supposing an error in the deduction, there will be no malice in the conclusion; and that he endeavours to secure piety according to the best of his understanding, and yet did mistake in his proceeding, is only an argument that he did his duty after the manner of men, possibly with the piety of a saint, though not with the understanding of an angel. And the little inconvenience that happens to the person injuriously judged, is abundantly made up in the excellency of the discipline, the goodness of the example, the care of the public, and all those great influences into the manners of men, which derive from such an act so publicly consigned. But such public judgment in matters of opinion must be seldom and curious, and never but to secure piety and a holy life; for in matters speculative, as all determinations are fallible, so scarce any of them are to purpose, nor ever able to make compensation of either side, either for the public fraction, or the particular injustice, if it should so happen in the censure.

2. But then, as the church may proceed thus far, yet no christian man or community of men may proceed farther. For if they be deceived in their judgment and censure, and yet have passed only spiritual censures, they are totally ineffectual, and come to nothing; there is no effect remaining upon the soul, and such censures are not to meddle with the body so much as indirectly. But if any other judgment pass upon persons erring, such judgments, whose effects remain, if the person be unjustly censured, nothing will answer and make compensation for such injuries. If a person be excommunicate unjustly, it will do him no hurt; but if he be killed or dismembered unjustly, that censure and infliction are not made ineffectual by his innocence, he is certainly killed and dismembered. So that as the church's authority in such cases, so restrained and made prudent, cautelous and orderly, is just and competent; so the proceeding is reasonable, it is provident for the public, and the inconveniences that may fall upon particulars so little, as that the public benefit makes ample compensation, so long as the proceeding is but spiritual.

3. This discourse is in the case of such opinions, which, by the former rules, are formal heresies, and upon practical inconveniences. But for matters of question, which have not in them an enmity to the public tranquillity, as the republic hath nothing to do, upon the ground of all the former discourses; so if the church meddles with them where they do not derive into ill life, either in the person or in the consequent, or else are destructions of the foundation of religion, which is all one (or that those fundamental articles are of greatest necessity in order to a virtuous and godly life, which is wholly built upon them, and therefore are principally necessary)—if she meddles further, otherwise than by preaching and conferring and exhortation, she becomes tyrannical in her government, makes herself an immediate judge of consciences and persuasions, lords it over their faith, destroys unity and charity: and as he that dogmatizes the opinion, becomes criminal, if he troubles the church with an immodest, peevish, and pertinacious proposal of his article, not simply necessary; so the church does not do her duty, if she so condemns it "pro tribunali," as to enjoin him and all her subjects to believe the contrary. And as there may be pertinacy in doctrine, so there may be pertinacy in judging; and both are faults. The peace of the church and the unity of her doctrine are best conserved, when it is judged by the proportion it hath to that rule of unity which the apostles gave, that is, the creed, for articles of mere belief, and the precepts of Jesus Christ, and the practical rules of piety, which are most plain and easy, and without controversy set down in the gospels and writings of the apostles. But to multiply articles, and adopt them into the family of the faith, and to require assent to such articles, which (as St. Paul's phrase is) are "of doubtful disputa-

tion" equal to that assent we give to matters of faith, is to build a tower upon the top of a bulrush: and the farther the effect of such proceedings does extend, the worse they are: the very making such a law is unreasonable, the inflicting spiritual censures upon them that cannot do so much violence to their understanding, as to obey it, is unjust and ineffectual; but to punish the person with death, or with corporal infliction, indeed it is effectual, but it is, therefore, tyrannical. We have seen what the church may do towards restraining false or differing opinions: next I shall consider, by way of corollary, what the prince may do as for his interest, and only in securing his people, and serving the ends of true religion.

SECTION XVI.

Whether it be lawful for a Prince to give Toleration to several Religions.

1. FOR upon these very grounds we may easily give account of that great question, whether it be lawful for a prince to give toleration to several religions. For, first, it is a great fault that men will call the several sects of christians by the names of several religions. The religion of Jesus Christ is, "the form of sound doctrine and wholesome words," which is set down in Scripture indefinitely, actually conveyed to us by plain places, and separated as for the question of necessary or not necessary by the symbol of the apostles. Those impertinences, which the wantonness and vanity of men hath commenced, which their interests have promoted, which serve not truth so much as their own ends, are far from being distinct religions; for matters of opinion are no parts of the worship of God, nor in order to it, but as they promote obedience to his commandments; and when they contribute towards it, are in that proportion as they contribute parts, and actions, and minute particulars of that religion, to whose end they do or pretend to serve. And such are all the sects and all the pretences of christians, but pieces and minutes of christianity, if they do serve the great end; as every man for his own sect and interest believes for his share it does.

2. Toleration hath a double sense or purpose. For sometimes by it men understand a public license and exercise of a sect: sometimes it is only an indemnity of the persons privately to convene and to opine as they see cause, and as they mean to answer to God. Both these are very much to the same purpose, unless some persons, whom we are bound to satisfy, be scandalized, and then the prince is bound to do as he is bound to satisfy. To God it is all one: for, abstracting from the offence of persons, which is to be considered just as our obligation is to content the persons, it is all one whether we indulge to them to meet publicly or privately, to do actions of religion concerning which we are not persuaded tha they are truly holy, To God it is just one to be i the dark and in the light, the thing is the same only the circumstance of public and private is differ ent: which cannot be concerned in any thing, no can it concern any thing, but the matter of scanda and relation to the minds and fantasies of certai persons.

3. So that to tolerate is not to persecute. An the question, whether the prince may tolerat divers persuasions, is no more than whether he ma lawfully persecute any man for not being of hi opinion. Now in this case he is just so to tolerat diversity of persuasions as he is to tolerate publi actions; for no opinion is judicable, nor no perso punishable, but for a sin; and if his opinion, by rea son of its managing or its effect, be a sin in itself o becomes a sin to the person, then as he is to do to wards other sins, so to that opinion or man s opining. But to believe so, or not so, when ther is no more but mere believing, is not in his powe to enjoin, therefore not to punish. And it is no only lawful to tolerate disagreeing persuasions, bu the authority of God only is competent to tak notice of it, and infallible to determine it, and fit t judge; and therefore no human authority is suffi cient to do all those things, which can justify th inflicting temporal punishments upon such, as d not conform in their persuasions to a rule or au thority, which is not only fallible, but supposed b the disagreeing person to be actually deceived.

4. But I consider, that in the toleration of different opinion, religion is not properly and imme diately concerned, so as in any degree to be endan gered. For it may be safe in diversity of persua sions, and it is also a part of christian religion, that the liberty of men's consciences should be pre served in all things, where God hath not set a limi and made a restraint; that the soul of man shoul be free, and acknowledge no master but Jesu Christ; that matters spiritual should not be re strained by punishments corporal; that the sam meekness and charity should be preserved in th promotion of christianity, that gave it foundatio and increment and firmness in its first publication that conclusions should not be more dogmatical tha the virtual resolution and efficacy of the premises and that the persons should not more certainly b condemned than their opinions confuted; and lastly that the infirmities of men and difficulties of thing should be both put in balance, to make abatemen in the definitive sentence against men's persons But then, because toleration of opinions is not pro perly a question of religion, it may be a questio of policy; and although a man may be a goo christian, though he believe an error not funda mental, and not directly or evidently impious, ye his opinion may accidentally disturb the publi peace, through the over-activeness of the persons and the confidence of their belief, and the opinio of its appendant necessity; and therefore toleratio of differing persuasions in these cases, is to be con

* Humani juris et naturalis potestatis, unicuique quod pu- taverit colere. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, qu suscipi sponte debet, non vi.—TERTUL. ad Scapulam.

sidered upon political grounds, and is just so to be admitted or denied as the opinions or toleration of them may consist with the public and necessary ends of government. Only this: as christian princes must look to the interest of their government, so especially must they consider the interests of christianity, and not call every redargution or modest discovery of an established error, by the name of disturbance of the peace. For it is very likely that the peevishness and impatience of contradiction in the governors may break the peace. Let them remember but the gentleness of christianity, the liberty of consciences which ought to be preserved, and let them do justice to the persons, whoever they are, that are peevish, provided no man's person be overborne with prejudice. For if it be necessary for all men to subscribe to the present established religion, by the same reason at another time a man may be bound to subscribe to the contradictory, and so to all religions in the world. And they only who by their too much confidence entitle God to all their fancies, and make them to be questions of religion, and evidences for heaven or consignations to hell, they only think this doctrine unreasonable, and they are the men that first disturb the church's peace, and then think there is no appeasing the tumult but by getting the victory. But they that consider things wisely, understand, that since salvation and damnation depend not upon impertinences, and yet that public peace and tranquillity may,—the prince is, in this case, to seek how to secure government, and the issues and intentions of that, while there is in these cases directly no insecurity to religion, unless by the accidental uncharitableness of them that dispute; which uncharitableness is also much prevented when the public peace is secured, and no person is on either side engaged upon revenge,[y] or troubled with disgrace, or vexed with punishments by any decretory sentence against him. It was the saying of a wise statesman, I mean Thuanus, "Hæretici, qui, pace datâ, factionibus scinduntur, persecutione uniuntur contra rempublicam." If you persecute heretics or discrepants, they unite themselves as to a common defence; if you permit them, they divide themselves upon private interests; and the rather, if this interest was an ingredient of the opinion.

5. The sum is this: it concerns the duty of a prince, because it concerns the honour of God, that all vices and every part of ill life be discountenanced and restrained; and therefore in relation to that, opinions are to be dealt with. For the understanding being to direct the will, and opinions to guide our practices, they are considerable only as they teach impiety and vice, as they either dishonour God or disobey him. Now all such doctrines are to be condemned; but for the persons preaching such doctrines, if they neither justify nor approve the pretended consequences, which are certainly impious, they are to be separated from that consideration. But if they know such consequences and allow them, or if they do not stay till the doctrines produce impiety, but take sin beforehand, and manage them impiously in any sense, or if either themselves or their doctrine do really, and without colour or feigned pretext, disturb the public peace and just interests,[z] they are not to be suffered. In all other cases it is not only lawful to permit them, but it is also necessary that princes and all in authority should not persecute discrepant opinions. And in such cases wherein persons not otherwise incompetent are bound to reprove an error, (as they are in many,) in all these if the prince makes restraint, he hinders men from doing their duty, and from obeying the laws of Jesus Christ.

SECTION XVII.

Of Compliance with disagreeing Persons, or weak Consciences, in general.

1. UPON these grounds it remains, that we reduce this doctrine to practical conclusions, and consider, among the differing sects and opinions which trouble these parts of christendom, and come into our concernment, which sects of christians are to be tolerated, and how far; and which are to be restrained and punished in their several proportions.

2. The first consideration is, since diversity of opinions does more concern public peace than religion, what is to be done to persons who disobey a public sanction upon a true allegation, that they cannot believe it to be lawful to obey such constitutions, although they disbelieve them upon insufficient grounds; that is, whether in "constituta lege" disagreeing persons or weak consciences are to be complied withal, and their disobeying and disagreeing tolerated.

3. First: in this question, there is no distinction can be made between persons truly weak, and but pretending so. For all that pretend to it, are to be allowed the same liberty, whatsoever it be; for no man's spirit is known to any but to God and himself: and therefore pretences and realities in this case are both alike in order to the public toleration. And this very thing is one argument to persuade a negative. For the chief thing in this case is the concernment of public government, which is then most of all violated, when what may prudently be permitted to some purposes, may be demanded to many more, and the piety of the laws abused to the impiety of other men's ends. And if laws be made so malleable as to comply with weak consciences, he that hath a mind to disobey, is made impregnable against the coercitive power of the laws by this

[y] Dextera præcipuè capit indulgentia mentes;
Asperitas odium sævaque bella parit.—OVID.

[z] Exstat prudens monitum Mecænatis apud Dionem Cassium ad Augustum in hæc verba; Eos verò qui in Divinis aliquid innovant, odio habe, et coerce, non deorum solùm causâ, sed quia nova numina hi tales introducentes multos impellunt ad mutationem rerum: unde conjurationes, seditiones, conciliabula exsistunt, res profectò minimè conducibiles principatui. Et legibus quoque expressum est, quod in religionem committitur, in omnium fertur injuriam.

pretence. For a weak conscience signifies nothing in this case, but a dislike of the law upon a contrary persuasion. For if some weak consciences do obey the law, and others do not, it is not their weakness indefinitely that is the cause of it, but a definite and particular persuasion to the contrary. So that if such a pretence be excuse sufficient from obeying, then the law is a sanction obliging every one to obey that hath a mind to it, and he that hath not, may choose; that is, it is no law at all; for he that hath a mind to it, may do it if there be no law; and he that hath no mind to it, need not for all the law.

4. And therefore, the wit of man cannot prudently frame a law of that temper and expedient, but either he must lose the formality of a law, and neither have power coercitive nor obligatory, but "ad arbitrium inferiorum;" or else it cannot, antecedently to the particular case, give leave to any sort of men to disagree or disobey.

5. Secondly: suppose that a law be made with great reason, so as to satisfy divers persons pious and prudent, that it complies with the necessity of government, and promotes the interest of God's service and public order, it may easily be imagined that these persons, which are obedient sons of the church, may be as zealous for the public order and discipline of the church as others for their opinion against it, and may be as much scandalized if disobedience be tolerated, as others are if the law be exacted: and what shall be done in this case? Both sorts of men cannot be complied withal: because as these pretend to be offended at the law, and by consequence (if they understand the consequents of their own opinion) at them that obey the law; so the others are justly offended at them that unjustly disobey it. If therefore there be any on the right side as confident and zealous as they who are on the wrong side, then the disagreeing persons are not to be complied with, to avoid giving offence: for if they be, offence is given to better persons; and so the mischief, which such complying seeks to prevent, is made greater and more unjust, obedience is discouraged, and disobedience is legally canonized for the result of a holy and a tender conscience.

6. Thirdly: such complying with the disagreeings of a sort of men, is the total overthrow of all discipline, and it is better to make no laws of public worship, than to rescind them in the very constitution: and there can be no end in making the sanctification, but to make the law ridiculous, and the authority contemptible. For, to say that complying with weak consciences in the very framing of a law of discipline, is the way to preserve unity, were all one as to say, to take away all laws is the best way to prevent disobedience. In such matters of indifferency, the best way of cementing the fraction, is to unite the parts in the authority; for then the question is but one, viz. whether the authority must be obeyed or not. But if a permission be given of disputing the particulars, the questions become next to infinite. A mirror when it is broken, represents the object multiplied and divided; but if it be entire, and through one centre transmits the species to the eye, the vision is one and natural. Laws are the mirror in which men are to dress and compose their actions, and therefore must not be broken with such clauses of exception, which may, without remedy, be abused to the prejudice of authority, and peace, and all human sanctions. And I have known in some churches, that this pretence hath been nothing but a design to discredit the law, to dismantle the authority that made it, to raise their own credit and a trophy of their zeal, to make it a characteristic note of a sect, and the cognizance of holy persons: and yet the men that claimed exemption from the laws upon pretence of having weak consciences, if in hearty expression you had told them so to their heads, they would have spit in your face; and were so far from confessing themselves weak, that they thought themselves able to give laws to christendom, to instruct the greatest clerks, and to catechise the church herself. And, which is the worst of all, they who were perpetually clamorous that the severity of the laws should slacken as to their particular, and in matter adiaphorous (in which, if the church hath any authority, she hath power to make laws) to indulge a leave to them to do as they list,—yet were the most imperious amongst men, most decretory in their sentences, and most impatient of any disagreeing from them, though in the least minute and particular: whereas, by all the justice of the world, they who persuade such a compliance in matters of fact, and of so little question, should not deny to tolerate persons, that differ in questions of great difficulty and contestation.

7. Fourthly: but yet since all things almost in the world have been made matters of dispute, and the will of some men, and the malice of others, and the infinite industry and pertinacity of contesting, and resolution to conquer, hath abused some persons innocently into a persuasion that even the laws themselves, though never so prudently constituted, are superstitious, or impious;—such persons, who are otherwise pious, humble, and religious, are not to be destroyed for such matters, which in themselves are not of concernment to salvation, and neither are so accidentally to such men and in such cases where they are innocently abused, and they err without purpose and design. And therefore, if there be a public disposition in some persons to dislike laws of a certain quality, if it be foreseen, it is to be considered "in lege dicendâ;" and whatever inconvenience or particular offence is foreseen, is either to be directly avoided in the law, or else a compensation in the excellency of the law, and certain advantages made to outweigh their pretensions. But "in lege jam dictâ," because there may be a necessity some persons should have a liberty indulged them, it is necessary that the governors of the church should be intrusted with a power to consider the particular case, and indulge a liberty to the person, and grant personal dispensations. This, I say, is to be done at several times, upon particular instance, upon singular consideration, and new emergencies. But that a whole kind of men, such

a kind to which all men, without possibility of being confuted, may pretend, should, at once, in the very frame of the law, be permitted to disobey, is to nullify the law, to destroy discipline, and to hallow disobedience; it takes away the obliging part of the law, and makes that the thing enacted shall not be enjoined, but tolerated only; it destroys unity and uniformity, which to preserve was the very end of such laws of discipline; it bends the rule to the thing which is to be ruled, so that the law obeys the subject, not the subject the law: it is to make a law for particulars, not upon general reason and congruity, against the prudence and design of all laws in the world, and absolutely without the example of any church in christendom; it prevents no scandal, for some will be scandalized at the authority itself, some at the complying and remissness of discipline, and several men at matters and upon ends contradictory: all which cannot, some ought not, to be complied withal.

8. Sixthly: the sum is this, The end of the laws of discipline are in an immediate order to the conservation and ornament of the public; and therefore the laws must not so tolerate, as by conserving persons to destroy themselves and the public benefit: but if there be cause for it, they must be cassated; or if there be no sufficient cause, the complyings must be so as may best preserve the particulars in conjunction with the public end, which, because it is primarily intended, is of greatest consideration. But the particulars, whether of case or person, are to be considered occasionally and emergently by the judges, but cannot antecedently and regularly be determined by a law.

9. But this sort of men is of so general pretence, that all laws and all judges may easily be abused by them. Those sects which are signified by a name, which have a system of articles, a body of profession, may be more clearly determined in their question concerning the lawfulness of permitting their professions and assemblies.

I shall instance in two, which are most troublesome and most disliked, and by an account made of these, we may make judgment what may be done towards others whose errors are not apprehended of so great malignity. The men I mean, are the anabaptists, and the papists.

SECTION XVIII.

A particular Consideration of the Opinions of the Anabaptists.

1. In the anabaptists, I consider only their two capital opinions, the one against the baptism of infants, the other against magistracy: and because they produce different judgments and various effects, all their other fancies, which vary as the moon does, may stand or fall in their proportion and likeness to these.

2. And first I consider their denying baptism to infants. Although it be a doctrine justly condemned by the most sorts of christians upon great grounds of reason, yet possibly their defence may be so great as to take off much, and rebate the edge of their adversaries' assault. It will be neither unpleasant nor unprofitable to draw a short scheme of plea for each party; the result of which possibly may be, that though they be deceived, yet they have so great excuse on their side, that their error is not impudent or vincible. The baptism of infants rests principally and usually upon this discourse.

3. When God made a covenant with Abraham for himself and his posterity, into which the gentiles were reckoned by spiritual adoption, he did, for the present, consign that covenant with the sacrament of circumcision. The extent of which rite was to all his family, from the "major-domo" to the "proselytus domicilio," and to infants of eight days old. Now the very nature of this covenant being a covenant of faith for its formality, and with all faithful people for the object, and circumcision being a seal of this covenant, if ever any rite do supervene to consign the same covenant, that rite must acknowledge circumcision for its type and precedent. And this the apostle tells us in express doctrine. Now the nature of a type is, to give some proportions to its successor the antitype; and they both being seals of the same righteousness of faith, it will not easily be found where these two seals have any such distinction in their nature or purposes, as to appertain to persons of differing capacity, and not equally concern all. And this argument was thought of so much force by some of those excellent men, which were bishops in the primitive church, that a good bishop writ an epistle to St. Cyprian, to know of him, whether or no it were lawful to baptize infants before the eighth day, because the type of baptism was ministered in that circumcision; he, in his discourse, supposing that the first rite was a direction to the second, which prevailed with him so far as to believe it to limit every circumstance.

4. And not only this type, but the acts of Christ which were previous to the institution of baptism, did prepare our understanding by such impresses as were sufficient to produce such persuasion in us, that Christ intended this ministry for the actual advantage of infants as well as of persons of understanding. For "Christ commanded that children should be brought unto him; he took them in his arms, he imposed hands on them and blessed them;" and without question did, by such acts of favour, consign his love to them, and them to a capacity of an eternal participation of it. And possibly the invitation which Christ made to all to come to him, all them that are heavy laden, did, in its proportion, concern infants, as much as others, if they be guilty of original sin, and if that sin be a burden, and presses them to any spiritual danger or inconvenience. And if they be not, yet Christ, who was (as Tertullian's phrase is) "nullius pœnitentiæ debitor," guilty of no sin, "obliged to no repentance," needing no purification and no pardon, was baptized by St. John's baptism, which was the baptism of

repentance. And it is all the reason in the world, that since the grace of Christ is as large as the prevarication of Adam, all they who are made guilty by the first Adam, should be cleansed by the second. But as they are guilty by another man's act, so they should be brought to the font to be purified by others; there being the same proportion of reason, that by others' acts they should be relieved, who were in danger of perishing by the acts of others. And therefore St. Austin argues excellently to this purpose: "Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes, ut veniant; aliorum cor, ut credant; aliorum linguam, ut fateantur: ut quoniam, quòd ægri sunt, alio peccante prægravantur, sic, cùm sani fiant, alio confitente salventur."[a] And Justin Martyr; Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι.[b]

5. But whether they have original sin or no, yet, take them "in puris naturalibus," they cannot go to God, or attain to eternity, to which they were intended in their first being and creation; and therefore much less since their naturals are impaired by the curse on human nature, procured by Adam's prevarication. And if a natural agent cannot "in puris naturalibus" attain to heaven, which is a supernatural end,—much less when it is loaden with accidental and grievous impediments. Now then since the only way revealed to us of acquiring heaven is by Jesus Christ; and the first inlet into christianity and access to him is by baptism, as appears by the perpetual analogy of the New Testament; either infants are not persons capable of that end which is the perfection of human nature, and to which the soul of man in its being made immortal was essentially designed, and so are miserable and deficient from the very end of humanity, if they die before the use of reason;—or else they must be brought to Christ by the church-doors, that is, by the font and waters of baptism.

6. And in reason it seems more pregnant and plausible, that infants rather than men of understanding should be baptized. For since the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon Divine institution and immediate benediction, and that they produce their effects, independently upon man, in them that do not hinder their operation; since infants cannot, by any acts of their own, promote the hope of their own salvation, which men of reason and choice may, by acts of virtue and election; it is more agreeable to the goodness of God, the honour and excellency of the sacrament, and the necessity of its institution, that it should in infants supply the want of human acts and free obedience: which the very thing itself seems to say it does, because its effect is from God, and requires nothing on man's part, but that its efficacy be not hindered. And then in infants the disposition is equal, and the necessity more; they cannot "ponere obicem," and by the same reason cannot do other acts, which without the sacraments do advantages towards our hopes of heaven, and therefore have more need to be supplied by an act and an institution Divine and supernatural.

7. And this is not only necessary in respect of the condition of infants' incapacity to do acts of grace, but also in obedience to Divine precept. For Christ made a law whose sanction is with an exclusive negative to them that are not baptized; "Unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." If then infants have a capacity of being coheirs with Christ in the kingdom of his Father, as Christ affirms they have, by saying, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven;" then there is a necessity that they should be brought to baptism; there being an absolute exclusion of all persons unbaptized and all persons not spiritual from the kingdom of heaven.

8. But indeed it is destruction of all the hopes and happiness of infants, a denying to them an exemption from the final condition of beasts and insectiles, or else a designing of them to a worse misery, to say that God hath not appointed some external or internal means of bringing them to an eternal happiness. Internal they have none; for grace being an improvement and heightening the faculties of nature in order to a heightened and supernatural end, grace hath no influence or efficacy upon their faculties, who can do no natural acts of understanding: and if there be no external means, then they are destitute of all hopes and possibilities of salvation.

9. But, thanks be to God, he hath provided better, and told us accordingly, for he hath made a promise of the Holy Ghost to infants as well as to men: "The promise is made to you and to your children," said St. Peter;[c] "the promise of the Father," "the promise that he would send the Holy Ghost." Now if you ask how this promise shall be conveyed to our children, we have an express out of the same sermon of St. Peter; "Be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." So that therefore, because the Holy Ghost is promised, and baptism is the means of receiving the promise,—therefore baptism pertains to them, to whom the promise, which is the effect of baptism, does appertain. And that we may not think this argument is fallible, or of human collection, observe that it is the argument of the same apostle in express terms: for in the case of Cornelius and his family, he justified his proceeding by this very medium, "Shall we deny baptism to them, who have received the gift of the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Which discourse, if it be reduced to form of argument, says this; they that are capable of the same grace, are receptive of the same sign: but then (to make the syllogism up with an assumption proper to our present purpose) infants are capable of the same grace, that is, of the Holy Ghost (for "the promise is to our children" as well as to us, and St. Paul says "the children of believing parents are holy," and therefore have the Holy Ghost, who is the fountain of holiness and sanctification): therefore they are to receive the sign and the seal of it, that is, the sacrament of baptism.

10. And indeed, since God entered a covenant with the Jews, which did also actually involve their children, and gave them a sign to establish the

[a] Serm. 10. de verb. Apost.

[b] Resp. ad Orthodoxos.

[c] Acts ii. 38, 39.

covenant and its appendant promise, either God does not so much love the church as he did the synagogue, and the mercies of the gospel are more restrained than the mercies of the law, God having made a covenant with the infants of Israel, and none with the children of christian parents; or if he hath, yet we want the comfort of its consignation; and unless our children are to be baptized, and so entitled to the promises of the new covenant, as the Jewish babes were by circumcision, this mercy, which appertains to infants, is so secret and undeclared and unconsigned, that we want much of that mercy and outward testimony, which gave them comfort and assurance.

11. And in proportion to these precepts and revelations was the practice apostolical: for they (to whom Christ gave in precept to "make disciples all nations, baptizing them," and knew that nations without children never were, and that therefore they were passively concerned in that commission) baptized whole families, particularly that of Stephanas and divers others, in which it is more than probable there were some minors, if not sucking babes. And this practice did descend upon the church in after-ages by tradition apostolical. Of this we have sufficient testimony from Origen; "Pro hoc ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem accepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare:"[d] and St. Austin, "Hoc ecclesia à majorum fide percepit."[e] And generally all writers (as Calvin says) affirm the same thing. For, "Nullus est scriptor tam vetustus, qui non ejus originem ad apostolorum seculum pro certo referat."[f] From hence the conclusion is, that infants ought to be baptized, that it is simply necessary, that they who deny it are heretics; and such are not to be endured, because they deny to infants hopes, and take away the possibility of their salvation, which is revealed to us on no other condition of which they are capable but baptism. For by the insinuation of the type, by the action of Christ, by the title infants have to heaven, by the precept of the gospel, by the energy of the promise, by the reasonableness of the thing, by the infinite necessity on the infants' part, by the practice apostolical, by their tradition and the universal practice of the church, by all these God and good people proclaim the lawfulness, the conveniency, and the necessity, of infants' baptism.

12. To all this the anabaptist gives a soft and gentle answer, that it is a goodly harangue, which upon a strict examination will come to nothing; that it pretends fairly, and signifies little; that some of these allegations are false, some impertinent, and all the rest insufficient.

13. For the argument from circumcision is invalid upon infinite considerations. Figures and types prove nothing, unless a commandment go along with them, or some express to signify such to be their purpose. For the deluge of waters and the ark of Noah were a figure of baptism, said Peter; and if therefore the circumstances of one should be drawn to the other, we should make baptism a prodigy rather than a rite. The paschal lamb was a type of the eucharist, which succeeds the other as baptism does to circumcision; but because there was in the manducation of the paschal lamb no prescription of sacramental drink, shall we thence conclude, that the eucharist is to be ministered but in one kind? And even in the very instance of this argument, supposing a correspondence of analogy between circumcision and baptism, yet there is no correspondence of identity. For although it were granted, that both of them did consign the covenant of faith, yet there is nothing in the circumstance of children's being circumcised that so concerns that mystery but that it might very well be given to children, and yet baptism only to men of reason. Because circumcision left a character in the flesh, which being imprinted upon infants, did its work to them when they came to age; and such a character was necessary, because there was no word added to the sign: but baptism imprints nothing that remains on the body; and if it leaves a character at all, it is upon the soul, to which also the word is added, which is as much a part of the sacrament as the sign itself is. For both which reasons it is requisite that the persons baptized should be capable of reason, that they may be capable both of the word of the sacrament, and the impress made upon the spirit. Since therefore the reason of this parity does wholly fail, there is nothing left to infer a necessity of complying in this circumstance of age any more than in the other annexes of the type. And the case is clear in the bishop's question to Cyprian: for why shall not infants be baptized just upon the eighth day as well as circumcised?[g] If the correspondence of the rites be an argument to infer one circumstance, which is impertinent and accidental to the mysteriousness of the rite, why shall it not infer all? And then also females must not be baptized, because they were not circumcised. But it were more proper, if we would understand it right, to prosecute the analogy from the type to the antitype by way of letter, and spirit, and signification; and as circumcision figures baptism, so also the adjuncts of the circumcision shall signify something spiritual in the adherences of baptism. And therefore as infants were circumcised, so spiritual infants shall be baptized, which is spiritual circumcision: for therefore babes had the ministry of the type, to signify that we must, when we give our names to Christ, become νήπιοι ἐν πονηρίᾳ, "children in malice;" for unless you become like one of these little ones, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," said our blessed Saviour; and then the type is made complete. And this seems to have been the sense of the primitive church: for in the age next to the apostles they gave to all baptized persons milk and honey, to represent to them their duty, that though in age and understanding they were men, yet they were babes in Christ, and children in malice. But to infer the sense of the pædobaptists, is so weak a manner of arguing, that Austin, whose device it was, (and men use to be in

[d] In Rom. 6. tom. 2. p. 543.
[e] Serm. 10. de verb. Apost. c. 2.
[f] 4 Instit. cap. 16. sect. 8.
[g] Lib. 3. Epist. 8. ad Fidum.

love with their own fancies,) at the most pretended it but as probable and a mere conjecture.

14. And as ill success will they have with the other arguments as with this. For from the action of Christ's blessing infants to infer that they are to be baptized, proves nothing so much, as that there is great want of better arguments. The conclusion would be, with more probability, derived thus; Christ blessed children and so dismissed them, but baptized them not; therefore infants are not to be baptized. But let this be as weak as its enemy, yet that Christ did not baptize them is an argument sufficient that Christ has other ways of bringing them to heaven than by baptism, he passed his act of grace upon them by benediction and imposition of hands.

15. And therefore, although neither infants nor any man "in puris naturalibus" can attain to a supernatural end, without the addition of some instrument or means of God's appointing ordinarily and regularly; yet where God hath not appointed a rule nor an order, as in the case of infants we contend he hath not,—the argument is invalid. And as we are sure that God hath not commanded infants to be baptized; so we are sure God will do them no injustice, nor damn them for what they cannot help.

16. And therefore let them be pressed with all the inconveniences that are consequent to original sin, yet either it will not be laid to the charge of infants, so as to be sufficient to condemn them; or if it could, yet the mercy and absolute goodness of God will secure them, if he takes them away before they can glorify him with a free obedience. "Quid ergò festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?" was the question of Tertullian.[h] He knew no such danger from the original guilt, as to drive them to a laver, of which in "that age of innocence" they had no need, as he conceived. And therefore there is no necessity of flying to the help of others for tongue, and heart, and faith, and predispositions to baptism: for what need all this stir? As infants without their own consent, without any act of their own, and without any exterior solemnity, contracted the guilt of Adam's sin, and so are liable to all the punishment, which can with justice descend upon his posterity, who are personally innocent; so infants shall be restored without any solemnity or act of their own, or of any other men for them, by the second Adam, by the redemption of Jesus Christ, by his righteousness and mercies applied either immediately, or how or when he shall be pleased to appoint. And so Austin's argument will come to nothing, without any need of godfathers or the faith of anybody else. And it is too narrow a conception of God Almighty, because he hath tied us to the observation of the ceremonies of his own institution, that therefore he hath tied himself to it. Many thousand ways there are, by which God can bring any reasonable soul to himself: but nothing is more unreasonable, than, because he hath tied all men of years and discretion to this way, therefore we, of our own heads, shall carry infants to him that way without his direction. The conceit is poor and low, and the action consequent to it is too bold and venturous. "Mysterium meum mihi et filiis domûs meæ." Let him do what he please to infants, we must not.

17. Only this is certain, that God hath as great care of infants as of others: and because they have no capacity of doing such acts as may be in order to acquiring salvation, God will, by his own immediate mercy, bring them thither, where he hath intended them: but to say that therefore he will do it by an external act and ministry, and that confined to a particular, viz. this right and no other, is no good argument, unless God could not do it without such means, or that he had said he would not. And why cannot God as well do his mercies to infants now immediately, as he did before the institution either of circumcision or baptism?

18. However, there is no danger that infants should perish for want of this external ministry, much less for prevaricating Christ's precept of "Nisi quis renatus fuerit," &c. For first, the water and the Spirit in this place signify the same thing; and by water is meant the effect of the Spirit, cleansing and purifying the soul, as appears in its parallel place of Christ "baptizing with the Spirit and with fire." For although this was literally fulfilled in Pentecost, yet morally there is more in it: for it is the sign of the effect of the Holy Ghost, and his productions upon the soul; and it was an excellency of our blessed Saviour's office, that he baptizes *all* that come to him, with the Holy Ghost and with fire: for so St. John, preferring Christ's mission and office before his own, tells the Jews, not Christ's disciples, that Christ shall baptize them with fire and the Holy Spirit, that is, "all that come to him," as John the Baptist did with water; for so lies the antithesis. And you may as well conclude, that infants must also pass through the fire as through the water. And that we may not think this a trick to elude the pressure of this place, Peter says the same thing; for when he had said that baptism saves us, he adds by way of explication, "not the washing of the flesh, but the confidence of a good conscience towards God;" plainly saying, that it is not water, or the purifying of the body, but the cleansing of the Spirit, that does that which is supposed to be the effect of baptism. And if our Saviour's exclusive negative be expounded by analogy to this of Peter, as certainly the other parallel instance must, and this may,—then it will be so far from proving the necessity of infants' baptism, that it can conclude for no man that he is obliged to the rite; and the doctrine of the baptism is only to derive from the very words of institution, and not to be forced from words which were spoken before it was ordained. But to let pass this advantage, and to suppose it meant of external baptism, yet this no more infers a necessity of infants' baptism, than the other words of Christ infer a necessity to give them the holy communion: "Nisi comederitis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis sanguinem, non introibitis in regnum cœlorum:" and yet we do not think these words sufficient argument to communicate them. If men therefore will do us justice, either

[h] De Baptism.

let them give both sacraments to infants, as some ages of the church did, or neither. For the wit of man is not able to show a disparity in the sanction, or in the energy of its expression. And Simeon Thessalonicensis derides "inertem Latinorum" λεπτολογίαν, as we express it, "the lazy trifling of the Latins," who dream of a difference. Βαβαὶ τῆς ἀλογίας ἅμα καὶ ἀτοπίας. Καὶ διὰ τί βαπτίζεις; "O the unreasonableness and absurdity! For why do you baptize them?" Meaning that, because they are equally ignorant in baptism as in the eucharist, that which hinders them in one, is the same impediment in both. And therefore they were honest that understood the obligation to be parallel, and performed it accordingly: and yet because we say they were deceived in one distance, and yet the obligation (all the world cannot reasonably say but) is the same; they are as honest and as reasonable that do neither. And since the ancient church did, with an equal opinion of necessity, give them the communion, and yet men now-a-days do not,—why shall men be burdened with a prejudice and a name of obloquy for not giving the infants one sacrament more, than they are disliked for not affording them the other? If anabaptist shall be a name of disgrace, why shall not some other name be invented for them that deny to communicate infants, which shall be equally disgraceful, or else both the opinions signified by such names be accounted no disparagement, but receive their estimate according to their truth?

19. Of which truth, since we are now taking account from pretences of Scripture, it is considerable that the discourse of St. Peter,—which is pretended for the entitling infants to the promise of the Holy Ghost, and by consequence to baptism, which is supposed to be its instrument and convenience,—is wholly a fancy, and hath in it nothing of certainty or demonstration, and not much probability. For besides that the thing itself is unreasonable, and the Holy Ghost works by the heightening and improving our natural faculties, and therefore it is a promise that so concerns them as they are reasonable creatures, and may have a title to it in proportion to their nature, but no possession or reception of it till their faculties come into act; besides this, I say, the words mentioned in St. Peter's sermon (which are the only record of the promise) are interpreted upon a weak mistake. "The promise belongs to you and to your children;" therefore infants are actually receptive of it in that capacity: that is the argument. But the reason of it is not yet discovered, nor ever will; for "to you and your children" is to you and your posterity, to you and your children when they are of the same capacity, in which you are effectually receptive of the promise; and therefore Tertullian calls infants, "designatos sanctitatis ac per hoc etiam salutis," "the candidates of holiness and salvation, those that are designed to it." But he that, whenever the word "children" is used in Scripture, shall by "children" understand infants, must needs believe that in all Israel there were no men, but all were infants: and if that had been true, it had been the greater wonder they should overcome the Anakims, and beat the king of Moab, and march so far, and discourse so well, for they were all called the "children of Israel."

20. And for the allegation of St. Paul, that infants are holy if their parents be faithful,—it signifies nothing but that they are holy by designation, just as Jeremy and John Baptist were sanctified in their mothers' womb, that is, they were appointed and designed for holy ministries, but had not received the promise of the Father, the gift of the Holy Ghost, for all that sanctification; and just so the children of christian parents are sanctified, that is, designed to the service of Jesus Christ, and the future participation of the promises.

21. And as the promise appertains not (for aught appears) to infants, in that capacity and consistence, but only by the title of their being reasonable creatures, and when they come to that act of which by nature they have the faculty; so if it did, yet baptism is not the means of conveying the Holy Ghost. For that which Peter says, "Be baptized, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost," signifies no more than this,—First, be baptized, and then, by imposition of the apostles' hands, (which was another mystery and rite,) ye shall receive the promise of the Father.—And this is nothing but an insinuation of the rite of confirmation, as is to this sense expounded by divers ancient authors; and in ordinary ministry the effect of it is not bestowed upon any unbaptized persons, for it is in order next after baptism: and upon this ground Peter's argument in the case of Cornelius was concluding enough "à majori ad minus;" thus the Holy Ghost was bestowed upon him and his family, which gift, by ordinary ministry, was consequent to baptism (not as the effect is to the cause or to the proper instrument, but as a consequent is to an antecedent in a chain of causes accidentally and by positive institution depending upon each other): God by that miracle did give testimony, that the persons of the men were in great dispositions towards heaven, and therefore were to be admitted to those rites, which are the ordinary inlets into the kingdom of heaven. But then from hence to argue that wherever there is a capacity of receiving the same grace, there also the same sign is to be ministered, and from hence to infer pædo-baptism, is an argument very fallacious upon several grounds. First, because baptism is not the sign of the Holy Ghost, but by another mystery it was conveyed ordinarily and extraordinarily, it was conveyed independently from any mystery; and so the argument goes upon a wrong supposition. Secondly, if the supposition were true, the proposition built upon it is false; for they that are capable of the same grace, are not always capable of the same sign: for women under the law of Moses, although they were capable of the righteousness of faith, yet they were not capable of the sign of circumcision. For God does not always convey his graces in the same manner, but to some mediately, to others immediately; and there is no better instance in the world of it than the gift of the Holy Ghost,—which is the thing now instanced in

this contestation: for it is certain in Scripture, that it was ordinarily given by imposition of hands, and that, after baptism (and when this came into an ordinary ministry, it was called, by the ancient church, chrism or confirmation); but yet it was given sometimes without imposition of hands, as at Pentecost, and to the family of Cornelius; sometimes before baptism, sometimes after, sometimes in conjunction with it.

22. And after all this, lest these arguments should not ascertain their cause, they fall on complaining against God, and will not be content with God unless they may baptize their children, but take exceptions that God did more for the children of the Jews. But why so? Because God made a covenant with their children actually as infants, and consigned it by circumcision. Well; so he did with our children too in their proportion. He made a covenant of spiritual promises on his part, and spiritual and real services on ours; and this pertains to children when they are capable, but made with them as soon as they are alive, and yet not so as with the Jews' babes: for as their rite consigned them actually, so it was a national and temporal blessing and covenant, as a separation of them from the portion of the nations, a marking them for a peculiar people; and therefore while they were in the wilderness and separate from the commixture of all people, they were not at all circumcised; but as that rite did seal the righteousness of faith, so, by virtue of its adherency, and remanency in their flesh, it did that work when the children came to age. But in christian infants the case is otherwise: for the new covenant, being established upon better promises, is not only to better purposes, but also in distinct manner to be understood; when their spirits are as receptive of a spiritual act or impress as the bodies of Jewish children were of the sign of circumcision, then it is to be consigned. But this business is quickly at an end, by saying, that God hath done no less for ours than for their children; for he will do the mercies of a Father and Creator to them, and he did no more to the other. But he hath done more to ours, for he hath made a covenant with them, and built it upon promises of the greatest concernment; he did not so to them. But then for the other part, which is the main of the argument, that unless this mercy be consigned by baptism, as good not at all in respect of us, because we want the comfort of it; this is the greatest vanity in the world. For when God hath made a promise pertaining also to our children, (for so our adversaries contend, and we also acknowledge in its true sense,) shall not this promise, this word of God, be of sufficient truth, certainty, and efficacy, to cause comfort, unless we tempt God and require a sign of him? May not Christ say to these men, as sometime to the Jews, "A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, but no sign shall be given unto it?" But the truth of it is, this argument is nothing but a direct quarrelling with God Almighty.

23. Now since there is no strength in the doctrinal part, the practice and precedents apostolical and ecclesiastical will be of less concernment, if they were true, as is pretended; because actions apostolical are not always rules for ever: it might be fit for them to do it "pro loco et tempore," as divers others of their institutions, but yet no engagement passed thence upon following ages; for it might be convenient at that time, in the new spring of christianity, and till they had engaged a considerable party, by that means to make them parties against the gentiles' superstition, and by way of pre-occupation, to ascertain them to their own sect when they came to be men; or for some other reason not transmitted to us, because the question of fact itself is not sufficiently determined. For the insinuation of that precept of baptizing all nations, of which children certainly are a part, does as little advantage as any of the rest, because other parallel expressions of Scripture do determine and expound themselves to a sense that includes not all persons absolutely, but of a capable condition; as "Adorate eum, omnes gentes: et psallite Deo, omnes nationes terræ," and divers more.

24. As for the conjecture concerning the family of Stephanas, at the best it is but a conjecture; and besides that it is not proved that there were children in the family; yet if that were granted, it follows not that they were baptized; because by "whole families" in Scripture is meant all persons of reason and age within the family; for it is said of the ruler at Capernaum, "that he believed and all his house."[i] Now you may also suppose that in his house were little babes, that is likely enough; and you may suppose that they did believe too before they could understand, but that is not so likely: and then the argument from baptizing of Stephanas's household may be allowed just as probable. But this is unmanlike, to build upon such slight airy conjectures.

25. But tradition by all means must supply the place of Scripture, and there is pretended a tradition apostolical, that infants were baptized. But at this we are not much moved; for we, who rely upon the written word of God as sufficient to establish all true religion, do not value the allegation of traditions; and however the world goes, none of the reformed churches can pretend this argument against this opinion, because they who reject tradition when it is against them, must not pretend it at all for them. But if we should allow the topic to be good, yet how will it be verified? For so far as it can yet appear, it relies wholly upon the testimony of Origen, for from him Austin had it. For, as for the testimony pretended out of Justin Martyr, it is to no purpose; because the book from whence the words are cited, is not Justin's, who was before Origen, and yet he cites Origen and Irenæus. But who please, may see it sufficiently condemned by Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. l. 4. verbo *Justinus*. And as for the testimony of Origen, we know nothing of it; for every heretic and interested person did interpolate all his works so much, that we cannot discern which are his, and which not. Now a tradition apostolical, if it be not consigned with a fuller testimony than of one person whom all after-ages

[i] John iv. 53.

have condemned of many errors, will obtain so little reputation amongst those who know that things have, upon greater authority, pretended to derive from the apostles, and yet falsely,—that it will be a great argument that he is credulous and weak, that shall be determined by so weak probation in matters of so great concernment. And the truth of the business is, as there was no command of Scripture to oblige children to the susception of it, so the necessity of pædo-baptism was not determined in the church till in the eighth age after Christ; but in the year 418, in the Milevitan council, a provincial of Africa, there was a canon made for pædo-baptism; never till then. I grant it was practised in Africa before that time, and they or some of them thought well of it; and though that be no argument for us to think so, yet none of them did ever before pretend it to be necessary, none to have been a precept of the gospel. St. Austin was the first that ever preached it to be absolutely necessary; and it was in his heat and anger against Pelagius, who had warmed and chafed him so in that question, that it made him innovate in other doctrines possibly of more concernment than this. And although this was practised anciently in Africa, yet that it was without an opinion of necessity, and not often there, not at all in other places,—we have the testimony of the learned pædo-baptist Ludovicus Vives, who, in his Annotations upon St. Austin de Civit. Dei, affirms, "Neminem nisi adultum antiquitus solere baptizari."[k]

26. But, besides that the tradition cannot be proved to be apostolical, we have very good evidence from antiquity, that it was the opinion of the primitive church, that infants ought not to be baptized: and this is clear in the sixth canon of the council of Neocæsarea. The words are these; Περὶ κυοφορούσης, ὅτι δεῖ φωτίζεσθαι, ὁπότε βούλεται· οὐδὲν γὰρ κοινωνεῖ ἡ τίκτουσα τῷ τικτομένῳ, διὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἰδίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δείκνυσθαι. The sense is this, "A woman with child may be baptized when she please; for her baptism concerns not the child." The reason of the connexion of the parts of that canon is in the following words: "Because every one in that confession is to give a demonstration of his own choice and election." Meaning plainly, that if the baptism of the mother did also pass upon the child, it were not fit for a pregnant woman to receive baptism: because in that sacrament there being a confession of faith, which confession supposes understanding and free choice, it is not reasonable the child should be consigned with such a mystery, since it cannot do any act of choice or understanding. And to this purpose are the words of Balsamon;[l] speaking of this decree, and of infants unborn not to be baptized, he says, Οὐ δύναται φωτισθῆναι διὰ τὸ μηκέτι εἰς φῶς ἐλθεῖν, μηδὲ προαίρεσιν ἔχειν τῆς ὁμολογίας τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος· "The unborn babe is not to be baptized, because he neither is come to light, nor can he make choice of the confession, that is, of the articles to be confessed in Divine baptism." To the same sense are the words of Zonaras: Ἔμβρυον χρήζει βαπτίσματος, ὅτε προαιρεῖσθαι δυνήσεται· "The embryo or unborn babe does then need baptism, when he can choose." The canon speaks reason, and it intimates a practice which was absolutely universal in the church, of interrogating the catechumens concerning the articles of creed. Which is one argument that either they did not admit infants to baptism; or that they did prevaricate egregiously in asking questions of them, who themselves knew were not capable of giving answer. But the former was the more probable, according to the testimony of Walafridus Strabo: "Notandum deinde, primis temporibus, illis solummodo baptismi gratiam dari solitam, qui et corporis et mentis integritate jam ad hoc pervenerunt, ut scire et intelligere possent, quid emolumenti in baptismo consequendum, quid confitendum atque credendum, quid postremò renatis in Christo esset servandum:"[m] "It is to be noted, that in those first times, the grace of baptism was wont to be given to those only, who by their integrity of mind and body were arrived to this, that they could know and understand what profit was to be had by baptism, what was to be confessed and believed in baptism, and what is the duty of them who are born again in Christ."

27. But to supply their incapacity by the answer of a godfather, is but the same unreasonableness acted with a worse circumstance; and there is no sensible account can be given of it.[n] For that which some imperfectly murmur concerning stipulations civil performed by tutors in the name of their pupils, is an absolute vanity. For what if, by positive constitution of the Romans, such solemnities of law are required in all stipulations, and by indulgence are permitted in the case of a notable benefit accruing to minors,—must God be tied, and christian religion transact her mysteries by proportion and compliance with the law of the Romans? I know God might, if he would, have appointed godfathers to give answer in behalf of the children, and to be *fidejussores* for them; but we cannot find any authority or ground that he hath; and if he had, then it is to be supposed he would have given them commission to have transacted the solemnity with better circumstances, and given answers with more truth. For the question is asked of believing in the present. And if the godfathers answer in the name of the child, "I do believe," it is notorious they speak false and ridiculously; for the infant is not capable of believing; and if he were, he were also capable of dissenting, and how then do they know his mind? And therefore Tertullian[o] gives advice that the baptism of infants should be deferred, till they could give an account of their faith.

[k] Lib. 1. c. 27.

[l] In compend. Can. tit. 4.

[m] De rebus Eccles. c. 26.

[n] Quidni necesse est (sic legit Franc. Junius in notis ad Tertul.) sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possint, et proventu malæ indolis falli?—Tertul. lib. de Baptis. cap. 18.

[o] Lib. de Baptis. prope finem cap. 18. Itaque pro personæ cujusque conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est, præcipuè tamen circa parvulos—Fiant Christiani, cum Christum nosse potuerint.

And the same also is the counsel of Gregory,[p] bishop of Nazianzum, although he allows them to hasten it in case of necessity; for though his reason taught him what was fit, yet he was overborne with the practice and opinion of his age, which began to bear too violently upon him; and yet in another place he makes mention of some, to whom baptism was not administered διὰ νηπιότητα, "by reason of infancy." To which if we add, that the parents of St. Austin, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose, although they were christian, yet did not baptize their children before they were thirty years of age; and St. Chrysostom, who was instituted and bred up in religion by the famous and beloved bishop Miletius, was yet not baptized till after he was twenty years of age: and Gregory Nazianzen, though he was the son of a bishop, yet was not christened till he came to man's age;—it will be very considerable in the example, and of great efficacy for destroying the supposed necessity or derivation from the apostles.

28. But however, it is against the perpetual analogy of Christ's doctrine to baptize infants; for besides that Christ never gave any precept to baptize them, nor ever himself nor his apostles (that appears) did baptize any of them; all that either he or his apostles said concerning it, requires such previous dispositions to baptism, of which infants are not capable,—and these are faith and repentance. And not to instance in those innumerable places that require faith before this sacrament, there needs no more but this one saying of our blessed Saviour, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned:"[q] plainly thus, Faith and baptism in conjunction will bring a man to heaven; but if he have not faith, baptism shall do him no good. So that if baptism be necessary then, so is faith, and much more: for want of faith damns absolutely; it is not said so of the want of baptism. Now if this decretory sentence be to be understood of persons of age, and if children by such an answer (which indeed is reasonable enough) be excused from the necessity of faith, the want of which regularly does damn;—then it is sottish to say, the same incapacity of reason and faith shall not excuse from the actual suception of baptism, which is less necessary, and to which faith and many other acts are necessary predispositions, when it is reasonably and humanly received. The conclusion is, that baptism is also to be deferred till the time of faith; and whether infants have faith or no, is a question to be disputed by persons, that care not how much they say, nor how little they prove.

29. First, Personal and actual faith they have none; for they have no acts of understanding; and besides, how can any man know that they have, since he never saw any sign of it, neither was he told so by any one that could tell? Secondly, Some say they have imputative faith; but then so let the sacrament be too: that is, if they have the parents' faith or the church's, then so let baptism be imputed also by derivation from them; that as in the mothers' womb, and while they hang on their breasts, they live upon their mothers' nourishment so they may upon the baptism of their parents or their mother, the church. For since faith is necessary to the susception of baptism, (and themselves confess it, by striving to find out new kinds of faith to daub the matter up,) such as the faith is, such must be the sacrament; for there is no proportion between an actual sacrament and an imputative faith, this being in immediate and necessary order to that. And whatsoever can be said to take off from the necessity of actual faith, all that and much more may be said to excuse from the actual susception of baptism. Thirdly, the first of these devices was that of Luther and his scholars, the second of Calvin and his; and yet there is a third device which the church of Rome teaches, and that is, that infants have habitual faith. But who told them so? how can they prove it? what revelation or reason teaches any such thing? Are they by this habit so much as disposed to an actual belief without a new master? Can an infant, sent into a Mahometan province, be more confident for christianity when he comes to be a man, than if he had not been baptized? are there any acts precedent, concomitant, or consequent, to this pretended habit? This strange invention is absolutely without art, without Scripture, reason, or authority. But the men are to be excused, unless there were a better. But for all these stratagems, the argument now alleged against the baptism of infants is demonstrative and unanswerable.

30. To which also this consideration may be added, that if baptism be necessary to the salvation of infants, upon whom is the imposition laid? to whom is the command given? to the parents or to the children? Not to the children, for they are not capable of a law: not to the parents, for then God hath put the salvation of innocent babes into the power of others, and infants may be damned for their fathers' carelessness or malice. It follows that it is not necessary at all to be done to them, to whom it cannot be prescribed as a law, and in whose behalf it cannot be reasonably intrusted to others with the appendant necessity; and if it be not necessary, it is certain it is not reasonable, and more certain it is no where in terms prescribed: and therefore it is to be presumed that it ought to be understood and administered according as other precepts are, with reference to the capacity of the subject, and the reasonableness of the thing.

31. For I consider, that the baptizing of infants does rush us upon such inconveniences, which other questions we avoid like rocks: which will appear if we discourse thus.

Either baptism produces spiritual effects, or produces them not. If it produces not any, why such contention about it? what are we the nearer heaven if we are baptized? and if it be neglected what are we the farther off? But if (as without peradventure all the pædo-baptists will say) baptism does do a work upon the soul, producing spiritual benefits and advantages, these advantages are

[p] Orat. 40. quæst. in S. Baptisma.

[q] Mark xvi. 16.

duced by the external work of the sacrament alone, or by that as it is helped by the co-operation and predispositions of the suscipient.

If by the external work of the sacrament alone, how does this differ from the "opus operatum" of the papists, save that it is worse? For they say, the sacrament does not produce its effect but in a suscipient disposed by all requisites and due preparatives of piety, faith, and repentance; though in a subject so disposed they say the sacrament by its own virtue does it: but this opinion says, it does it of itself, without the help, or so much as the coexistence, of any condition but the mere reception.

But if the sacrament does not do its work alone, but "per modum recipientis," according to the predispositions of the suscipient,—then, because infants can neither hinder it, nor do any thing to further it, it does them no benefit at all. And if any man runs for succour to that exploded κρησφύγετον, that infants have faith, or any other inspired habit of I know not what or how,—we desire no more advantage in the world, than that they are constrained to an answer without revelation, against reason, common sense, and all the experience in the world.

The sum of the argument in short is this, though under another representment.

Either baptism is a mere ceremony, or it implies a duty on our part. If it be a ceremony only, how does it sanctify us, or "make the comers thereunto perfect?" If it implies a duty on our part, how then can children receive it who cannot do duty at all?

And indeed this way of ministration makes baptism to be wholly an outward duty, a work of the law, a carnal ordinance; it makes us adhere to the letter, without regard of the Spirit, to be satisfied with shadows, to return to bondage, to relinquish the mysteriousness, the substance, and spirituality of the gospel. Which argument is of so much the more consideration, because, under the spiritual covenant, or the gospel of grace, if the mystery goes not before the symbol, (which it does when the symbols are seals and consignations of the grace, as it is said the sacraments are,) yet it always accompanies it, but never follows in order of time. And this is clear in the perpetual analogy of Holy Scripture.

For baptism is never propounded, mentioned, or enjoined, as a means of remission of sins or of eternal life, but something of duty, choice, and sanctity, are joined with it in order to production of the end so mentioned. "Know ye not, that as many as are baptized into Christ Jesus, are baptized into his death?"[q] There are the mystery and the symbol together, and declared to be perpetually united. Ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν, "All of us who were baptized" into one, were baptized into the other; not only into the name of Christ, but into his death also. But the meaning of this, as it is explained in the following words of St. Paul, makes much for our purpose: for to be baptized into his death, signifies "to be buried with him in baptism, that as Christ rose from the dead, we also should walk in newness of life:"[r] that is the full mystery of baptism. For being baptized into his death, or, which is all one, in the next words, ἐν ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, "into the likeness of his death,"[s] cannot go alone; "if we be so planted into Christ, we shall be partakers of his resurrection:" and that is not here instanced in precise reward, but in exact duty; for all this is nothing but "crucifixion of the old man, a destroying the body of sin, that we no longer serve sin."[t]

This indeed is truly to be baptized both in the symbol and the mystery. Whatsoever is less than this, is but the symbol only, a mere ceremony, an "opus operatum," a dead letter, an empty shadow, an instrument without an agent to manage or force or actuate it.

Plainer yet: "Whosoever are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ, have put on the new man:" but to put on this new man, is "to be formed in righteousness, and holiness, and truth." This whole argument are the very words of St. Paul. The major proposition is dogmatically determined Gal. iii. 27. the minor in Ephes. iv. 24. The conclusion then is obvious, that they who are not "formed new in righteousness, and holiness, and truth," they who, remaining in the present incapacities, cannot "walk in the newness of life,"—they have not been baptized into Christ: and then they have but one member of the distinction, used by St. Peter,[u] they have that baptism "which is a putting away the filth of the flesh," but they have not that baptism "which is the answer of a good conscience towards God," which is the only "baptism that saves us." And this is the case of children. And then the case is thus:

As infants by the force of nature cannot put themselves into a supernatural condition (and therefore, say the pædobaptists, they need baptism to put them into it); so if they be baptized before the use of reason, before the "works of the Spirit," before the operations of grace, before they can throw off "the works of darkness, and live in righteousness, and newness of life,"—they are never the nearer. From the pains of hell they shall be saved by the mercies of God and their own innocence, though they die "in puris naturalibus;" and baptism will carry them no farther. For that "baptism that saves us" is not the only "washing with water," of which only children are capable, "but the answer of a good conscience towards God," of which they are not capable till the use of reason, till they know to choose the good and refuse the evil.

And from thence I consider anew, that all vows made by persons under others' names, stipulations made by minors, are not valid, till they, by a supervening act after they are of sufficient age, do ratify them. Why then may not infants as well make the vow "de novo," as "de novo" ratify that, which was made for them "ab antiquo," when they come to years of choice? If the infant-vow be invalid till the manly confirmation, why were it not as good they stayed to make it till that time, before which if they do make it, it is to no purpose?[x] This would be considered.

[q] Rom. vi. 3.
[r] Verse 4.
[s] Verse 5.
[t] Verse 6.
[u] 1 Pet. iii. 21.
[x] Vide Erasmum in præfat. ad Annotat. in Matt.

32. And in conclusion, our way is the surer way; for not to baptize children till they can give an account of their faith, is the most proportionable to an act of reason and humanity, and it can have no danger in it. For to say, that infants may be damned for want of baptism, (a thing which is not in their power to acquire, they being persons not yet capable of a law,) is to affirm that of God, which we dare not say of any wise and good man. Certainly it is much derogatory to God's justice, and a plain defiance to the infinite reputation of his goodness.

33. And therefore whoever will pertinaciously persist in this opinion of the pædobaptists, and practise it accordingly, they pollute the blood of the everlasting testament; they dishonour and make a pageantry of the sacrament; they ineffectually represent a sepulture into the death of Christ, and please themselves in a sign without effect, making baptism like the fig-tree in the gospel, full of leaves but no fruit; and they invocate the Holy Ghost in vain, doing as if one should call upon him to illuminate a stone or a tree.

34. Thus far the anabaptists may argue; and men have disputed against them with so much weakness and confidence, that we may say of them, as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes of the case of the church in his time; Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δόγμασι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέρων σαθροῖς ταύτην ζηρεύοντες, &c. "They have been encouraged in their error more by the accidental advantages we have given them by our weak arguings, than by any excellency of their wit, and (much less) any advantage of their cause." It concerned not the present design of this book to inquire, whether these men speak true or no: for if they speak probably, or so as may deceive them that are no fools, it is argument sufficient to persuade us to pity the erring man that is deceived without design: and that is all that I intended. But because all men will not understand my purpose, or think my meaning innocent, unless I answer the arguments which I have made or gathered for mine and their adversaries;—although, I say, it be nothing to the purpose of my book, which was only to represent, that even in a wrong cause there may be invincible causes of deception to innocent and unfortunate persons, and of this truth the anabaptists in their question of pædobaptism is a very great instance;—yet I will rather choose to offend the rules of art, than not to fulfil all the requisites of charity: I have chosen therefore to add some animadversions upon the anabaptists' plea, upon all that is material, and which can have any considerable effect in the question. For though I have used this art and stratagem of peace justly, by representing the enemy's strength to bring the other party to thoughts of charity and kind comportments; yet I could not intend to discourage the right side, or to make either a mutiny or defection in the armies of Israel. I do not, as the spies from Canaan, say that these men are Anakims, and the city-walls reach up to heaven, and there are giants in the land: I know they are not insuperable, but they are like the blind and the lame set before a wall, that a weak man can leap over, and a single troop armed with wisdom and truth can beat all their guards. But yet I think that he said well and wisely to Charles the fighting duke of Burgundy, that told him that the Switzers' strength was not so to be despised, but that an honourable peace and a christian usage of them were better than a cruel and a bloody war. The event of that battle told all the world, that no enemy is to be despised and rendered desperate at the same time; and that there are but few causes in the world but they do sometimes meet with witty advocates, and in themselves put on such semblances of truth, as will, if not make the victory uncertain, yet make peace more safe and prudent, and mutual charity to be the best defence.

And first, I do not pretend to say, that every argument brought by good men and wise in a right cause, must needs be demonstrative. The divinity of the eternal Son of God is a truth of as great concernment and as great certainty, as any thing that ever was disputed in the christian church; and yet he that reads the writings of the fathers, and the acts of councils convened about that great question, will find that all the armour is not proof, which is used in a holy war. For that seems to one, which is not so to another; and when a man hath one sufficient reason to secure him and make him confident, every thing seems to him to speak the same sense, though to an adversary it does not: for the one observes the similitude, and pleaseth himself; the other watches only the dissonances, and gets advantage; because one line of likeness will please a believing willing man, but one will not do the work; and where many dissimilitudes can be observed, and but one similitude, it were better to let the shadow alone than hazard the substance. And it is to be observed, that heretics and misbelievers do apply themselves rather to disable truth than directly to establish their error; and every argument they wrest from the hand of their adversaries, is to them a double purchase; it takes from the other and makes him less, and makes himself greater; the way to spoil a strong man, is to take from him the armour in which he trusted: and when this adversary hath espied a weak part in any discourse, he presently concludes that the cause is no stronger and reckons his victories by the colours that he takes, though they signified nothing to the strength of the cause. And this is the main way of proceeding in this question: for they rather endeavour to show, that we cannot demonstrate our part of the question, than that they can prove theirs. And as it is indeed easier to destroy than to build, so it is more agreeable to the nature and to the design of heresy: and therefore it were well that in this and in other questions where there are watchful adversaries, we should fight as Gideon did with three hundred hardy brave fellows, that would stand against all violence, rather than to make a noise with rams' horns and broken pitchers, like the men at the siege of Jericho. And though it is not to be expected that all arguments should be demonstrative in a true cause, yet it were well if the general of the church, which the Scripture affirms are terrible

as any army with banners, should not by sending out weak parties which are easily beaten, weaken their own army, and give confidence to the enemy.

Secondly: although it is hard to prove a negative, and it is not in many cases to be imposed upon a litigant; yet when the affirmative is received and practised, whoever will disturb the actual persuasion must give his reason, and offer proof for his own doctrine, or let me alone with mine. For the reason why negatives are hard to prove, is because they have no positive cause; but as they have no being, so they have no reason: but then also they are first, and before affirmatives, that is, such which are therefore to prevail, because nothing can be said against them. Darkness is before light, and things are not before they are: and though to prove that things are, something must be said; yet to prove they are not, nothing is to be alleged but that they are not, and no man can prove they are. But when an affirmative hath entered and prevailed, because no effect can be without some positive cause, therefore this which came in upon some cause or other, must not be sent away without cause: and because the negative is in this case later than the affirmative, it must enter as the affirmatives do, when they happen to be later than the negative. Add to this, that for the introduction of a negative against the possession of a prevailing affirmative, it is not enough to invalidate the arguments of the affirmative, by making it appear they are not demonstrative: for although that might have been sufficient to hinder its first entry, yet it is not enough to throw it out, because it hath gotten strength and reasonableness by long custom and dwelling upon the minds of men, and hath some forces beyond what it derives from the first causes of its introduction. And therefore whoever will persuade men to quit their long persuasions and their consonant practices, must not tell them, that such persuasions are not certain, and that they cannot prove such practices to be necessary; but that the doctrine is false, against some other revealed truth which they admit, and the practice evil; not only useless, but dangerous or criminal. So that the anabaptists cannot acquit themselves and promote their cause, by going about to invalidate our arguments, unless they do not only weaken our affirmative, by taking away not one or two, but all the confidences of its strength, but also make their own negative to include a duty, or its enemy to be guilty of a crime. And therefore if it were granted, that we cannot prove the baptism of infants to be necessary, and that they could speak probably against all the arguments of the right believers; yet it were intolerable that they should be attended to, unless they pretend, and make their pretence good, that they teach piety and duty and necessity: for nothing less than these can make recompence for so violent, so great an inroad and rape upon the persuasions of men. Whether the anabaptists do so or no, will be considered in the sequel.

Thirdly: these arguments, which are in this section urged in behalf of the anabaptists, their persons I mean, finally, not their cause at all but in order to their persons, can do the less hurt, because they rely upon our grounds, not upon theirs; that is, they are intended to persuade us to a charitable comport towards the men, but not at all to persuade their doctrine. For it is remarkable, that none of them have made use of this way of arguing since the publication of these "Adversaria;" and of some things they can never make use. As in that exposition of the words of St. Peter, "Be baptized, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost;" which is expounded to be meant not in baptism, but in confirmation: which is a rite the anabaptists allow not, and therefore they cannot make use of any such exposition, which supposes a Divine institution of that, which they at no hand admit. And so it is in divers other particulars; as any wary person, that is cautious he be not deluded by any weak and plausible pretence of theirs, may easily observe.

But, after all, the arguments for the baptism of children are firm and valid; and though shaken by the adverse plea, yet, as trees that stand in the face of storms take the surer root, so will the right reasons of the right believers, if they be represented with their proper advantages.

Ad 3. and 13.—The first argument is the circumcising of children, which we say does rightly infer the baptizing them: the anabaptist says no; because, admit that circumcision were the type of baptism, yet it follows not that the circumstances of one must infer the same circumstances in the other; which he proves by many instances: and so far he says true. And therefore, if there were no more in the argument than can be inferred from the type to the antitype, both the supposition and the superstructure would be infirm; because it is uncertain whether circumcision be a type of baptism; and if it were granted, it cannot infer equal circumstances. But then this argument goes farther, and to other and more material purposes, even to the overthrow of their chief pretension. For "circumcision was a seal of the righteousness of faith:" and if infants, who have no faith, yet can by a ceremony be admitted into the covenant of faith, as St. Paul contends that all the circumcised were, and it is certain of infants, that they were reckoned amongst the Lord's people as soon as they were circumcised; then it follows, that the great pretence of the anabaptists, that for want of faith infants are incapable of the sacrament, comes to nothing. For if infants were admitted into the covenant of faith by a ceremony, before they could enter by choice and reason, by faith and obedience; then so they may now, their great and only pretence notwithstanding. Now, whereas the anabaptist says, that in the admission of the Jewish infants to circumcision, and of christian infants to baptism, there is this difference, that circumcision imprints a character on the flesh, but baptism does not; circumcision had no word added, but baptism hath; and therefore, infants were capable of the former, but not of the latter; for they might be cut with the circumcising-stone, but they cannot be instructed with the word of baptism: in that there was a character left, by which they might be instructed when they come to

age, but in baptism there is no character, and the word they understand not; therefore, that was to purpose, but this is not. I answer, that this is something to the circumstance of the sacraments, but nothing to the substance of the argument. For if the covenant of faith can belong to infants, then it is certain they can have the benefit of faith before they have the grace; that is, God will do them benefit before they can do him service: and that is no new thing in religion, that God should love us first. But then, that God is not as much beforehand with christian as with Jewish infants, is a thing which can never be believed by them who understand that, in the gospel, God opened all his treasures of mercies, and unsealed the fountain itself: whereas before, he poured forth only rivulets of mercy and comfort. That "circumcision is a seal of the righteousness of faith," St. Paul affirms; that so also is baptism (if it be any thing at all) the anabaptists must needs confess, because they refuse to give baptism to them who have not faith, and make it useless to them, as being a seal without a deed. But then the argument is good upon its first grounds. But then for the title Reparties but now mentioned, that circumcision imprints a character, but baptism does not; that baptism hath a word, but circumcision had none; they are just nothing to the purpose. For as that character, imprinted on the infants' flesh, would have been nothing of instruction to them unless there had been a word added, that is, unless they had been told the meaning of it, when they came to be men; so neither will the word added to baptism be of use either to men or children, unless there be a character upon their spirits imprinted, when or before they come to the use of reason, by the Holy Spirit of God; but therefore, as the anabaptists would have our infants stay from the sacrament till they can understand the word; so also might the imprinting of a character on the flesh of the Jewish infants have been deferred, till the word should be added, that is, till they could understand the word, or declaration of the meaning of that character, without which they could not understand its meaning. The case is equal. In the Jewish infants, the character was before the word; in the christian infants, the word is before the character; but neither that nor this alone could do all the work of the sacrament; but yet it could do some, and when they could be conjoined, the office was completed. But therefore, as the infants under Moses might have that, which to them was an insignificant character; so may the infants under Christ have water, and a word, whose meaning these shall understand as soon as those could understand the meaning of the character. So that these pretended differences signify nothing; and, if they did, yet they are not certainly true, but rather certainly false; for although the Scriptures mention not any form of words used in the Mosaic sacraments, yet the Jews' books record them. And then, for the other, that there is no character imprinted in baptism it is impossible they should reasonably affirm, because it being spiritual is also undiscernible, and cometh not by observation. And although there is no permanent or inherent qualit imprinted by the Spirit in baptism that we kno of, and therefore, will not affirm (but neither ca they know it is not, and therefore, they ought n to deny, much less to establish any proposition upo it); yet it is certain that, although no quality b imprinted before they come to the use of reason, y a relation is contracted, and then the children hav title to the promises, and are reckoned "in Chris censû," "in Christ's account," they are membe of his body; and though they can as yet do n duty, yet God can do them a favour; although the cannot yet perform a condition, yet God can mak a promise; and though the anabaptists will be s bold as to restrain infants, yet they cannot restrai God, and therefore, the sacrament is not to b denied to them. For although they can do nothin yet they can receive something; they can by thi sacrament as really be admitted into the covena of faith, even before they have the grace of faith as the infants of the Jews could; and if they b admitted to this covenant, they are children o faithful Abraham, and heirs of the promise. A the other particulars of their answer to the argu ment taken from circumcision are wholly impe tinent; for they are intended to prove that circum cision, being a type of baptism, cannot prove tha the same circumstances are to be observed: a which I grant. For circumcision was no type o baptism, but was a sacrament of initiation to th Mosaic covenant; and so is baptism, of initiation t the evangelical; circumcision was a seal of th righteousness of faith, and so is baptism; but the are both but rites and sacraments, and therefore ca not have the relation of type and antitype; they a both but external ministries fitted to the severa periods of the law and the gospel, with this onl difference, that circumcision gave place to, was su plied and succeeded to by, baptism. And as thos persons, who could not be circumcised, I mean th females, yet were baptized, as is notorious in th Jews' books and story, and by that rite were a mitted to the same promises and covenant as they had been circumcised: so much more, whe males and females are only baptized, baptism mu be admitted and allowed to consign all that covena of faith which circumcision did, and therefore, t be dispensed to all them who can partake of tha covenant, as infants did then, and therefore, certainl may now. So that, in short, we do not infer tha infants are to receive this sacrament, because the received that; but because the benefit and secre purpose of both is the same in some main regards and if they were capable of the blessing then, s they are now; and if want of faith hindered n the Jewish babes from entering into the covena of faith, then neither shall it hinder the christia babes; and if they can and do receive the benefi for which the ceremony was appointed as a sign an conduit, why they should not be admitted to the cer mony is so very a trifle, that it deserves not to becom the entertainment of a fancy in the sober time of th day, but must go into the portion of dreams an illusions of the night.

Ad 4.—And as ill success will they have with the other answers. For although we intend the next argument but as a reasonable inducement of the baptizing infants by way of proportion to the other treatments they received from Christ; yet this probability, notwithstanding all that is said against it, may be a demonstration. For if infants can be brought to Christ by the charitable ministries of others, when they cannot come themselves; if Christ did give them his blessing, and great expressions of his love to them, when they could not by any act of their own dispose themselves to it; if the disciples, who then knew nothing of this secret, were reproved for hindering them to be brought, and upon the occasion of this a precept established for ever, that children should be suffered to "come to him;" and though they were brought by others, yet it was all one as if they had "come" themselves, and was so called, so expounded; and if the reason why they should be suffered to come, is such a thing as must at least suppose them capable of the greatest blessing: there is no peradventure, but this will amount to as much as the grace of baptism will come to. For if we regard the outward ministry, that Christ did take them in his arms and lay his hands upon them, is as much as if the apostles should take them in their arms, and lay water upon them: if we regard the effect of it, that Christ blessed them is as much as if his ministers prayed over them: if we regard the capacity of infants, it is such that the kingdom of heaven belongs to them; that is, they also can be admitted to the covenant of the gospel, for that is the least signification of "the kingdom of heaven;" or they shall be partakers of heaven, which is the greatest signification, and includes all the intermedial ways thither, according to the capacity of the suscipients: if we regard the acceptance of the action and entertainment of the person, it is as great as Christ any where expresses: if we regard the precept, it cannot be supposed to expire in the persons of those little ones which were then brought, for they were come already; and though they were tacitly reproved who offered to hinder them, yet the children were present; and therefore, it must relate to others, to all infants, that they should for ever be brought to Christ. And this is also to be gathered from τοιούτων, "of such," not τούτων, "of these;" for these are but a few, but "the kingdom of God is of such" as these, who are now brought; children make up a great portion of it, and the other portion is made up by such who become like to these. And if the transcript belong to the kingdom, it were strange if the exemplar should not: if none can enter but they who are like children, it must be certain that nothing can hinder the children. And, lastly, if we regard the doctrine which Christ established upon this action, it will finish the argument into a certain conclusion; "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter therein:" receive it as a little child receives it, that is, with innocence and without any let or hinderance. So that they, who receive it best, receive it but as little children: for they, being the first in the kind, are made the measure of all the rest; and if others shall be excluded for not being like these, it is certain these are not to be excluded for not being like others: others are commanded to be like them in innocence, and that is sufficient to make them recipients of the Divine grace; but therefore, to make infants to be recipients, it is not required that they should have the use of reason. And we do not well consider that it is God who creates all our capacities of grace, and it is he who makes us able to receive what he intends to bestow, and nothing of ours can do it; no good actions can deserve any grace, much less the first grace, the grace of baptism; and all that men can do in the whole use of their reason and order of their life, is to return as much as they can to the innocence of their infancy; and prayer is but a seeking after pardon and grace, whereby we may stand as innocents before God,—and charity is but growing, and is here principally the extermination of all malice and envy,—and by alms, (as Daniel advised to Nebuchadnezzar,) we do but break off our sins,—and our health is but the expulsion of evil humours,—and our pleasure is but the removal of a pain,—and "optimus est qui minimis urgetur," and our best holiness is being like to infants: and therefore it is no wonder, if God made them the principals in this line, and loves them so well who are innocent of any consent to evil. And although they have done no good, yet they are all that which God loves, they are his image, undefiled, unscratched, unbroken by any act or consent of their own: but then it were a very great wonder, if these, in whom God sees the work of his own hands, the image of his own essence, the purity of innocence, the capacities of glory, to whom his holy Son gave such signal testimonies of his love, upon whom he bestowed a blessing, for whose sake he was much displeased when they were hindered to come, whom he declared the exemplar of those who should be saved, and the pattern and president of receiving his kingdom, to whom he imparted spiritual favours by a ceremony and solemnity;—I say, it were a very great wonder that these should not receive the same favours in the way of ordinary establishment, who have the principal title, and did actually receive them in the extraordinary before the general appointment of the other. If there be any thing that can hinder them, it must be something without; for nothing within can hinder them to receive that, which others cannot receive but by being like them; and if any thing without does hinder them, it cannot expect to fare better than the disciples, with whom Christ was much displeased. But of what can they now be hindered? Not of the grace of the sacrament; that is their own by way of eminent relation and propriety, "the kingdom of heaven is theirs," and of such as they are: not of the sacrament therefore or solemnity, for that is wholly for the other, and is nothing but an instrument, and hath a relative use, and none else; and as it is to no purpose to any man till they receive the grace of it, so it can be for no reason detained from them, who shall certainly have the grace, though they be forcibly deprived of the instrument.

Unless therefore they who could come to Christ and were commanded to be brought to Christ when he was upon earth, may not, cannot come to him now that he is in heaven, and made our Advocate and our gracious Lord and King;—unless they who had the honour of a solemnity from the hands of Christ, may not be admitted to a ceremony from the hands of his servants;—unless baptismal water be more than baptismal grace, and to be admitted into the church be more than to be admitted to heaven;—it cannot with any plausible reason be pretended, that infants are to be excluded from this sacrament.

Ad 14.—Now as for the little things which the anabaptist murmurs against the first essay of this argument, they will quickly disappear. For whereas he says,—it were a better argument to say, that Christ blessed children and so dismissed them, but baptized them not, therefore infants are not to be baptized;—this is perfectly nothing, because Christ baptized none at all, men, women, nor children; and this will conclude against the baptism of men too, as well as infants: and whereas it is hence inferred, that because Christ baptized them not, therefore he hath other ways of bringing to heaven than by baptism; it is very true, but makes very much against them. For if God hath other ways of bringing them to heaven, who yet cannot believe,—if they can go to heaven without faith, why not to the font? if they can obtain that glorious end, in order to which the sacrament is appointed, without the act of believing, then so also they may the means. But for what end, to what purpose, do they detain the water when they cannot keep back the Spirit? and why will they keep them from the church, when they cannot keep them from God? and why do men require harder conditions of being baptized than of being saved? And then, that God will by other means bring them to heaven if they have not baptism, is argument sufficient to prove, that God's goodness prevails over the malice and ignorance of men, and that men contend more for shadows than for substances, and are more nice in their own ministrations than God is in the whole effusions of his bounty; and therefore that these disagreeing persons may do themselves injury, but, in the event of things, none to the children.

So that this argument, though slightly passed over by the anabaptist, yet is of very great persuasion in this article, and so used and relied upon by the church of England in her office of baptism: and for that reason I have the more insisted upon it.

Ad 5.—The next argument, without any alteration or addition, stands firm upon its own basis. Adam sinned, and left nakedness to descend upon his posterity, a relative guilt and a remaining misery; he left enough to kill us, but nothing to make us alive: he was the head of mankind in order to temporal felicity; but there was another head intended to be the representative of human nature to bring us to eternal; but the temporal we lost by Adam; and the eternal we could never receive from him, but from Christ only: from Adam we receive our nature, such as it is; but grace and truth come by Jesus Christ: Adam left us an imperfect nature, that tends to sin and death, but h left us nothing else; and therefore, to holiness an life we must enter from another principle. So tha besides the natural birth of infants, there must b something added, by which they must be reckoned i a new account; they must be born again, they must b reckoned in Christ, they must be adopted to the inheri ance, and admitted to the promise, and entitled to th Spirit. Now that this is done ordinarily in baptism is not to be denied: for therefore it is called λοι τρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, "the font or laver of regener ation;" it is the gate of the church, it is the so lemnity of our admission to the covenant evangeli cal: and if infants cannot go to heaven by the firs or natural birth, then they must go by a second an supernatural: and since there is no other solemnit or sacrament, no way of being born again, that w know of, but by the ways of God's appointing, an he hath appointed baptism, and all that are bor again are born this way, even men of reason wh have or can receive the Spirit, being to enter at th door of baptism;—it follows that infants also mus enter here, or we cannot say that they are entere at all. And it is highly considerable, that whereas the anabaptist does clamorously and loudly call fo a precept for children's baptism, this consideratio does his work for him and us. He that shows th way, needs not bid you walk in it: and if there b but one door that stands open, and all must ente some way or other, it were a strange perverseness o argument to say, that none shall pass in at that doo unless they come alone; and they that are brought or they that lean on crutches or the shoulders o others, shall be excluded and undone for their infe licity, and shall not receive help because they have the greatest need of it. But these men use infants worse than the poor paralytic was treated at the pool of Bethesda: he could not be washed because he had none to put him in; but these men will no suffer any one to put them in, and until they can go in themselves, they shall never have the benefit o the Spirit's moving upon the waters.

Ad 15.—But the anabaptist to this discourse gives only this reply, that the supposition or ground is true, a man by Adam or any way of nature can not go to heaven; neither men nor infants, without the addition of some instrument or means of God's appointing: but this is to be understood to be true only ordinarily and regularly; but the case of infants is extraordinary, for they are not within the rule and the way of ordinary dispensation; and therefore, there being no command for them to be baptized, there will be some other way to supply it extraordinarily. To this I reply, that this is a plain begging of the question, or a denying the conclusion: for the argument being this, that baptism being the ordinary way or instrument of new birth, and admission to the promises evangelical and supernatural happiness, and we knowing of no other, and it being as necessary for infants as for men to enter some way or other, it must needs follow that they must go this way, because there is a way for all, and we know of no other but this: therefore the presumption lies on this, that infants must enter this

way. They answer, that it is true in all but infants: the contradictory of which was the conclusion, and intended by the argument. For whereas they say God hath not appointed a rule and an order in this case of infants, it is the thing in question, and therefore is not by direct negation to be opposed against the contrary argument. For I argue thus, wherever there is no extraordinary way appointed, there we must all go the ordinary; but for infants there is no extraordinary way appointed or declared, therefore they must go the ordinary: and he that hath without difference commanded that all nations should be baptized, hath without difference commanded all sorts of persons; and they may as well say, that they are sure God hath not commanded women to be baptized, or hermaphrodites, or eunuchs, or fools, or mutes, because they are not named in the precept; for sometimes in the census of a nation women are no more reckoned than children; and when the children of Israel coming out of Egypt were numbered, there was no reckoning either of women or children, and yet that was the number of the nation which is there described.[y]

But then as to the thing itself, whether God hath commanded infants to be baptized, it is indeed a worthy inquiry, and the sum of all this contestation: but then it is also to be concluded by every argument that proves the thing to be holy, or charitable, or necessary, or the means of salvation, or to be instituted and made, in order to an indispensable end. For all commandments are not expressed in imperial forms, as "we will," or "will not;" "thou shalt," or "shalt not:" but some are by declaration of necessity, some by a direct institution, some by involution and apparent consequence, some by proportion and analogy, by identities and parities, and Christ never expressly commanded that we should receive the holy communion, but that, when the supper was celebrated, it should be "in his memorial." And if we should use the same method of arguing in all other instances, as the anabaptist does in this, and omit every thing for which there is not an express commandment, with an open nomination, and describing of the capacities of the persons concerned in the duty, we should have neither sacrament, nor ordinance, fasting, nor vows, communicating of women, nor baptizing of the clergy. And when St. Ambrose was chosen bishop before he was baptized, it could never, upon their account, have been told that he was obliged to baptism: because though Christ commanded the apostles to baptize others, yet he no way told them that their successors should be baptized any more than the apostles themselves were; of whom we read nothing in Scripture, that either they were actually baptized, or had a commandment so to be. To which may be added, that as the taking of priestly orders disobliges the suscipient from receiving chrism or confirmation, in case he had it not before; so, for aught appears in Scripture to the contrary, it may excuse from baptism. But if it does not, then the same way of arguing which obliges women or the clergy to be baptized, will be sufficient warrant to us to require, in the case of infants, no more signal precept than in the other, and to be content with the measures of wise men, who give themselves to understand the meaning of doctrines and laws, and not to exact the tittles and unavoidable commands, by which fools and unwilling persons are to be governed, lest they die certainly if they be not called upon with univocal, express, open, and direct commandments. But besides all this, and the effect of all the other arguments, there is as much command for infants to be baptized, as for men; there being in the words of Christ no nomination or specification of persons, but only in such words as can as well involve children as old men; as "nisi quis," and "omnes gentes," and the like.

Ad 16.—But they have a device to save all harmless yet: for though it should be granted that infants are pressed with all the evils of original sin, yet there will be no necessity of baptism to infants, because it may very well be supposed, that as infants contracted the relative guilt of Adam's sin, that is, the evils descending by an evil inheritance from him to us, without any solemnity; so may infants be acquitted by Christ without solemnity, or the act of any other man. This is the sum of the sixteenth number. To which the answer is easy. First, that at the most it is but a dream of proportions, and can infer only that if it were so, there were some correspondency between the effects descending upon us from the two great representatives of the world; but it can never infer that it ought to be so. For these things are not wrought by the ways of nature, in which the proportions are regular and constant; but they are wholly arbitrary and mysterious, depending upon extrinsic causes which are conducted by other measures, which we only know by events, and can never understand the reasons. For because the sin of Adam had effect upon us without a sacrament, must it, therefore, be wholly unnecessary, that the death of Christ be applied to us by sacramental ministrations? If so, the argument will as well conclude against the baptism of men as of infants: for since they die in Adam, and had no solemnity to convey that death, therefore we by Christ shall all be made alive; and to convey this life there needs no sacrament. This way of arguing, therefore, is a very trifle; but yet this is not: as infants were not infected with the stain and injured by the evils of Adam's sin, but by the means of natural generation; so neither shall they partake of the benefits of Christ's death but by spiritual regeneration; that is, by being baptized into his death. For it is easier to destroy than to make alive; a single crime of one man was enough to ruin him and his posterity; but to restore us, it became necessary that the Son of God should be incarnate, and die, and be buried, and rise again, and intercede for us, and become our lawgiver, and we be his subjects, and keep his commandments. There was no such order of things in our condemnation to death: must it therefore follow, that there is no such in the justification of us unto life? To the first there needs no sacrament, for evil comes fast enough; but to the latter there must go much as God pleases; and the way which he hath

[y] Exod. xiii.

appointed us externally, is baptism: to which if he hath tied us, it is no matter to us whether he hath tied himself to it or no; for although he can go which way he please, yet he himself loves to go in the ways of his ordinary appointing, as it appears in the extreme paucity of miracles which are in the world, and he will not endure that we should leave them. So that, although there are many thousand ways by which God can bring any reasonable soul to himself; yet he will bring no soul to himself by ways extraordinary, when he hath appointed ordinary; and therefore, although it be unreasonable, of our own heads, to carry infants to God by baptism, without any direction from him; yet it is not unreasonable to understand infants to be comprehended in the duty, and to be intended in the general precept, when the words do not exclude them, nor any thing in the nature of the sacrament; and when they have a great necessity, for the relief of which this way is commanded, and no other way signified, all the world will say, there is reason we should bring them also the same way to Christ. And therefore, though we no ways doubt but if we do not our duty to them, God will yet perform his merciful intention, yet that is nothing to us; though God can save by miracle, yet we must not neglect our charitable ministries. Let him do what he please to or for infants, we must not neglect them.

Ad 6.—The argument which is here described, is a very reasonable inducement to the belief of the certain effect to be consequent to the baptism of infants: because infants can do nothing towards heaven, and yet they are designed thither, therefore God will supply it. But he supplies it not by any internal assistances, and yet will supply it; therefore by an external. But there is no other external but baptism, which is of his own institution, and designed to effect those blessings which infants need: therefore we have reason to believe, that by this way God would have them brought.

Ad 17.—To this it is answered, after the old rate, that God will do it by his own immediate act. Well, I grant it; that is, he will give them salvation of his own goodness, without any condition on the infants' part personally performed; without faith and obedience, if the infant dies before the use of reason: but then, whereas it is added, that "to say God will do it by an external act and ministry, and that by this rite of baptism, and no other, is no good argument, unless God could not do it without such means, or said he would not;"—the reply is easy, that we say God will effect this grace upon infants by this external ministry, not because God cannot use another, nor yet because he hath said he will not, but because he hath given us this, and hath given us no other. For he that hath a mind to make an experiment, may, upon the same argument, proceed thus. God hath given bread to strengthen man's heart, and hath said, that in the sweat of our brows we shall eat bread: and it is commanded, that if they do not work, they shall not eat: there being certain laws and conditions of eating, I will give to my labourers and hirelings, but therefore my child shall have none; for be you sure if I give to my child no man's meat, yet God will take as great care of infants as of others, and God will, by his own immediate mercy, keep them alive as long as he hath intended them to live; but to say, that, therefore, he will do it by external food, is no good argument, unless God could not do it without such means, or that he had said he would not. To this, I suppose, any reasonable person would say I have given sufficient answer, if I tell him that the argument is good, that the infants must eat man's food, although God can keep them alive without it, and although he hath not said that he will not keep them alive without it; I say, the argument is good, because he hath given them this way: and though he could give them another, and did never say he would not give them another; yet because he never did give them another, it is but reasonable that they should have this. To the last clause of this number, viz. why cannot God as well do his mercies to infants now immediately as he did before the institution either of circumcision or baptism? I answer, that I know no man that says he cannot: but yet this was not sufficient to hinder babes from circumcision, and why then shall it hinder them from baptism? For though God could save infants always without circumcision as well as he did sometime, yet he required this of them: and therefore it may be so in baptism, this pretence notwithstanding.

Ad 7.—This number speaks to the main inquiry, and shows the commandment; "Unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." This precept was in all ages expounded to signify the ordinary necessity of baptism to all persons; and "*nisi quis*" can mean infants as well as men of age: and because it commands a new birth and a regeneration, and implies that a natural birth cannot entitle us to heaven, but the second birth must; infants, who have as much need and as much right to heaven as men of years, and yet cannot have it by natural or first-birth, must have it by the second or spiritual: and therefore all are upon the same main account; and when they are accidentally differenced by age, they are also differenced by correspondent, accidental, and proportionable duties; but all must be born again. This birth is expressed here by water and the Spirit, that is, by the Spirit in baptismal water; for that is in Scripture called "the laver of" a new birth or "regeneration."

Ad 18.—But here the anabaptist gives us his warrant: Though Christ said, "none but those who are born again by water and the Spirit" shall enter into heaven; he answers, fear it not, I will warrant you. To this purpose it was once said before, "Yea, but hath God said, In the day ye shall eat thereof ye shall die?" I say ye shall not die, but "ye shall be like gods."—But let us hear the answer. First, it is said—that baptism and the Spirit signify the same thing; for by water is meant the effect of the Spirit.—I reply, that therefore they do not signify the same thing, because—by water is meant the effect of the Spirit; unless the effect and the cause be the same thing: so that here is a contra-

diction in the parts of the allegation. But if they signify two things, as certainly they do, then they may as well signify the sign and the thing signified, as the cause and the effect; or they may mean the sacrament and the grace of the sacrament, as it is most agreeable to the whole analogy of the gospel. For we are sure that Christ ordained baptism, and it is also certain that in baptism he did give the Spirit; and therefore to confound these two is to no purpose, when severally they have their certain meaning, and the laws of Christ and the sense of the whole church, the institution and the practice of baptism, make them two terms of a relation, a sign and a thing signified, the sacrament and the grace of the sacrament. For I offer it to the consideration of any man that believes Christ to have ordained the sacrament of baptism, which is most agreeable to the institution of Christ, that by "water and the Spirit" should be meant the outward element and inward grace; or that "by water and Spirit" should be meant only the Spirit cleansing us like water? But suppose it did mean so, what would be effected or persuaded by it more than by the other? If it be said, that then infants by this place were not obliged to baptism; I reply, that yet they were obliged to new birth nevertheless; they must be born again of the Spirit, if not of water and the Spirit: and if they are bound to be regenerate by the Spirit, why they shall not be baptized with water, which is the symbol and sacrament, the "vehiculum" and channel of its ordinary conveyance, I profess I cannot understand how to make a reasonable conjecture. But it may be they mean, that if by water and the Spirit be only meant "Spiritus purificans," the cleansing, "purifying Spirit," then this place cannot concern infants at all: but this loop-hole I have already obstructed by placing a bar that can never be removed. For it is certain and evident, that regeneration or new birth is here enjoined to all as of absolute and indispensable necessity; and if infants be not obliged to it, then by their natural birth they go to heaven, or not at all: but if infants must be born again, then either let these adversaries show any other way of new birth but this of water and the Spirit; or let them acknowledge this to belong to infants, and then the former discourse returns upon them in its full strength. So that now I shall not need to consider their parallel instance of "being baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire." For although there are differences enough to be observed, the one being only a prophecy, and the other a precept; the one concerning some only, and the other concerning all; the one being verified with degrees and variety, the other equally and to all: yet this place, which, in the main expression, I confess to have similitude, was verified in the letter and first signification of it, and so did relate to the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost in the likeness of tongues of fire; but this concerns not all, for all were not so baptized. And whereas it is said in the objection, that the Baptist told not Christ's disciples, but the Jews; and that therefore it was intended to relate to all: it was well observed, but to no purpose; for Christ at that time had no disciples. But he told it to the Jews: and yet it does not follow that they should all be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire; but it is meant only that that glorious effect should be to them a sign of Christ's eminency above him; they should see from him a baptism greater than that of John. And that it must be meant of that miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit in Pentecost, and not of any secret gift or private immission, appears, because the Baptist offered it as a sign and testimony of the prelation and greatness of Christ above him; which could not be proved to them by any secret operation which cometh not by observation, but by a great and miraculous mission, such as was that in Pentecost. So that hence to argue, that we may as well conclude that infants must also pass through the fire as through the water, is a false conclusion inferred from no premises; because this being only a prophecy, and inferring no duty, could neither concern men or children to any of the purposes of their argument. For Christ never said, "Unless ye be baptized with fire and the Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven?" but of "water and the Spirit" he did say it: therefore though they must pass through the water, yet no smell of fire must pass upon them.

But there are yet two things, by which they offer to escape. The one is, that, in these words, baptism by water is not meant at all, but baptism by the Spirit only; because St. Peter having said that "baptism saves us," he adds, by way of explication, "not the washing of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God," plainly saying, that it is "not water, but the Spirit."—To this I reply, that when water is taken exclusively to the Spirit, —it is very true that it is not water that cleanses the soul, and the cleansing of the body cannot save us; but whoever urges the necessity of baptism, urges it but as a necessary sacrament, or instrument to convey or consign the Spirit: and this they might with a little observation have learned; there being nothing more usual in discourse, than to deny the effect to the instrument when it is compared with the principal, and yet not intend to deny to it an instrumental efficiency. It is not the pen that writes well, but the hand; and St. Paul said, "It is not I, but the grace of God:" and yet it was "gratia Dei mecum," that is, the principal and the less principal together. So St. Peter: It is not water but the Spirit: or, which may come to one and the same, "not the washing the filth of the flesh, but purifying the conscience," that saves us; and yet neither one nor the other is absolutely excluded, but the effect which is denied to the instrument, is attributed to the principal cause. But however, this does no more concern infants than men of age; for they are not "saved by the washing of the body, but by the answer of a good conscience," by the Spirit of holiness and sanctification: that is, water alone does not do it, unless the Spirit move upon the water. But that water also is in the ministry, and is not to be excluded from its portion of the work, appears by the words of the apostle; "The like figure whereunto, even baptism, saves

us," &c., that is, baptism even as it is a figure, saves us, in some sense or other; by way of ministry and instrumental efficiency, by conjunction and consolidation with the other; but the ceremony, the figure, the rite, and external ministry, must be in, or else his words will in no sense be true, and could be made true by no interpretation: because the Spirit may be the thing figured, but can never be a figure. The other little κρησφύγετον is, that these words were spoken before baptism was ordained, and therefore could not concern baptism, much less prove the necessity of baptizing infants. I answer, that so are the sayings of the prophets long before the coming of Christ, and yet concerned his coming most certainly. Secondly: they were not spoken before the institution of baptism; for the disciples of Christ did baptize more than the Baptist ever in his lifetime: they were indeed spoken before the commission was of baptizing all nations, or taking the gentiles into the church; but not before Christ made disciples, and his apostles baptized them, among the Jews. And it was so known a thing, that great prophets and the fathers of an institution did baptize disciples, that our blessed Saviour upbraided Nicodemus for his ignorance of that particular, and his not understanding words spoken in the proportion and imitation of a custom so known among them.

But then, that this argument which presses so much, may be attempted in all the parts of it, like soldiers fighting against cuirassiers that try all the joints of their armour, so do these to this. For they object (in the same number) that the exclusive negative of "nisi quis" does not include infants, but only persons capable: for (say they) this no more infers a necessity of infants' baptism, than the parallel words of Christ, "nisi comederitis," "unless ye eat" the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,[z] infer a necessity to give them the holy communion, &c. With this argument men use to make a great noise in many questions; but in this it will signify but little. First: Indeed to one of the Roman communion it will cause some disorder in this question, both because they think it unlawful to give the holy communion to infants, and yet that these words are meant of the holy communion: and if we thought so too, I do not doubt but we should communicate them with the same opinion of necessity as did the primitive church. But to the thing itself; I grant that the expression is equal, and infers an equal necessity in their respective cases; and therefore it is as necessary to eat the flesh of the Son of man and to drink his blood, as to be baptized: but then it is to be added, that eating and drinking are metaphors and allusions, used only upon occasion of manna, which was then spoken of, and which occasioned the whole discourse; but the thing itself is nothing but that Christ should be received for the life of our souls, as bread and drink are for the life of our bodies. Now because there are many ways of receiving Christ, there are so many ways of obeying this precept; but that some way or other it be obeyed, is as necessary as that we be baptized. Here only it is declared to be necessary, that Christ be received, that we derive our life and our spiritual and eternal being from him; now this can concern infants, and does infer an ordinary necessity of their baptism; for in baptism they are united to Christ, and Christ to them: in baptism they receive the beginnings of a new life from Christ; it is a receiving Christ which is the duty here enjoined; this is one way of doing it, and all the ways that they are capable of. And that this precept can be performed this way, St. Austin affirms expressly in his third book "de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione."[a] In this thing there is nothing hard but the metaphors of eating and drinking. Now that this is to be spiritually understood, our blessed Lord himself affirms in answer to the prejudice of the offended Capernaites; that it is to be understood of faith, and that faith is the spiritual manducation, is the sense of the ancient church: and therefore, in what sense soever any one is obliged to believe, in the same sense he is obliged to the duty of spiritual manducation, and no otherwise. But because infants cannot be obliged to the act or habit of faith, and yet can receive the sacrament of faith, they receive Christ as they can,—and as they can, are entitled to life.[b] But however, by this means the difficulty of the expression is taken off: for if by eating and drinking Christ is meant, receiving Christ by faith, then this phrase can be no objection but that St. Austin's affirmative may be true, and that this commandment is performed by infants in baptism, which is the sacrament of faith. To eat and drink do with as great impropriety signify faith as baptism; but this is it which I said at first, that the metaphorical expression was no part of the precept, but the "vehiculum" of the commandment, occasioned by the preceding discourse of our blessed Saviour; and nothing is necessary but that Christ should be received by all that would have life eternal: of which because infants are capable, and without receiving Christ they (by virtue of these words) are not capable, and but in baptism they cannot receive Christ; it follows, that these words are no argument to infer an equal necessity of communicating infants, but they are a good argument to prove a necessity of baptizing them. Secondly: but, further yet, I demand, can infants receive Christ in the eucharist? Can they, in that sacrament, eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood? If they cannot, then neither these words nor any other can infer an equal necessity of being communicated, for they can infer none at all: and whether those other words of "nisi quis renatus fuerit," &c., do infer a necessity of baptism, will be sufficiently cleared upon their own account. But if infants can receive Christ in the eucharist, to which they can no more dispose themselves by repentance than they can to baptism by faith, then it were in-

[z] John vi. 53.

[a] Et in Serm. ad Infantes, apud V. Bedam in 1 Cor. x. John vi. 63.

[b] See the disc. of the Real Presence, section 3.

deed very well if they were communicated, but yet not necessary,—because, if they can receive Christ in the eucharist, they can receive Christ in baptism; and if they can receive him any way, this precept is performed by that way: and then whether they must also be communicated, must be inquired by other arguments; for whatsoever is in these words intended, is performed by any way of receiving Christ, and therefore cannot infer more in all circumstances and to all persons. Thirdly: suppose these words were to be expounded of sacramental manducation of the flesh of Christ in the Lord's supper, yet it does not follow that infants are as much bound to receive the communion as to receive the baptism. It is too crude a fancy to think that all universal propositions, whether affirmative or negative, equally expressed, do signify an equal universality. It is said in the law of Moses, "Whosoever is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people:" this indeed signifies universally, and included infants, binding them to that sacrament. But when it was said, "Whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be put to death, whether small or great;"[c] although these words be expressed with as great a latitude as the other, yet it is certain it did not include infants, who could not seek the Lord. The same is the case of the two sacraments: the obligation to which we do not understand only by the preceptive words or form of the commandments, but by other appendages, and the words of duty that are relative to the suscipients of the several sacraments, and the analogy of the whole institution. Baptism is the sacrament of beginners, the eucharist of proficients; that is the birth, this is the nourishment of a christian. There are many more things of difference to be observed. But as the church in several ages hath practised severally in this article, so in the particular there is no such certainty but that the church may without sin do it or not do it, as she sees cause: but that there is not the same necessity in both to all persons, and that no necessity of communicating infants can be inferred from the parallel words, appears in the former answers; and therefore I stand to them.

Ad 9.—The sum of the ninth argument is this. The promise of the Holy Ghost is made to all, to us and to our children: and if the Holy Ghost belong to them, then baptism belongs to them also; because baptism is the means of conveying the Holy Ghost, as appears in the words of St. Peter, "Be baptized, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost:"[d] as also because from this very argument St. Peter resolved to baptize Cornelius and his family, because they had received the gift of the Holy Ghost: for they that are capable of the same grace, are receptive of the same sign. Now that infants also can receive the effect of the Holy Spirit is evident, because,—besides that the promise of the Holy Ghost is made to all, to us and our posterity,—St. Paul affirms, that the "children of believing parents are holy:" but all holiness is an emanation from the Holy Spirit of God.

Ad 10.—To the words of St. Peter they answer, that the promise does appertain to our children, that is, to our posterity; but not till they are capable: they have the same right which we have, but enter not into possession of their right till they have the same capacity: for by "children" are not meant infants, but as the "children of Israel" signifies the descendants only, so it is here. And indeed this is true enough, but not pertinent enough to answer the intention and efficiency of these words. For I do not suppose that the word "children" means infants, but "you and your children" must mean all generations of christendom, all the descendants of christian parents: and if they belong to their posterity because they are theirs, then the promises belong to all that are so; and then children cannot be excluded. But I demand, have not the children of believing parents a title to the promises of the gospel? If they have none, then the kingdom of heaven belongs not to such; and if they die, we can do nothing but despair of their salvation; which is a proposition whose barbarity and unreasonable cruelty confutes itself. But if they have a title to the promises, then the thing is done, and this title of theirs can be signified by these words; and then either this is a good argument, or the thing is confessed without it. For he that hath a title to the promises of the gospel, hath a title to this promise here mentioned, the promise of the Holy Spirit; for "by him we are sealed to the day of redemption."

And indeed, that this mystery may be rightly understood, we are to observe, that the Spirit of God is the great ministry of the gospel, and whatsoever blessing evangelical we can receive, it is the emanation of the Spirit of God. Grace and pardon, wisdom and hope, offices, and titles, and relations, powers, privileges, and dignities, all are the good things of the Spirit; whatsoever we can profit withal, or whatsoever we can be profited by, is a gift of God the Father of spirits, and is transmitted to us by the Holy Spirit of God. For it is but a trifle and a dream to think that no person receives the Spirit of God but he that can do actions and operations spiritual. St. Paul[e] distinguishes the effects of the Spirit into three classes: there are χαρίσματα, and διακονίαι, and ἐνεργήματα· besides these "operations," there are "gifts" and "ministries;" and they that receive not the ἐνεργήματα, the "operations," or "powers" to do actions spiritual, may yet receive "gifts," or at least the blessings of "ministry;" they can be ministered to by others, who from the Spirit have received the power of ministration. And I instance in these things in which it is certain we can receive the Holy Spirit without any predisposition of our own. First, We can receive gifts: even the wicked have them, and they who shall be rejected at the day of judgment, shall yet argue for themselves, that they have wrought miracles in the name of the Lord Jesus; and yet the gift of miracles is a gift of the Holy Spirit:[f] and if the wicked can receive them, who are of dispositions contrary to all the emanations of the Holy Spirit, then much more may children, who, although they cannot prepare themselves any more than the wicked do, yet neither

[c] 2 Chron. xv. 13. [d] Acts ii. 38, 39. [e] 1 Cor. xii. 4—6. [f] 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10.

can they do against them to hinder or obstruct them. But of this we have an instance in a young child, Daniel, whose spirit God raised up to acquit the innocent, and to save her soul from unrighteous judges: and when the boys in the street sang Hosanna to the Son of David, our blessed Lord said, "that if they held their peace, the stones of the street would have cried out Hosanna." And therefore that God should "from the mouths of babes and sucklings ordain his own praise," is one of the "magnalia Dei," but no strange thing to be believed by us, who are so apparently taught it in Holy Scripture.—Secondly: benediction or blessing is an emanation of God's Holy Spirit, and in the form of blessing which is recorded in the epistles of St. Paul, one great part of it is "the communication of the Holy Spirit;" and it is very probable, that those three are but synonyma. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" is to give us his Holy Spirit, and "the love of God" is to give us his Holy Spirit;[g] for the Spirit is the love of the Father, and our blessed Saviour argues it as the testimony of God's love to us: "If ye, who are evil, know how to give good things to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give his Spirit to them that ask him!" Now since the great sum and compendium of evangelical blessings is the Holy Spirit, and this which is expressed by three synonymas in the second epistle to the Corinthians, is in the first reduced to one, it is all but "the grace of the Lord Jesus;" it will follow that, since our blessed Saviour gave his solemn blessing to children, his blessing relating to the kingdom of heaven, "for of such is the kingdom,"—he will not deny his Spirit to them: when he blessed them, he gave them something of his Spirit, some emanation of that which blesses us all, and without which no man can be truly blessed. —Thirdly: titles to inheritance can be given to infants without any predisposing act of their own. Since therefore infants dying so can, as we all hope, receive the inheritance of saints, some mansion in heaven, in that kingdom which belongs to them and such as they are, and that the gift of the Holy Spirit is the consignation to that inheritance; nothing can hinder them from receiving the Spirit, that is, nothing can hinder them to receive a title to the inheritance of the saints, which is the free gift of God, and the effect and blessing from the Spirit of God.

Now how this should prove to infants to be a title to baptism, is easy enough to be understood: "For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body;"[h] that is, the Spirit of God moves upon the waters of baptism, and in that sacrament adopts us into the mystical body of Christ, and gives us title to a coinheritance with him.

Ad 21.—So that this perfectly confutes what is said in the beginning of number 21, that baptism is not the means of conveying the Holy Ghost. For it is the Spirit that baptizes, it is the Spirit that adopts us to an inheritance of the promises; it is the Spirit that incorporates us into the mystical body of Christ; and upon their own grounds it ought to be confessed: for since they affirm the water to be nothing without the Spirit, it is certain that the water ought not to be without the Spirit; and therefore that this is the soul and life of the sacrament, and therefore usually in conjunction with that ministry, unless we hinder it: and it cannot be denied but that the Holy Ghost was given ordinarily to new converts at their baptism. And whereas it is said in a parenthesis, that this was, not as the effect is to the cause or to the proper instrument, but as a consequent is to an antecedent in a chain of causes accidentally, and by positive institution depending upon each other:—it is a groundless assertion: for when the men were called upon to be baptized, and were told they should receive the Holy Ghost; and we find that when they were baptized, they did receive the Holy Ghost; what can be more reasonable than to conclude baptism to be the ministry of the Spirit? And to say that this was not consequent properly and usually, but accidentally only, it followed sometimes, but was not so much as instrumentally effected by it, is as if one should boldly deny all effect to physic: for though men are called upon to take physic, and told they should recover, and when they do take physic they do recover; yet men may unreasonably say, this recovery does follow the taking of physic,—not as an effect to the cause or to the proper instrument, but as a consequent is to an antecedent in a chain of causes accidentally, and by positive institution depending upon each other.—Who can help it if men will say, that it happened that they recovered after the taking physic, but then was the time in which they should have been well however? The best confutation of them is to deny physic to them when they need, and try what nature will do for them without the help of art. The case is all one in this question, this only excepted, that in this case it is more unreasonable than in the matter of physic, because the Spirit is expressly signified to be the baptizer in the forecited place of St. Paul.[i]

From hence we argue, that since the Spirit is ministered in baptism, and that infants are capable of the Spirit, the Spirit of adoption, the Spirit of incorporation into the body of Christ, the Spirit sealing them to the day of redemption, the Spirit entitling them to the promises of the gospel, the Spirit consigning to them God's part of the covenant of grace; they are also capable of baptism: for whoever is capable of the grace of the sacrament, is capable of the sign or sacrament itself.

To this last clause the anabaptist answers two things. First, that the Spirit of God was conveyed sometimes without baptism. I grant it: but what then? therefore baptism is not the sign or ministry of the Holy Ghost? It follows not. For the Spirit is the great wealth and treasure of christians, and is conveyed in every ministry of Divine appointment; in baptism, in confirmation, in absolution, in orders, in prayer, in benediction, in assembling together. Secondly: the other thing they answer is this, that it is not true that they who are capable of

[g] 1 Cor. xvi. 23. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

[h] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[i] Ibid.

the same grace, are capable of the same sign; for females were capable of the righteousness of faith, but not of the seal of circumcision. I reply, that the proposition is true not in natural capacities, but in spiritual and religious regards: that is, they who in religion are declared capable of the grace, are, by the same religion, capable of the sacrament or sign of that grace. But naturally they may be incapable by accident, as in the objection is mentioned. But then this is so far from invalidating the argument, that it confirms it in the present instance. "Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis." For even the Jewish females, although they could not be circumcised, yet they were baptized even in those days, as I have proved already;[k] and although their natural indisposition denied them to be circumcised, yet neither nature nor religion forbade them to be baptized; and therefore, since the sacrament is such a ministry of which all are naturally capable, and none are forbidden by the religion, the argument is firm and unshaken, and concludes with as much evidence and certainty as the thing requires.

Ad 10.—The last argument from reason is, that it is reasonable to suppose, that God in the period of grace, in the days of the gospel, would not give us a more contracted comfort, and deal with us by a narrower hand than with the Jewish babes, whom he sealed with a sacrament as well as enriched with a grace, and therefore openly consigned them to comfort and favour.

Ad 22.—To this they answer, that we are to trust the word, without a sign; and since we contend that the promise belongs to us and to our children, why do we not believe this, but require a sign? I reply, that if this concludes any thing, it concludes against the baptism of men and women; for they hear and read and can believe the promise, and it can have all its effects and produce all its intentions upon men; but yet they also require the sign, they must be baptized. And the reason why they require it is, because Christ hath ordained it. And therefore, although we can trust the promise without a sign, and that if we did not, this manner of sign would not make us believe it, for it is not a miracle, that is, a sign proving, but it is a sacrament, that is, a sign signifying; and although we do trust the promise even in the behalf of infants when they cannot be baptized; yet by the same reason as we trust the promise, so we also use the rite, both in obedience to Christ; and we use the rite or the sacrament because we believe the promise; and if we did not believe that the promise did belong to our children, we would not baptize them. Therefore this is such an impertinent quarrel of the anabaptists, that it hath no strength at all but what it borrows from a cloud of words, and the advantages of its representment. As God did openly consign his grace to the Jewish babes by a sacrament, so he does to ours: and we have reason to give God thanks, not only for the comfort of it, (for that is the least part of it,) but for the ministry and conveyance of the real blessings in this holy mystery.

Ad 23, 24, 35.—That which remains of objections and answers is wholly upon the matter of examples and precedents from the apostles and first descending ages of the church: but to this I have already largely spoken in a discourse of this question;[l] and if the anabaptists would be concluded by the practice of the universal church in this question, it would quickly be at an end. For although sometimes the baptism of children was deferred till the age of reason and choice; yet it was only when there was no danger of the death of the children: and although there might be some advantages gotten by such delation; yet it could not be endured that they should be sent out of the world without it. *Κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἀναισθήτως ἁγιασθῆναι, ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφράγιστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα*, said St. Gregory Nazianzen: "It is better they should be sanctified even when they understand it not, than that they should go away from hence without the seal of perfection and sanctification."—Secondly: but that baptism was amongst the ancients sometimes deferred, was not always upon a good reason, but sometimes upon the same account as men now-a-days defer repentance, or put off confession and absolution and the communion till the last day of their life; that their baptism might take away all the sins of their life.—Thirdly: it is no strange thing that there are examples of late baptism, because heathenism and christianity were so mingled in towns and cities and private houses, that it was but reasonable sometimes to stay till men did choose their religion, from which it was so likely they might afterwards be tempted.—Fourthly: the baptism of infants was always most notorious and used in the churches of Africa, as is confessed by all that know the ecclesiastical story.—Fifthly: among the Jews it was one and all; if the "major-domo" believed, he believed for himself and all his family, and they all followed him to baptism, even before they were instructed; and therefore it is that we find mention of the baptism of whole families, in which children are as well to be reckoned as the uninstructed servants: and if actual faith be not required before baptism, even of those who are naturally capable of it, as it is notorious in the case of the jailer who believed, and at that very hour he and all his family were baptized, then want of faith cannot prejudice infants, and then nothing can.—Sixthly: there was never in the church a command against the baptizing infants: and whereas it is urged that, in the council of Neocæsarea the baptism of a pregnant woman did no way relate to the child, and that the reason there given excludes all infants upon the same account, because every one is to show his faith by his own choice and election; I answer, that this might very well be in those times where christianity had not prevailed, but was forced to dispute for every single proselyte, and the mother was a christian and the father a heathen; there was reason that the child should be let alone till he could

[k] See the Great Exemplar, part. 1. disc. of Baptism, numb. 8—10.

[l] Disc. of Baptism of Infants, versùs finem, in the Great Exemplar, part 1. vol. i. p. 134, &c.

choose for himself, when peradventure it was not fit his father should choose for him; and that is the meaning of the words of Balsamo and Zonaras upon that canon. But, secondly, the words of the Neocæsarean canon are not rightly considered. For the reason is not relative to the child, but only to the woman, concerning whom the council thus decreed. The woman with child may be baptized when she will: Οὐδὲν γὰρ κοινωνεῖ ἡ τίκτουσα τῷ τικτομένῳ διὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἰδίαν τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δείκνυσθαι. For her baptism reaches not to the child, because every one confesses his faith by his own act and choice; that is, the woman confesses only for herself, she intends it only for herself, she chooses only for herself; and therefore is only baptized for herself. But this intimates, that if she could confess for her child, the baptism would relate to her child; but therefore, when the parents do confess for the child, or the godfathers, and that the child is baptized into that confession, it is valid. However, nothing in this canon is against it.

I have now considered all that the anabaptists can with probability object against our arguments, and have discovered the weakness of their exceptions, by which although they are and others may be abused, yet it is their weakness that is the cause of it: for which, although the men are to be pitied, yet it may appear now that their cause is not at all the better.

Ad 28.—It remains that I consider their own arguments by which they support themselves in their mispersuasion. First, it is against the analogy of the gospel; for besides that Christ never baptized any infants, nor his apostles, there is required to baptism, faith and repentance; of which because infants are not capable, neither are they capable of the sacrament. To these things I answer, that it is true Christ never baptized infants, for he baptized no person at all; but he blessed infants, and what that amounts to I have already discoursed; and he gave a commandment of baptism which did include them also, as I have proved in the foregoing periods, and in other places. That the apostles never baptized infants, is boldly said, but can never be proved. But then as to the main of the argument, that faith and repentance are prerequired; I answer, it is in this as it was in circumcision, to which a proselyte could not be admitted from gentilism or idolatry, unless he gave up his name to the religion, and believed in God and his servant Moses; but yet their children might; and it might have been as well argued against their children as ours, since in their proselytes and ours there were required predispositions of faith and repentance. 2. But it is no wonder that these are called for by the apostles of those whom they invited to the religion; they dealt with men of reason, but such who had superinduced foul sins to their infidelity; which were to be removed before they could be illuminated and baptized; but infants are in their pure naturals, and therefore nothing hinders them from receiving the gifts and mere graces of God's Holy Spirit before mentioned. 3. But we see also that, although Christ required faith of them who came to be healed, yet when any were brought, or came in behalf of others, he only required faith of them who came, and their faith did benefit to others. For no man can call on him on whom they have not believed, but therefore they who call must believe; and if they call for others, they must believe that Christ can do it for others.[m] But this instance is so certain a reproof of this objection of theirs, which is their principal, which is their all, that it is a wonder to me they should not all be convinced at the reading and observing of it. I knew an eminent person amongst them, who having been abused by their fallacies, upon the discovery of the falsehood of this their main allegation, was converted: and I know also some others who could not at all object against it; but if they had been as humble as they were apprehensive, would certainly have confessed their error. But to this I can add nothing new beyond what I have largely discoursed of in the treatise of baptism before mentioned.

Ad 30.—The next argument is,—If baptism be necessary to infants, upon whom is the imposition laid? to whom is the command given? The children are not capable of a law, therefore it is not given to them: nor yet to the parents, because if so, then the salvation of infants should be put into the power of others, who may be careless or malicious.—I answer, that there is no precept of baptizing infants just in that circumstance of age; for then they had sinned who had deferred it upon just grounds to their manhood. But it is a precept given to all, and it is made necessary by that order of things, which Christ hath constituted in the New Testament; so that if they be baptized at all in their just period, there is no commandment broken; but if infants come not to be men, then it was accidentally necessary they should have been baptized before they were men. And now to the inquiry, upon whom the imposition lies, it is easy to give an answer; it lies upon them who can receive it, and therefore upon the parents; not so that the salvation of infants depends upon others, God forbid; but so, that if they neglect the charitable ministry, they shall dearly account for it. It is easy to be understood by two instances. God commanded that children should be circumcised, Moses by his wife's peevishness neglected it; and therefore the Lord sought to kill him for it, not Gershom the child. It is necessary for the preservation of children's lives that they eat, but the provision of meat for them is a duty incumbent on the parents; and yet if parents expose their children, it may be the lives of the children shall not depend on others; but "when their father and mother forsake them, the Lord taketh them up;" and so it is in this particular; what is wanting to them by the neglect of others, God will supply by his own graces and immediate dispensation. But if baptism be made necessary to all, then it ought to be procured for those who cannot procure it for themselves; just as meat and drink, and physic, and education. And it

[m] Matt. ix. 28. Mark ix. 23. Matt. viii. 13. John iv. 50.

is in this as it is in blessing; little babes cannot ask it, but their needs require it; and therefore as by their friends they were brought to Christ to have it, so they must, without their asking, minister it to them, who yet are bound to seek it as soon as they can. The precept binds them both in their several periods.

Ad 31.—But their next great strength consists in this dilemma. If baptism does no good, there needs no contention about it: if it does, then either by the "opus operatum" of the sacrament, or by the dispositions of the suscipient. If the former, that is worse than popery: if the latter, then infants cannot receive it, because they cannot dispose themselves to its reception. I answer, that it works its effect neither by the ceremony alone, nor yet by that and the dispositions together, but by the grace of God working as he please, seconding his own ordinance; and yet infants are rightly disposed for the receiving the blessings and effects of baptism. For the understanding of which we are to observe, that God's graces are so free, that they are given to us upon the accounts of his own goodness only, and for the reception of them we are tied to no other predispositions, but that we do not hinder them. For what worthiness can there be in any man to receive the first grace? Before grace there can be nothing good in us, and therefore before the first grace there is nothing that can deserve it; because before the first grace there is no grace, and consequently no worthiness. But the dispositions which are required in men of reason, is nothing but to remove the hinderances of God's grace, to take off the contrarieties to the good Spirit of God. Now because in infants there is nothing that can resist God's Spirit, nothing that can hinder him, nothing that can grieve him, they have that simplicity and nakedness, that passivity and negative disposition, or non-hinderances, to which all that men can do in disposing themselves, are but approaches and similitudes; and therefore infants can receive all that they need, all that can do them benefit. And although there are some effects of the Holy Spirit which require natural capacities to be their foundation; yet those are the *ἐνεργήματα* or powers of working: but the *χαρίσματα*, and the inheritance and the title to the promises require nothing on our part, but that we can receive them, that we put no hinderance to them: for that is the direct meaning of our blessed Saviour, "He that doth not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein;" that is, without that nakedness and freedom from obstruction and impediment, none shall enter.

Upon the account of this truth, all that long harangue that pursues this dilemma in other words to the same purposes, will quickly come to nothing. For baptism is not a mere ceremony, but assisted by the grace of the Lord Jesus, the communication of the Holy Spirit; and yet it requires a duty on our part when we are capable of duty, and need it; but is enabled to produce its effect without any positive disposition, even by the negative of children, by their not putting a bar to the Holy Spirit of God, that God may be glorified, and may be all in all.

Two particulars more are considerable in their argument.

The first is a syllogism made up out of the words of St. Paul, "All that are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ."[n] The minor proposition is, with a little straining some other words of St. Paul, thus, "but they that put on Christ," or the new man, "must be formed in righteousness and holiness of truth;" for so the apostle, "Put ye on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."[o] But infants cannot put on Christ to any such purposes, and therefore cannot be baptized into Christ. I answer, that to put on Christ is to become like unto him, and we put him on in all ways by which we resemble him. The little babes of Bethlehem were like unto Christ, when it was given to them to die for him who died for them and us: we are like unto him when we have put on his robe of righteousness, when we are invested with the wedding-garment, when we submit to his will and to his doctrine, when we are adopted to his inheritance, when we are innocent, and when we are washed, and when we are buried with him in baptism. The expression is a metaphor, and cannot be confined to one particular signification: but if it could, yet the apostle does not say, that all who in any sense put on the new man, are actually holy and righteous; neither does he say, that by the "new man" is meant Christ, for that also is another metaphor, and it means a new manner of living. When Christ is opposed to Adam, Christ is called the "new man;" but when the new man is opposed to the old conversation, then by the "new man" Christ is not meant: and so it is in this place, it signifies to become a new man, and it is an exhortation to those who had lived wickedly, now to live holily, and according to the intentions of christianity. But to take two metaphors from two several books, and to concentre them into one signification, and to make them up into one syllogism, is "fallacia quatuor terminorum;" they prove nothing but the craft of the men, or the weakness of the cause. For the words to the Ephesians were spoken to them who already had been baptized, who had before that in some sense put on Christ, but yet he calls upon them to put on the new man; therefore this is something else; and it means that they should verify what they had undertaken in baptism; which also can concern children, but is seasonable to urge it to them, as St. Paul does to the Ephesians, after their baptism.

But yet after all, let the argument press as far as it is intended, yet infants, even in the sense of the apostle, "do put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness:" for so are they; they are "a new creation," they are "born again," they are efformed after the image of Christ, by the designation and adoption of the Holy Spirit: but as they cannot do acts of reason, and yet are created in a reasonable nature; so they are anew created in righteousness, even before they can do acts spiritual;

[n] Gal. iii. 27.

[o] Eph. iv. 24.

that is, they are "designati sanctitatis," as Tertullian's expression is; they are in the second birth as in the first, instructed with the beginnings and principles of life, not with inherent qualities, but with titles and relations to promises and estates of blessing and assistances of holiness; which principles of life, if they be nourished, will express themselves in perfect and symbolical actions. The thing is easy to be understood by them who observe the manner of speaking usual in Scripture. "We are begotten to a lively hope," so St. Paul: the very consignation and designing us to that hope, which is laid up for the saints, is a new birth, a regeneration, the beginnings of a new life; and of this infants are as capable as any.

The other thing is this, that the infants' vow is invalid till it be after confirmed in the days of reason; and therefore it were as good to be let alone, till it can be made with effect. I answer, that if there were nothing in the sacrament but the making of a vow, I confess I could see no necessity in it, nor any convenience, but that it engages children to an early piety, and their parents and guardians by their care to prevent the follies of their youth; but then when we consider that infants receive great blessings from God in this holy ministry, that what is done to them on God's part, is of great effect before the ratification of their vow, this prudential consideration of theirs is light and airy.

And after all this it will be easy to determine which is the surer way. For certainly to baptize infants is hugely agreeable to that charity, which Christ loved in those who brought them to him; and if infants die before the use of reason, it can do them no hurt that they were given to God in a holy designation; it cannot any way be supposed, and is not pretended by any one, to prejudice their eternity; but if they die without baptism, it is then highly questioned whether they have not an intolerable loss. And if it be questioned by wise men whether the want of it do not occasion their eternal loss, and it is not questioned whether baptism does them any hurt or no, then certainly to baptize them is the surer way without all peradventure.

Ad. 33.—The last number sums up many words of affrightment together, but no argument, nothing but bold and unjustifiable assertions; against which I only oppose their direct contradictories. But instead of them the effect of the former discourse is this, that whoever shall pertinaciously deny or carelessly neglect the baptism of infants, does uncharitably expose his babes to the danger of an eternal loss, from which there is no way to recover but an extraordinary way, which God hath not revealed to us; he shuts them out of the church, and keeps them out who are more fit to enter than himself; he, as much as lies in him, robs the children of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and a title to the promises evangelical; he supposes that they cannot receive God's gifts unless they do in some sense or other deserve them, and that a negative disposition is not sufficient preparation to a new creation, and an obediential capacity is nothing, and yet it was all that we could have in our first creation; he supposes that we must do something before the first grace, that is that God does not love us first, but we first love him; that we seek him, and he does not seek us that we are beforehand with him, and therefore can do something without him: that nature can alone bring us to God. For if he did not suppose all this his great pretence of the necessity of faith and repentance would come to nothing: for infants might without such dispositions receive the grace of baptism, which is always the first; unless by the superinducing of actual sins upon our nature, we make it necessary to do something to remove the hinderances of God's Spirit, and that some grace be accidentally necessary before that which ordinarily and regularly is the first grace. He, I say, that denies baptism to infants, does disobey Christ's commandment, which being in general and indefinite terms must include all that can be saved, or can come to Christ; and he excepts from Christ's commandment whom he pleases, without any exception made by Christ; he makes himself lord of the sacrament, and takes what portions he pleases from his fellow-servants, like an evil and an unjust steward; he denies to bring little children to Christ, although our dearest Lord commanded them to be brought; he upbraids the practice and charity of the holy catholic church, and keeps infants from the communion of saints, from a participation of the promises, from their part of the covenant, from the laver of regeneration, from being rescued from the portion of Adam's inheritance, from a new creation, from the kingdom of God, which belongs to them and such as are like them. And he that is guilty of so many evils, and sees such horrid effects springing from his doctrine, must quit his error, or else openly profess love to a serpent, and direct enmity to the most innocent part of mankind.

I do not think the anabaptists perceive or think these things to follow from their doctrine: but yet they do so really. And therefore the effect of this is, that their doctrine is wholly to be reproved and disavowed, but the men are to be treated with the usages of a christian: strike them not as an enemy, but exhort them as brethren. They are with all means christian and human to be redargued or instructed: but if they cannot be persuaded, they must be left to God, who knows every degree of every man's understanding, all his weaknesses and strengths, what impress every argument makes upon his spirit, and how uncharitable every reason is, and he alone judges of his ignorance or his malice, his innocency or his avoidable deception. We have great reason to be confident as to our own part of the question; but it were also well if our knowledge would make us thankful to God, and humble in ourselves, and charitable to our brother. It is pride that makes contention, but humility is the way of peace and truth.

SECTION XIX.

That there may be no Toleration of Doctrines inconsistent with Piety, or the public Good.

1. But then for their other capital opinion, with all its branches, that it is not lawful for princes to put malefactors to death, nor to take up defensive arms, nor to minister an oath, nor to contend in judgment, it is not to be disputed with such liberty as the former. For although it be part of that doctrine which Clemens Alexandrinus[p] says was delivered "per secretam traditionem apostolorum, non licere christianis contendere in judicio, nec coram gentibus nec coram sanctis; et perfectum non debere jurare;" and the other part seems to be warranted by the eleventh canon of the Nicene council, which enjoins penance to them that take arms after their conversion to christianity: yet either these authorities are to be slighted, or made receptive of any interpretation, rather than the commonwealth be disarmed of its necessary supports, and all laws made ineffectual and impertinent. For the interest of the republic and the well-being of bodies politic, is not to depend upon the nicety of our imaginations, or the fancies of any peevish or mistaken priests; and there is no reason a prince should ask John-a-Brunck whether his understanding would give him leave to reign, and be a king. Nay, suppose there were divers places of Scripture which did seemingly restrain the political use of the sword; yet since the avoiding a personal inconvenience hath by all men been accounted sufficient reason to expound Scripture to any sense rather than the literal, which infers an unreasonable inconvenience, (and therefore the "pulling out an eye," and the "cutting off a hand," is expounded by mortifying a vice, and killing a criminal habit,) much rather must the allegations against the power of the sword endure any sense rather than it should be thought that christianity should destroy that which is the only instrument of justice, the restraint of vice and support of bodies politic. It is certain that Christ and his apostles and christian religion, did comply with the most absolute government, and the most imperial that was then in the world, and it could not have been at all endured in the world if it had not; for indeed the world itself could not last in regular and orderly communities of men, but be a perpetual confusion, if princes and the supreme power in bodies politic were not armed with a coercive power to punish malefactors: the public necessity and universal experience of all the world, convince those men of being most unreasonable that make such pretences which destroy all laws, and all communities, and the bands of civil societies, and leave it arbitrary to every vain or vicious person, whether men shall be safe, or laws be established, or a murderer hanged, or princes rule. So that in this case men are not so much to dispute with particular arguments, as to consider the interest and concernment of kingdoms and public societies. For the religion of Jesus Christ is the best establisher of the felicity of private persons, and of public communities: it is a religion that is prudent and innocent, humane and reasonable, and brought infinite advantages to mankind, but no inconvenience, nothing that is unnatural, or unsociable, or unjust. And if it be certain that this world cannot be governed without laws, and laws without a compulsory signify nothing; then it is certain that it is no good religion that teaches doctrine whose consequents will destroy all government: and therefore it is as much to be rooted out as any thing that is the greatest pest and nuisance to the public interest. And that we may guess at the purposes of the men, and the inconvenience of such doctrine; these men that did first intend by their doctrine to disarm all princes and bodies politic, did themselves take up arms to establish their wild and impious fancy. And indeed that prince or commonwealth that should be persuaded by them, would be exposed to all the insolences of foreigners, and all mutinies of the teachers themselves, and the governors of the people could not do that duty they owe to their people, of protecting them from the rapine and malice, which will be in the world as long as the world is. And therefore here they are to be restrained from preaching such doctrine, if they mean to preserve their government: and the necessity of the thing will justify the lawfulness of the thing. If they think it to themselves, that cannot be helped; so long it is innocent as much as concerns the public: but if they preach it, they may be accounted authors of all the consequent inconveniences, and punished accordingly. No doctrine that destroys government is to be endured. For although those doctrines are not always good that serve the private ends of princes, or the secret designs of state, which by reason of some accidents or imperfections of men may be promoted by that which is false and pretending; yet no doctrine can be good that does not comply with the formality of government itself, and the well-being of bodies politic. "Augur cùm esset Cato, dicere ausus est, optimis auspiciis ea geri, quæ pro reipublicæ salute gererentur; quæ contra rempublicam fierent contra auspicia fieri."[q] Religion is to meliorate the condition of a people, not to do it disadvantage: and therefore those doctrines that inconvenience the public, are no parts of good religion. "Ut respublica salva sit," is a necessary consideration in the permission of prophesyings; for according to the true, solid, and prudent ends of the republic, so is the doctrine to be permitted or restrained, and the men that preach it according as they are good subjects and right commonwealth's men. For religion is a thing superinduced to temporal government, and the church is an addition of a capacity to a commonwealth, and therefore is in no sense to disserve the necessity and just interests of that, to which it is superadded for its advantage and conservation.

2. And thus by a proportion to the rules of these instances all their other doctrines are to have their judgment as concerning toleration or restraint: for

[p] Lib. 7. Strom.

[q] Cicero de Senectute.

all are either speculative or practical, they are consistent with the public ends or inconsistent, they teach impiety or they are innocent; and they are to be permitted or rejected accordingly. For in the question of toleration, the foundation of faith, good life and government, are to be secured: in all other cases the former considerations are effectual.

SECTION XX.

How far the Religion of the Church of Rome is tolerable.

1. But now concerning the religion of the church of Rome, (which was the other instance I promised to consider,) we will proceed another way, and not consider the truth or falsity of the doctrines; for that is not the best way to determine this question concerning permitting their religion or assemblies. Because that a thing is not true, is not argument sufficient to conclude, that he that believes it true, is not to be endured: but we are to consider, what inducements they are that possess the understanding of those men, whether they be reasonable and innocent, sufficient to abuse or persuade wise and good men; or whether the doctrines be commenced upon design, and managed with impiety, and then have effects not to be endured.

2. And here, first, I consider, that those doctrines that have had long continuance and possession in the church, cannot easily be supposed in the present professors to be a design, since they have received it from so many ages; and it is not likely that all ages should have the same purposes, or that the same doctrine should serve the several ends of divers ages. But however, long prescription is a prejudice oftentimes so insupportable, that it cannot with many arguments be retrenched, as relying upon these grounds, that truth is more ancient than falsehood; that God would not for so many ages forsake his church, and leave her in an error; that whatsoever is new, is not only suspicious, but false: which are suppositions pious and plausible enough. And if the church of Rome had communicated infants, so long as she hath prayed to saints or baptized infants, the communicating would have been believed with as much confidence as the other articles are, and the dissentients with as much impatience rejected. But this consideration is to be enlarged upon all those particulars, which, as they are apt to abuse the persons of the men and amuse their understandings, so they are instruments of their excuse, and by making their errors to be invincible, and their opinions, though false, yet not criminal, make it also to be an effect of reason and charity to permit the men a liberty of their conscience, and let them answer to God for themselves and their own opinions. Such as are the beauty and splendour of their church; their pompous service; the stateliness and solemnity of the hierarchy; their name of catholic, which they suppose their own due, and to concern no other sect of christians; the antiquity of many of their doctrines; the continual succession of their bishops; their immediate derivation from the apostles; their title to succeed St. Peter; the supposal and pretence of his personal prerogatives; the advantages which the conjunction of the imperial seat with their episcopal hath brought to that see; the flattering expressions of minor bishops, which, by being old records, have obtained credibility; the multitude and variety of people which are of their persuasion; apparent consent with antiquity in many ceremonials, which other churches have rejected; and a pretended, and sometimes an apparent, consent with some elder ages in many matters doctrinal; the advantage which is derived to them by entertaining some personal opinions of the fathers which they, with infinite clamours, see to be cried up to be a doctrine of the church of that time; the great consent of one part with another, in that which most of them affirm to be "de fide;" the great differences which are commenced amongst their adversaries, abusing the liberty of prophesying unto a very great licentiousness; their happiness of being instruments in converting divers nations; the advantages of monarchical government, the benefit of which, as well as the inconveniences, (which, though they feel, they consider not,) they daily do enjoy; the piety and the austerity of their religious orders of men and women; the single life of their priests and bishops; the riches of their church; the severity of their fasts, and their exterior observances; the great reputation of their first bishops for faith and sanctity; the known holiness of some of those persons, whose institutes the religious persons pretend to imitate; their miracles, false or true, substantial or imaginary; the casualties and accidents that have happened to their adversaries, which being chances of humanity, are attributed to several causes, according as the fancies of men and their interests are pleased or satisfied; the temporal felicity of their professors; the oblique arts and indirect proceedings of some of those who departed from them; and, amongst many other things, the names of heretic and schismatic, which they, with infinite pertinacy, fasten upon all that disagree from them. These things, and divers others, may very easily persuade persons of much reason, and more piety, to retain that which they know to have been the religion of their forefathers, which had actual possession and seizure of men's understandings before the opposite professions had a name: and so much the rather, because religion hath more advantages upon the fancy and affections, than it hath upon philosophy and severe discourses, and therefore is the more easily persuaded upon such grounds as these, which are more apt to amuse than to satisfy the understanding.

3. Secondly: If we consider the doctrines themselves, we shall find them to be superstructures ill built, and worse managed; but yet they keep the foundation; they build upon God in Jesus Christ, they profess the apostles' creed, they retain faith and repentance as the supporters of all our hopes of heaven, and believe many more truths than can

be proved to be of simple and original necessity to salvation. And therefore all the wisest personages of the adverse party allowed to them possibility of salvation, whilst their errors are not faults of their will, but weaknesses and deceptions of the understanding. So that there is nothing in the foundation of faith that can reasonably hinder them to be permitted; the foundation of faith stands secure enough for all their vain and unhandsome superstructures.

But then, on the other side, if we take account of their doctrines as they relate to good life, or are consistent or inconsistent with civil government, we shall have other considerations.

4. Thirdly: For I consider that many of their doctrines do accidentally teach or lead to ill life: and it will appear to any man that considers the result of these propositions. Attrition (which is a low and imperfect degree of sorrow for sin; or, as others say, a sorrow for sin commenced upon any reason of a religious hope, or fear, or desire, or any thing else) is a sufficient disposition for a man in the sacrament of penance to receive absolution, and be justified before God, by taking away the guilt of all his sins, and the obligation to eternal pains. So that already the fear of hell is quite removed upon conditions so easy, that many men take more pains to get a groat, than by this doctrine we are obliged to for the curing and acquitting all the greatest sins of a whole life of the most vicious person in the world. And, but that they affright their people with a fear of purgatory, or with the severity of penances in case they will not venture for purgatory, (for by their doctrine they may choose or refuse either,) there would be nothing in their doctrine or discipline to impede and slacken their proclivity to sin. But then they have as easy a cure for that too, with a little more charge sometimes, but most commonly with less trouble; for there are so many confraternities, so many privileged churches, altars, monasteries, cemeteries, offices, festivals, and so free a concession of indulgences appendant to all these, and a thousand fine devices to take away the fear of purgatory, to commute or expiate penances, that in no sect of men do they, with more ease and cheapness, reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven, than in the Roman communion.

5. And, indeed, if men would consider things upon their true grounds, the church of Rome should be more reproved upon doctrines that infer ill life, than upon such as are contrariant to faith. For false superstructures do not always destroy faith; but many of the doctrines they teach, if they were prosecuted to the utmost issue, would destroy good life. And therefore, my quarrel with the church of Rome is greater and stronger upon such points, which are not usually considered, than it is upon the ordinary disputes, which have, to no very great purpose, so much disturbed christendom: and I am more scandalized at her for teaching the sufficiency of attrition in the sacrament, for indulging penances so frequently, for remitting all discipline, for making so great a part of religion to consist in externals and ceremonials, for putting more force and energy, and exacting with more severity, the commandments of men than the precepts of justice and internal religion: lastly, besides many other things, for promising heaven to persons after a wicked life, upon their impertinent cries and ceremonials transacted by the priests and the dying person. I confess, I wish the zeal of christendom were a little more active against these and the like doctrines, and that men would write and live more earnestly against them than as yet they have done.

6. But then what influence this just zeal is to have upon the persons of the professors, is another consideration. For as the pharisees did preach well, and lived ill, and therefore were to be heard, not imitated; so if these men live well, though they teach ill, they are to be imitated, not heard; their doctrines, by all means christian and human, are to be discountenanced, but their persons tolerated "eatenus;" their profession and decrees to be rejected and condemned, but the persons to be permitted, because, by their good lives, they confute their doctrines, that is, they give evidence that they think no evil to be consequent to such opinions; and if they did, that they live good lives, is argument sufficient that they would themselves cast the first stone against their own opinions, if they thought them guilty of such misdemeanours.

7. Fourthly: But if we consider their doctrines in relation to government and public societies of men, then, if they prove faulty, they are so much the more intolerable by how much the consequents are of greater danger and malice: such doctrines as these,—the pope may dispense with all oaths taken to God or man; he may absolve subjects from their allegiance to their natural prince; faith is not to be kept with heretics; heretical princes may be slain by their subjects.—These propositions are so depressed, and do so immediately communicate with matter and the interests of men, that they are of the same consideration with matters of fact, and are to be handled accordingly. To other doctrines ill life may be consequent; but the connexion of the antecedent and the consequent is not, peradventure, perceived or acknowledged by him that believes the opinion with no greater confidence than he disavows the effect and issue of it: but in these the ill effect is the direct profession and purpose of the opinion: and therefore the man, and the man's opinion, are to be dealt withal just as the matter of fact is to be judged; for it is an immediate, a perceived, a direct event, and the very purpose of the opinion. Now these opinions are a direct overthrow to all human society and mutual commerce, a destruction of government, and of the laws, and duty and subordination which we owe to princes: and therefore those men of the church of Rome that do hold them, and preach them, cannot pretend to the excuses of innocent opinions, and hearty persuasion, to the weakness of humanity, and the difficulty of things; for God hath not left those truths which are necessary for conservation of the public societies of men, so intricate and obscure, but that every one that is honest, and desirous to understand his duty, will certainly know, that no christian truth destroys a man's being sociable, and a member of

the body politic, co-operating to the conservation of the whole as well as of itself. However, if it might happen, that men should sincerely err in such plain matters of fact, (for there are fools enough in the world,) yet if he hold his peace, no man is to persecute or punish him; for then it is mere opinion, which comes not under political cognizance, that is, that cognizance which only can punish corporally: but if he preaches it, he is actually a traitor, or seditious, or author of perjury, or a destroyer of human society, respectively, to the nature of the doctrine; and the preaching such doctrines cannot claim the privilege and immunity of a mere opinion, because it is as much matter of fact as any the actions of his disciples and confidents, and therefore in such cases is not to be permitted, but judged according to the nature of the effect it hath or may have upon the actions of men.

8. Fifthly: But lastly, in matters merely speculative the case is wholly altered, because the body politic, which only may lawfully use the sword, is not a competent judge of such matters which have not direct influence upon the body politic, or upon the lives and manners of men as they are parts of a community:—not but that princes or judges temporal may have as much ability as others, but by reason of the incompetency of the authority. And Gallio spoke wisely when he discoursed thus to the Jews, "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should hear you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters."[1] The man spoke excellent reason; for the cognizance of these things did appertain to men of the other robe. But the ecclesiastical power, which only is competent to take notice of such questions, is not of capacity to use the temporal sword or corporal inflictions. The mere doctrines and opinions of men are things spiritual, and therefore not cognoscible by a temporal authority: and the ecclesiastical authority, which is to take cognizance, is itself so spiritual, that it cannot inflict any punishment corporal.

9. And it is not enough to say, that when the magistrate restrains the preaching such opinions, if any man preaches them he may be punished (and then it is not for his opinion but his disobedience that he is punished): for the temporal power ought not to restrain prophesyings, where the public peace and interest are not certainly concerned. And therefore it is not sufficient to excuse him, whose law in that case, being by an incompetent power, made a scruple where there was no sin.

10. And under this consideration come very many articles of the church of Rome, which are wholly speculative, which do not derive upon practice, which begin in the understanding and rest there, and have no influence upon life and government, but very accidentally, and by a great many removes; and therefore are to be considered only so far as to guide men in their persuasions, but have no effect upon the persons of men, their bodies, or their temporal condition. I instance in two; prayer for the dead, and the doctrine of transubstantiation: these two to be instead of all the rest.

11. For the first, this discourse is to suppose it false, and we are to direct our proceedings accordingly, and therefore I shall not need to urge with how many fair words and gay pretences this doctrine is set off, apt either to cozen or instruct the conscience of the wisest, according as it is true or false respectively. But we find (says the Romanist) in the history of the Maccabees, that the Jews did pray and make offerings for the dead: which also appears by other testimonies, and by their form of prayers still extant which they used in the captivity. It is very considerable, that since our blessed Saviour did reprove all the evil doctrines and traditions of the scribes and Pharisees, and did argue concerning the dead and the resurrection against the Sadducees, yet he spake no word against this public practice, but left it as he found it; which he who came to declare to us all the will of his Father, would not have done, if it had not been innocent, pious, and full of charity. To which, by way of consociation, if we add that St. Paul did pray for Onesiphorus, that "the Lord would show him a mercy in that day,"[2] that is, according to the style of the New Testament, the day of judgment; the result will be, that although it be probable that Onesiphorus at that time was dead, (because in his salutations he salutes his household, without naming him who was the "major-domo," against his custom of salutations in other places,) yet besides this, the prayer was for such a blessing to him whose demonstration and reception could not be but after death: which implies clearly, that then there is a need of mercy, and, by consequence, the dead people, even to the day of judgment inclusively, are the subject of a misery, the object of God's mercy, and therefore fit to be commemorated in the duties of our piety and charity, and that we are to recommend their condition to God, not only to give them more glory in the reunion, but to pity them to such purposes in which they need; which because they are not revealed to us in particular, it hinders us not in recommending the persons in particular to God's mercy, but should rather excite our charity and devotion. For it being certain that they have a need of mercy, and it being uncertain how great their need is, it may concern the prudence of charity to be the more earnest, as not knowing the greatness of their necessity.

12. And if there should be any uncertainty in these arguments, yet its having been the universal practice of the church of God in all places, and in all ages till within these hundred years, is a very great inducement for any member of the church to believe, that, in the first traditions of christianity and the institutions apostolical, there was nothing delivered against this practice, but very much to insinuate or enjoin it; because the practice of it was at the first, and was universal. And if any man shall doubt of this, he shows nothing but that he is ignorant of the records of the church; it being plain in Tertullian[3] and St. Cyprian,[4] (who were the eldest

[1] Acts xviii. 14. [2] 2 Tim. i. 18.

[3] De corona milit. c. 3. et. de monogam. c. 10. [4] Ep.

writers of the Latin church,) that in their times it was "ab antiquo" the custom of the church to pray for the souls of the faithful departed in the dreadful mysteries. And it was an institution apostolical, (says one of them,) and so transmitted to the following ages of the church; and when once it began upon slight grounds and discontent to be contested against by Aerius, the man was presently condemned for a heretic, as appears in Epiphanius.

13. But I am not to consider the arguments for the doctrine itself, although the probability and fair pretence of them may help to excuse such persons, who upon these or the like grounds do heartily believe it: but I am to consider that, whether it be true or false, there is no manner of malice in it, and at the worst it is but a wrong error upon the right side of charity, and concluded against by its adversaries upon the confidence of such arguments, which possibly are not so probable as the grounds pretended for it.

14. And if the same judgment might be made of any more of their doctrines, I think it were better men were not furious in the condemning such questions, which either they understood not upon the grounds of their proper arguments, or at least consider not as subjected in the persons, and lessened by circumstances, by the innocency of the event, or other prudential considerations.

15. But the other article is harder to be judged of, and hath made greater stirs in christendom, and hath been dashed at with more impetuous objections, and such as do more trouble the question of toleration. For if the doctrine of transubstantiation be false, (as upon much evidence we believe it is,) then it is accused of introducing idolatry, giving divine worship to a creature, adoring of bread and wine; and then comes in the precept of God to the Jews, that those prophets who persuaded to idolatry should be slain.[x]

16. But here we must deliberate, for it is concerning the lives of men; and yet a little deliberation may suffice. For idolatry is a forsaking the true God, and giving divine worship to a creature or to an idol, that is, to an imaginary god, who hath no foundation in essence or existence; and is that kind of superstition which by divines is called the superstition of an undue object. Now it is evident that the object of their adoration (that which is represented to them in their minds, their thoughts, and purposes, and by which God principally, if not solely, takes estimate of human actions) in the blessed sacrament, is the only true and eternal God hypostatically joined with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacramental signs: and if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread in this case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry to do so; which is a demonstration that their soul hath nothing in it that is idolatrical. If their confidence and fanciful opinion have engaged them upon so great mistake, (as without doubt they have,) yet the will hath nothing in it but what is a great enemy to idolatry: "Et nihil ardet in inferno nisi propria voluntas." And although they have done violence to all philosophy and the reason of man, and undone and cancelled the principles of two or three sciences, to bring in this article; yet they have a Divine revelation, whose literal and grammatical sense, if that sense were intended, would warrant them to do violence to all the sciences in the circle. And indeed that transubstantiation is openly and violently against natural reason, is no argument to make them disbelieve it, who believe the mystery of the Trinity in all those niceties of explication which are in the school, (and which now-a-days pass for the doctrine of the church,) with as much violence to the principles of natural and supernatural philosophy, as can be imagined to be in the point of transubstantiation.

17. But for the article itself; we all say that Christ is there present some way or other extraordinary: and it will not be amiss to worship him at that time, when he gives himself to us in so mysterious a manner, and with so great advantages, especially since the whole office is a consociation of divers actions of religion and worship. Now in all opinions of those men who think it an act of religion to communicate and to offer, a divine worship is given to Christ, and is transmitted to him by mediation of that action and that sacrament; and it is no more in the church of Rome, but that they differ and mistake infinitely in the manner of his presence: which error is wholly seated in the understanding, and does not communicate with the will. For all agree that the divinity and the humanity of the Son of God are the ultimate and adequate object of divine adoration, and that it is incommunicable to any creature whatsoever; and before they venture to pass an act of adoration, they believe the bread to be annihilated, or turned into his substance who may lawfully be worshipped: and they who have these thoughts are as much enemies of idolatry, as they that understand better how to avoid that inconvenience which is supposed to be the crime, which they formally hate, and we materially avoid. This consideration was concerning the doctrine itself.

18. Secondly: and now for any danger to men's persons for suffering such a doctrine, this I shall say, that if they who do it are not formally guilty of idolatry, there is no danger that they whom they persuade to it, should be guilty. And what persons soever believe it to be idolatry to worship the sacrament, while that persuasion remains, will never be brought to it, there is no fear of that; and he that persuades them to do it, by altering their persuasions and beliefs, does no hurt but altering the opinions of the men, and abusing their understandings: but when they believe it to be no idolatry, then their so believing it is sufficient security from that crime, which hath so great a tincture and residency in the will, that from thence only it hath its being criminal.

19. Thirdly: however, if it were idolatry, I think the precept of God to the Jews of killing false and idolatrous prophets will be no warrant for christians so to do. For in the case of the apostles and the men of Samaria, when James and John would have

[x] Deut. xiii.

called for fire to destroy them, even as Elias did under Moses's law, Christ distinguished the spirit of Elias from his own spirit, and taught them a lesson of greater sweetness, and consigned this truth to all ages of the church, that such severity is not consistent with the meekness, which Christ by his example and sermons hath made a precept evangelical: at most it was but a judicial law, and no more of argument to make it necessary to us than the Mosaical precepts of putting adulterers to death, and trying the accused persons by the waters of jealousy.

20. And thus, in these two instances, I have given account what is to be done in toleration of diversity of opinions. The result of which is principally this; let the prince and the secular power have a care the commonwealth be safe. For whether such or such a sect of christians be to be permitted is a question rather political than religious: for as for the concernments of religion, these instances have furnished us with sufficient to determine us in our duties as to that particular, and by one of these all particulars may be judged.

21. And now it were a strange inhumanity to permit Jews in a commonwealth, whose interest is served by their inhabitation; and yet upon equal grounds of state and policy not to permit differing sects of christians. For although possibly there is more danger men's persuasions should be altered in a commixture of divers sects of christians; yet there is not so much danger when they are changed from christian to christian, as if they be turned from christian to Jew, or Moor, as many are daily in Spain and Portugal.

22. And this is not to be excused by saying the church hath no power over them "qui foris sunt," as Jews are. For it is true, the church in the capacity of spiritual regiments hath nothing to do with them, because they are not her diocess; yet the prince hath to do with them when they are subjects of his regiment. They may not be excommunicate any more than a stone may be killed, because they are not of the christian communion; but they are living persons, parts of the commonwealth, infinitely deceived in their religion, and very dangerous if they offer to persuade men to their opinions, and are the greatest enemies of Christ, whose honour and the interest of whose service a christian prince is bound with all his power to maintain. And when the question is of punishing disagreeing persons with death, the church hath equally nothing to do with them both, for she hath nothing to do with the temporal sword; but the prince, whose subjects equally christians and Jews are, hath equal power over their persons; for a christian is no more a subject than a Jew is, the prince hath upon them both the same power of life and death; so that the Jew by being no christian is not "foris," or any more an exempt person for his body or his life, than the christian is; and yet in all churches where the secular power hath temporal reason to tolerate the Jews, they are tolerated without any scruple in religion. Which thing is of more consideration, because the Jews are direct blasphemers of the Son of God, and blasphemy by their own law, the law of Moses, is made capital; and might with greater reason be inflicted upon them, who acknowledge its obligation, than urged upon christians, as an authority enabling princes to put them to death, who are accused of accidental and consecutive blasphemy and idolatry respectively, which yet they hate and disavow with much zeal and heartiness of persuasion. And I cannot yet learn a reason why we shall not be more complying with them who are of the household of faith; for at least they are children, though they be but rebellious children; (and if they were not, what hath the mother to do with them any more than with the Jews;) they are in some relation or habitude of the family; for they are consigned with the same baptism, profess the same faith delivered by the apostles, are erected in the same hope, and look for the same glory to be revealed to them at the coming of their common Lord and Saviour, to whose service, according to their understanding, they have vowed themselves. And if the disagreeing persons be to be esteemed as heathens and publicans, yet not worse. "Have no company with them;" that is the worst that is to be done to such a man, in St. Paul's judgment: "yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."

SECTION XXI.

Of the Duty of particular Churches in allowing Communion.

From these premises we are easily instructed concerning the lawfulness or duty respectively of christian communion, which is differently to be considered in respect of particular churches to each other, and of particular men to particular churches. For as for particular churches, they are bound to allow communion to all those that profess the same faith, upon which the apostles did give communion. For whatsoever preserves us as members of the church, gives us title to the communion of saints; and whatsoever faith or belief that is to which God hath promised heaven, that faith makes us members of the catholic church. Since therefore the judicial acts of the church are then most prudent and religious, when they nearest imitate the example and piety of God; to make the way to heaven straiter than God made it, or to deny to communicate with those with whom God will vouchsafe to be united, and to refuse our charity to those who have the same faith, because they have not all our opinions, and believe not every thing necessary which we overvalue, is impious and schismatical; it infers tyranny on one part, and persuades and tempts to uncharitableness and animosities on both; it dissolves societies, and is an enemy to peace; it busies men in impertinent wranglings; and by names of men and titles of factions it consigns the interested parties to act their differences to the

height, and makes them neglect those advantages, which piety and a good life bring to the reputation of christian religion and societies.

2. And therefore Vincentius Lirinensis,[y] and indeed the whole church, accounted the Donatists heretics upon this very ground, because they did imperiously deny their communion to all that were not of their persuasion; whereas the authors of that opinion for which they first did separate and make a sect, because they did not break the church's peace, nor magisterially prescribe to others, were in that disagreeing and error accounted catholics. "Divisio enim et disunio facit vos hæreticos, pax et unitas faciunt catholicos," said St. Austin.[z] And to this sense is that of St. Paul, "If I had all faith, and had not charity, I am nothing." He who, upon confidence of his true belief, denies a charitable communion to his brother, loses the reward of both. And if Pope Victor had been as charitable to the Asiatics as Pope Anicetus and St. Polycarp were to each other in the same disagreeing concerning Easter, Victor had not been πληκτικώτερον κατατιθέμενος, so bitterly reproved and condemned as he was for the uncharitable managing of his disagreeing, by Polycrates and Irenæus. "Concordia enim, quæ est caritatis effectus, est unio voluntatum, non opinionum:" "True faith which leads to charity, leads on to that which unites wills and affections, not opinions."[a]

3. Upon these or the like considerations the emperor Zeno published his ἑνωτικὸν, in which he made the Nicene creed to be the medium of catholic communion; and although he lived after the council of Chalcedon, yet he made not the decrees of that council an instrument of its restraint and limit, as preferring the peace of christendom and the union of charity far before a forced or pretended unity of persuasion, which never was nor ever will be real and substantial: and although it were very convenient if it could be had, yet it is therefore not necessary, because it is impossible. And if men please, whatever advantages to the public would be consequent to it, may be supplied by a charitable compliance and mutual permission of opinion, and the offices of a brotherly affection prescribed us by the laws of christianity. And we have seen it, that all sects of christians, when they have an end to be served upon a third, have permitted that liberty to a second which we now contend for, and which they formerly denied, but now grant, that by joining hands they might be the stronger to destroy the third. The Arians and Miletians joined against the catholics; the catholics and Novatians joined against the Arians. Now if men would do that for charity which they do for interest, it were handsomer and more ingenuous: for that they do permit each other's disagreeings for their interest's sake, convinceth them of the lawfulness of the thing, or else the unlawfulness of their own proceedings. And therefore it were better they would serve the ends of charity than of faction; for then that good end would hallow the proceeding, and make it both more prudent and more pious, while it serves the design of religious purposes.

SECTION XXII.

That particular Men may communicate with Churches of different Persuasions: and how far they may do it.

1. As for the duty of particular men in the question of communicating with churches of different persuasions, it is to be regulated according to the laws of those churches. For if they require no impiety or any thing unlawful as the condition of their communion, then they communicate with them as they are servants of Christ, as disciples of his doctrine and subject to his laws, and the particular distinguishing doctrine of their sect hath no influence or communication with him, who from another sect is willing to communicate with all the servants of their common Lord. For since no church of one name is infallible, a wise man may have either the misfortune or a reason to believe of every one in particular, that she errs in some article or other, either he cannot communicate with any, or else he may communicate with all that do not make a sin, or the profession of an error, to be the condition of their communion. And therefore, as every particular church is bound to tolerate disagreeing persons in the senses and for the reasons above explicated; so every particular person is bound to tolerate her, that is, not to refuse her communion, when he may have it upon innocent conditions. For what is it to me if the Greek church denies procession of the third Person from the second, so she will give me the right hand of fellowship, (though I affirm it,) therefore, because I profess the religion of Jesus Christ, and retain all matters of faith and necessity? But this thing will scarce be reduced to practice; for few churches that have framed bodies of confession and articles, will endure any person that is not of the same confession: which is a plain demonstration, that such bodies of confession and articles do much hurt, by becoming instruments of separating and dividing communions, and making unnecessary or uncertain propositions a certain means of schism and disunion. But then men would do well to consider whether or no such proceedings do not derive the guilt of schism upon them who least think it; and whether of the two is the schismatic, he that makes unnecessary and (supposing the state of things) inconvenient impositions, or he that disobeys them, because he cannot, without doing violence to his conscience, believe them; he that parts communion because without sin he could not entertain it, or they that have made it necessary for him to separate by requiring such conditions, which to no man are simply necessary, and to his particular are either sinful or impossible.

[y] Cap. 11. Vid. Pacian. Epist. ad Sempron. 2.
[z] Lib. 2. c. 95. contra liter. Petilian.
[a] Euseb. l. 5. c. 25, 26. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 37. a. 1.

2. The sum of all is this: there is no security in any thing or to any person but in the pious and hearty endeavours of a good life, and neither sin nor error does impede it from producing its proportionate and intended effect; because it is a direct deletery to sin and an excuse to errors, by making them innocent, and therefore harmless. And, indeed, this is the intendment and design of faith. For (that we may join both ends of this discourse together) therefore certain articles are prescribed to us, and propounded to our understanding, that so we might be supplied with instructions, with motives and engagements to incline and determine our wills to the obedience of Christ. So that obedience is just so consequent to faith, as the acts of will are to the dictates of the understanding. Faith therefore being in order to obedience, and so far excellent as itself is a part of obedience, or the promoter of it, or an engagement to it; it is evident, that if obedience and a good life be secured upon the most reasonable and proper grounds of christianity, that is, upon the apostles' creed, then faith also is secured. Since whatsoever is beside the duties, the order of a good life, cannot be a part of faith, because upon faith a good life is built: all other articles, by not being necessary, are no otherwise to be required but as they are to be obtained and found out, that is, morally, and fallibly, and humanly. It is fit all truths be promoted fairly and properly, and yet but few articles prescribed magisterially, nor framed into symbols and bodies of confession; least of all, after such composures, should men proceed so furiously as to say, all disagreeing after such declarations to be damnable for the future, and capital for the present. But this very thing is reason enough to make men more limited in their prescriptions, because it is more charitable in such suppositions so to do.

3. But in the thing itself, because few kinds of errors are damnable, it is reasonable a few should be capital. And because every thing that is damnable in itself, and before God's judgment-seat is not discernible before men, (and questions disputable are of this condition,) it is also very reasonable that fewer be capital than what are damnable, and that such questions should be permitted to men to believe, because they must be left to God to judge. It concerns all persons to see that they do their best to find out truth; and if they do, it is certain that, let the error be ever so damnable, they shall escape the error, or the misery of being damned for it. And if God will not be angry with men for being invincibly deceived, why should men be angry one at another? For he that is most displeased at another man's error, can also be tempted in his own will, and as much deceived in his understanding: for if he may fail in what he can choose, he may also fail in what he cannot choose: his understanding is no more secured than his will, nor his faith more than his obedience. It is his own fault if he offends God in either: but whatsoever is not to be avoided, as errors, which are incident oftentimes even to the best and most inquisitive of men, are not offences against God, and therefore not to be punished or restrained by men: but all such opinions, in which the public interests of the commonwealth, and the foundation of faith and a good life, are not concerned, are to be permitted freely. "Quisque abundet in sensu suo," was the doctrine of St. Paul; and that is argument and conclusion too: and they were excellent words which St. Ambrose said in attestation of this great truth, "Nec imperiale est, libertatem dicendi negare; nec sacerdotale, quod sentias non dicere." I end with a story which I find in the Jews' books. "When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travail, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age: he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down: but, observing that the old man eat and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other god. At which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was: he replied, 'I thrust him away because he did not worship thee.' God answered him, 'I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst not thou endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this," saith the story, "Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction." Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham.

UNUM NECESSARIUM;

OR,

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

OF

REPENTANCE.

DESCRIBING

THE NECESSITIES AND MEASURES OF A STRICT, A HOLY, AND A CHRISTIAN LIFE.

AND RESCUED FROM POPULAR ERRORS.

Pœnitentiæ compensatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus. TERTUL. de Pœnit.
Præveniamus faciem ejus in confessione.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND NOBLEST LORD,

RICHARD, EARL OF CARBERY, &c.

MY LORD,

THE duty of repentance is of so great and universal concernment, a catholicon to the evils of the soul of every man, that if there be any particular in which it is worthy the labours of the whole ecclesiastical calling, "to be instant in season and out of season," it is in this duty; and therefore I hope I shall be excused, if my discourses of repentance, like the duty itself, be perpetually increasing; and I may, like the widow in the gospel to the unjust judge, at least hope to prevail with some men by my importunity. Men have found out so many devices and arts to cozen themselves, that they will rather admit any weak discourses and images of reason, than think it necessary to repent speedily, severely, and effectively. We find that sinners are prosperous, and God is long before he strikes; and it is always another man's case, when we see a judgment happen upon a sinner, we feel it not ourselves, for when we do, it is commonly past remedy. Indeed it was to be pitied in the heathen, that many of them were tempted to take the thriving side, when religion itself was unprosperous. When Jupiter suffered his golden sceptre to be stolen, and the image never frowned; and a bold fellow would scrape the ivory thigh of Hercules, and go away without a broken pate, for all the club that was in his hand; they thought they had reason to think there was no more sacredness in the images of their gods, than in the statues of Vigellus:[a] and because the event of all regular actions was not regular and equal, but Catiline was hewn down by the consul's sword for his rebellion, and for the same thing Cæsar became a prince, they believed that the power that governed these extra-regular events, must itself be various and changeable, and they called it "Fortune." But, my Lord, that christians should thus dote upon temporal events, and the little baits of fishes, and the meat of dogs, adoring every thing that is prosperous, and hating that condition of things that brings trouble, is not to be pardoned to them who profess themselves servants and disciples of a crucified Lord and Master. But it is upon the same account, that men are so hardly brought to repent, or to believe that repentance hath in it so many parts, and requires so much labour, and exacts such caution, and cannot be performed without the best assistances, or the greatest skill in spiritual notices. They find sin pleasant and prosperous, gay and in the fashion: and though wise men know it is better to be pleased than to be merry, to have rest and satisfaction in wisdom and perfective notices of things, than to laugh loud, and fright sobriety away with noises, and dissolution, and forgetfulness: yet this severer pleasure

[a] Juvenal.

seems dull and flat, and men generally betake themselves to the wildnesses of sin, and hate to have it interrupted by the intervening of the sullen grace of repentance. It was a sprightly saying of him in the comedy,

> Ego vitam Deorum propterea sempiternam esse arbitror,
> Quòd voluptates eorum propriæ sunt: nam mihi immortalitas
> Parta est, si huic nulla ægritudo gaudio intercesserit. ANDR.

"Our immortality is to be reckoned by the continuance of our pleasure: my life is then perpetual, when my delights are not interrupted." And this is the immortality that too many men look after by incompetent means. But to be called upon to repentance, and when men inquire what that is, to be told it is all the duty of a returning man; the extermination of sin, the mortification of all our irregular appetites, and all that perfection of righteousness which can consist with our state of imperfection; and that in order to these purposes, we must not refuse the sharpest instruments, that "they may be even cut off which trouble us," but that we suffer all the severity of voluntary or imposed discipline, according as it shall be judged necessary, this is it which will trouble men; such, I mean, who love a beggarly ease before a laborious thriving trade (a foul stable to some beasts is better than a fair way); and therefore it is, that since all christians are convinced of the necessity, the indispensable necessity of repentance, they have resolved to admit it, but they also resolve they will not understand what it is. "Una herclè falsa lacrimula;" one or two forced tears against a good time: and, believe it, that is a great matter too, that is not ordinary. But if men lose an estate,

> ——— Nemo dolorem
> Fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
> Contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto. JUVEN.

Men need not to dissemble tears or sorrow in that case: but as if men were in no danger when they are enemies to God, and as if to lose heaven were no great matter, and to be cast into hell were a very tolerable condition, and such as a man might very well undergo, and laugh heartily for all that;—they seem so unconcerned in the actions of religion, and in their obedience to the severe laws of repentance, that it looks as if men had no design in the world, but to be suffered to die quietly, to perish tamely, without being troubled with the angry arguments of churchmen, who by all means desire they should live and recover, and dwell with God for ever. Or if they can be forced to the further entertainments of repentance, it is nothing but a calling for mercy, an ineffective prayer, a moist cloud, a resolution for to-day, and a solemn shower at the most.

> Mens immota manet, lachrymæ volvuntur inanes. Æneid.

The mind is not changed, though the face be: for repentance is thought to be just as other graces, fit for their proper season, like fruits in their own month: but then every thing else must have its day too: we shall sin, and we must repent; but sin will come again, and so may repentance: for "there is a time for every thing under the sun;" and the time for repentance is when we can sin no more, when every objection is answered, when we can have no more excuse; and they who go upon that principle, will never do it till it be too late: for every age hath temptations of its own, and they that have been used to the yoke all their life-time, will obey their sin when it comes in any shape, in which they can take any pleasure. But men are infinitely abused, and by themselves most of all. For repentance is not like the summer-fruits, fit to be taken a little, and in their own time; it is like bread, the provisions and support of our life, the entertainment of every day, but it is "the bread of affliction" to some, and "the bread of carefulness" to all: and he that preaches this with the greatest zeal and the greatest severity, it may be, he takes the liberty of an enemy, but he gives the counsel and the assistance of a friend.

My Lord, I have been so long acquainted with the secrets of your spirit and religion, that I know I need not make an apology for dedicating this severe book to you. You know, according to the prudence which God hath given you, that he that flatters you is your enemy, and you need not be flattered; for he that desires passionately to be a good man and a religious, to be the servant of God and be saved, will not be fond of any vanity, and nothing else can need to be flattered; but I have presented to your Lordship this discourse, not only to be a testimony to the world, how great a love and how great an honour I have for you, but even by ascribing you into this relation, to endear you the rather every day more and more to the severest doctrines and practices of holiness. I was invited to make something of this by an honourable person who is now with God, and who desired his needs should be served by my ministry. But when I had entered upon it, I found it necessary to do it in order to more purposes, and in prosecution of the method of my other studies. All which, as they are designed to God's glory and the ministry of souls, so if by them I can signify my obligations to your Lordship, which by your great nobleness do still increase, I shall not esteem them wholly ineffective, even of some of those purposes whither they are intended; for truly, my Lord, in whatsoever I am or can do, I desire to appear,

My noblest Lord,

Your Honour's most obliged, and

Most affectionate Servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE PREFACE

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND RELIGIOUS FATHERS,

BRIAN, LORD BISHOP OF SARUM;

AND

JOHN, LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER;

AND TO THE MOST REVEREND AND RELIGIOUS CLERGY OF ENGLAND, MY DEAR BRETHREN.

MEN, BRETHREN, AND FATHERS,

THE wiser part of mankind hath seen so much trifling in the conduct of disputations, so much partiality, such earnest desires of reputation, such resolution to prevail by all means, so great mixture of interest in the contention, so much mistaking of the main question, so frequent excursions into differing matter, so many personal quarrels and petty animosities, so many wranglings about those things that shall never be helped, that is, the errors and infirmities of men; and after all this, (which also must needs be consequent to it,) so little fruit and effect of questions, no man being the wiser, or changed from error to truth, but from error to error most frequently: and there are in the very vindication of truth so many incompetent, uncertain, and untrue things offered, that if by chance some truth be gotten, we are not very great gainers, because, when the whole account is cast up, we shall find, or else they that are disinterested will observe, that there is more error than truth in the whole purchase; and still no man is satisfied, and every side keeps its own, unless where folly or interest makes some few persons to change; and still more weakness and more impertinences crowd into the whole affair upon every reply, and more yet upon the rejoinder; and when men have wrangled tediously and vainly, they are but where they were; save only, that they may remember they suffered in infirmity, and it may be, the transport of passions, and uncharitable expressions; and all this for an unrewarding interest, for that which is sometimes uncertain itself, unrevealed, unuseful, and unsatisfying; that in the event of things, and after being wearied for little or nothing, men have now in a very great proportion left it quite off, as unsatisfying waters, and have been desirous of more material nourishment, and of such notices of things and just assistances, as may promote their eternal interest.

And, indeed, it was great reason and high time that they should do so: for, when they were employed in rowing up and down in uncertain seas, to find something that was not necessary, it was certain they would less attend to that which was more worthy their inquiry: and the enemy of mankind knew that to be a time of his advantage, and accordingly sowed tares while we so slept; and we felt a real mischief while we contended for an imaginary and fantastic good. For things were come to that pass, that it was the character of a good man to be zealous for a sect, and all of every party respectively, if they were earnest and impatient of contradiction, were sure to be saved by their own preachers; and holiness of life was not so severely demanded, but that men believe their country articles; and heaven-gates at no hand might be permitted to stand open to any one else. Thence came hatred, variance, emulation, and strifes; and the wars of christendom which have been kindled by disputers, and the evil lives which were occasioned and encouraged by those proceedings, are the best confutation in the world of all such disputations.

But now when we come to search into that part of theology, which is most necessary, in which the life of christianity, and the interest of souls, the peace of christendom, and the union of minds, the sweetness of society, and the support of government, the usefulness and comfort of our lives, the advancement of virtue, and the just measures of honour; we find many things disordered, the tables of the commandments broken in pieces, and some parts are lost and some disordered, and into the very practice of christians there are crept so many material errors, that although God made nothing plainer, yet now nothing is more difficult and involved, uncertain and discomposed, than many of the great lines and propositions in moral theology; nothing is more neglected, more necessary, or more mistaken. For although very many run into holy orders without just abilities, and think their province is well discharged if they can preach upon Sundays; and men observing the ordinary preaching to be little better than ordinary talk, have been made bold to venture into the holy sept, and invade the secrets of the temple, as thinking they can talk at the same rate which they observe to be the manner of vulgar sermons: yet they who

know to give a just value to the best things, know that the sacred office of a priest, a minister of religion, does not only require great holiness, that they may acceptably offer the christian sacrifices and oblations of prayer and eucharist for the people, and become their fairest examples; but also great abilities, and wise notices of things and persons, strict observation, deep remembrances, prudent applications, courage and caution, severity and mercy, diligence and wisdom, that they may dispense the excellent things of christianity, to the same effect whither they were designed in the councils of eternity, that is, to the glory of God and the benefit of souls.

But it is a sad thing to observe how weakly the souls of men and women are guided; with what false measures they are instructed, how their guides oftentimes strive to please men rather than to save them, and accordingly have fitted their discourses and sermons with easy theorems, such which the schools of learning have fallen upon by chance, or interest, or flattery, or vicious necessities, or superinduced arts, or weak compliances. But from whatsoever cause it does proceed, we feel the thing: there are so many false principles in the institutions and systems of moral or casuistical divinity, and they taught so generally, and believed so unquestionably, and so fitted to the dispositions of men, so complying with their evil inclinations, so apt to produce error and confidence, security and a careless conversation, that neither can there be any way better to promote the interest of souls, nor to vindicate truth, nor to adorn the science itself, or to make religion reasonable and intelligible, or to promote holy life, than by rescuing our schools, and pulpits, and private persuasions, from the believing such propositions which have prevailed very much and very long, but yet which are not only false, but have immediate influence upon the lives of men, so as to become to them a state of universal temptation, from the severities and wisdom of holiness.

When therefore I had observed concerning the church of England [which is the most excellently instructed with a body of true articles, and doctrines of holiness, with a discipline material and prudent, with a government apostolical, with dignities neither splendid nor sordid, too great for contempt, and too little for envy, (unless she had met with little people and greatly malicious,) and indeed with every thing that could instruct or adorn a christian church, so that she wanted nothing but the continuance of peace, and what she already was]; that amongst all her heaps of excellent things, and books by which her sons have ministered to piety and learning both at home and abroad, there was the greatest scarcity of books of cases of conscience; and that while I stood watching that some or other should undertake it according to the ability which God gave them; and yet every one found himself hindered or diverted, persecuted or disabled, and still the work was left undone, I suffered myself to be invited to put my weak hand to this work, rather than that it should not be done at all. But by that time I had made some progression in the first preparatory discourses to the work, I found that a great part of that learning was supported by principles very weak and very false: and that it was in vain to dispute concerning a single case whether it were lawful or no, when, by the general discoursings of men, it might be permitted to live in states of sin without danger or reproof, as to the final event of souls. I thought it therefore necessary, by way of address and preparation to the publication of the particulars, that it should appear to be necessary for a man to live a holy life; and that it could be of concern to him to inquire into the very minutes of his conscience: for if it be no matter how men live, and if the hopes of heaven can well stand with a wicked life, there is nothing in the world more unnecessary, than to inquire after cases of conscience. And if it be sufficient for a man at the last to cry for pardon for having all his life-time neither regarded laws nor conscience, certainly they have found out a better compendium of religion, and need not be troubled with variety of rules and cautions of carefulness and a lasting holiness; nor think concerning any action or state of life, whether it be lawful or not lawful; for it is all one whether it be or no, since neither one nor the other will easily change the event of things.

For let it be imagined, what need there can be that any man should write cases of conscience, or read them, if it be lawful for a man thus to believe and speak.

I have indeed often in my younger years been affrighted with the fearful noises of damnation; and the ministers of religion, for what reasons they best know, did call upon me to deny my appetite, to cross my desires, to destroy my pleasures, to live against my nature; and I was afraid as long as I could not consider the secrets of things; but now I find that in their own books there are for me so many confidencies and securities, that those fears were most unreasonable; and that as long as I live by the rules and measures of nature, I do not offend God, or if I do I shall soon find a pardon. For I consider, that the commandments are impossible, and what is not possible to be done we are not to take care of: and he that fails in one instance, cannot be saved without a pardon, not by his obedience; and he that fails in all, may be saved by pardon and grace. For the case is so, that we are sinners naturally, made so before we were born; and nature can never be changed until she be destroyed: and since all our irregularities spring from that root, it is certain they ought not to be imputed to us, and a man can no more fear God's anger for being inclined to all sin, than for being hungry, or miserable; and therefore I expect from the wisdom and goodness of God some provisions, which will so extinguish this solemn and artificial guilt, that it shall be as if it were not. But in the mean time the certainty of sinning will proceed. For besides that I am told that a man hath no liberty, but a liberty to sin, and this definite liberty is in plain English a very necessity, we see it by a daily experience that those who call themselves good men, are such who do what they would not, and cannot do what they

would; and if it be so, it is better to do what I have a mind to quietly, than to vex myself, and yet do it nevertheless; and that it is so, I am taught in almost all the discourses I have read or heard upon the seventh chapter to the Romans; and therefore if I may have leave to do constantly on to what I am taught to believe, I must confess myself to be under the dominion of sin, and therefore must obey; and that I am bidden to obey unwillingly, and am told that the striving against sin is indeed ordinarily ineffective, and yet is a sign of regeneration; I can soon do that; I can strive against it, and pray against it; but I cannot hope to prevail in either, because I am told beforehand, that even the regenerate are under the power of sin: they will and do not; they do and will not; and so it is with me; I would fain be perfect if I could; but I must not hope it; and therefore I would only do my actions so reasonably, that I would not be tied to vex myself for what I cannot help; or to lose the pleasure of my sin by fretting at it, when it is certain it will be done, and yet I shall remain in the state of regeneration. And who can help all this, but God, whose mercy is indeed infinite; and although in the secret dispensation of affairs, he hath concluded all under sin, yet he had no purpose we should therefore perish; but it was done that he might have mercy upon all; that is, that we may glorify him for supplying our needs, pardoning our sins, relieving our infirmities? And therefore when I consider that God's mercy hath no limit in itself, and is made definite only by the capacity of the object, it is not to be doubted, but he loves his creatures so well, that we shall all rejoice in our being freed from eternal fears. For to justify my hopes, why may not I be confident of heaven for all my sins, since the imputation of Christ's righteousness is that by which I shall be justified? my own is but "like a menstruous rag," and "the just falls seven times a day;" but Christ's cross pays for all. And therefore I am confident I shall do well. For I am one of those for whom Christ died; and I believe this; this faith is not to be reproved, for this is that which justifies,—who shall condemn me? It is not a good life that justifies a man before God, but it is faith in the special promises; for indeed it being impossible to live innocently, it is necessary that a way of God's own finding out should be relied upon. Only this indeed I do, I do avoid the capital sins, blasphemies, and horrid murders; I am γενναίως ἁμαρτάνων, "I sin like a gentleman," not like a thief, I suffer infirmities, but do not do like a devil; and though I sin, yet I repent speedily, and when I sin again I repent again, and my spiritual state is like my natural, day and night succeed each by a never-failing revolution. I sin indeed in some instances, but I do my duty in many; and every man hath his infirmities; no man can say, My soul is pure from sin; but I hope that because I repent still as I sin, my sins are but as single actions; and since I resist them what I can, I hope they will be reckoned to me but as sins of infirmity, without which no man is or can be in this state of imperfection. For if I pray against a sin, and my spirit does resist it, though the flesh prevails, yet I am in the state of grace. For that I may own publicly what I am publicly taught; a man cannot be soon out of the state of grace, but he may be soon in; God's love is lasting and perpetual when it hath once begun; and when the curtain is drawn over the state of grace by the intervening of a sin, yet as soon as ever we begin to cry for pardon, nay, when we do but say we will confess our sins, nay, when we do but resolve we will, God meets us with his pardon, and prevents us with some portions of it. And let things be at the worst they can, yet he that confesseth his sins to God, shall find mercy at the hands of God; and he hath established a holy ministry in his church to absolve all penitents: and if I go to one of them, and tell the sad story of my infirmity, the good man will presently warrant my pardon, and absolve me. But then I remember this also, that as my infirmity that is unavoidable shall not prejudice me, so neither shall any time prejudice my repentance. For if on my death-bed I cry unto God for pardon, and turn heartily unto God in the very instant of my dissolution, I am safe; because whenever a man converts to God, in the same instant God turns to him, or else it were possible for God to hate him that loves God, and our repentance should in some periods be rejected, expressly against all the promises. For it is an act of contrition, an act of the love of God, that reconciles us; and I shall be very unfortunate, if in the midst of all my pains, when my needs increase, and my fears are pregnant, and myself am ready to accept pardon upon any terms, I shall not then do so much as one act of a hearty sorrow and contrition. But however, I have the consent of almost all men, and all the schools of learning in the world, that after a wicked life my repentance at last shall be accepted. St. Ambrose, who was a good probable doctor, and one as fit to be relied on as any man else, in his funeral oration of Valentinian hath these words; "Blessed is he truly, who even in his old age hath amended his error; blessed is he, who even just before the stroke of death turns his mind from vice. Blessed are they whose sins are covered, for it is written, Cease from evil, and do good, and dwell for evermore. Whoever therefore shall leave off from sin, and shall in any age be turned to better things, he hath the pardon of his former sins, which either he hath confessed with the affections of a penitent, or turned from them with the desires of amends. But this prince hath company enough in the way of his obtaining pardon; for there are very many who could in their old age recall themselves from the slipperiness and sins of their youth; but seldom is any one to be found, who in his youth with a serious sobriety will bear the heavy yoke." And I remember that when Faustus bishop of Rhegium, being asked by Paulinus bishop of Nola, from Marinus the hermit, whether a man who was involved in carnal sins, and exercised all that a criminous person could do, might obtain a full pardon, if he did suddenly repent in the day of his death? did answer peevishly, and severely, and

gave no hopes, nor would allow pardon to any such; Avitus the archbishop of Vienna reproved his pride and his morosity, and gave express sentence for the validity of such a repentance:[e] and that gentleness hath been the continual doctrine of the church for many ages; insomuch that in the year 1584, Henry Kyspenning, a canon of Zante, published a book, entitled, "The Evangelical Doctrine of the Meditation of Death, with Solid Exhortations and Comforts to the Sick, from the Currents of Scripture, and the Commentaries of the Fathers,"—where teaching the sick man how to answer the objections of Satan, he makes this to be the fifteenth;[f] "I repent too late of my sins." He bids him answer, "It is not late if it be true: and to the thief upon the cross Christ said, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise:" and afterwards. "A short prayer easily pierceth heaven, so it be darted forth with a vehement force of the spirit. Truly the history of the Kings tells, that David, who was so great a sinner, used but three syllables; for he is read to have said no more but 'Peccavi,' I have sinned. For St. Ambrose said, the flame of the sacrifice of his heart ascends up to heaven. Because we have a merciful and gentle Lord: and the correction of our sins needs not much time, but great fervour."—And to the same purpose are the words of Alcuinus the tutor of Charles the Great: "It behoves us to come to repentance with all confidence, and by faith to believe undoubtedly, that by repentance our sins may be blotted out: 'etiamsi in ultimo vitæ spiritu commissa pœniteat,' 'although we repent of our sins in the last breath of our life.'"

Now after all these grounds of hope and confidence to a sinner, what can be pretended in defiance of a sinful life; and since men will hope upon one ground, though it be trifling and inconsiderable, when there are so many doctrinal grounds of hopes, established propositions, parts of religion and articles of faith, to rely upon, (for, all these particulars before reckoned, men are called upon to believe earnestly, and are hated and threatened and despised, if they do not believe them,) what is there left to discourage the evil lives of men, or to lessen a full iniquity, since upon the account of the premises, either we may do what we list without sin, or sin without punishment, or go on without fear, or repent without danger, and without scruple be confident of heaven?

And now if moral theology rely upon such notices as these, I thought my work was at an end before I had well finished the first steps of my progression. The whole sum of affairs was in danger, and therefore I need not trouble myself or others with consideration of the particulars. I therefore thought it necessary first to undermine these false foundations; and since an inquiry into the minutes of conscience is commonly the work of persons that live holily, I ought to take care that this be accounted necessary, and all false warrants to the contrary be cancelled, that there might be many "idonei auditores," "persons competent to hear," and read, and such who ought to be promoted and assisted in their holy intendments. And I bless God there are very many such; and though iniquity does abound, yet God's grace is conspicuous and remarkable in the lives of very many, to whom I shall design all the labours of my life, as being dear to God, and my dear brethren in the service of Jesus. But I would fain have the churches as full as I could before I begin; and therefore I esteemed it necessary to publish these papers before my other, as containing the greatest lines of conscience, and the most general cases of our whole life, even all the doctrine of repentance, upon which all the hopes of men depend through Jesus Christ.

But I have other purposes also in the publication of this book. The ministers of the church of Rome (who ever love to fish in troubled waters, and to oppress the miserable and afflicted, if they differ from them in a proposition) use all the means they can to persuade our people, that the man that is afflicted, is not alive; that the church of England, now it is a persecuted church, is no church at all; and though (blessed be God) our propositions, and doctrines, and liturgy, and communion, are sufficiently vindicated in despite of all their petty oppositions and trifling arrests, yet they will never leave making noises and outcries; which for my part I can easily neglect, as finding them to be nothing but noise. But yet I am willing to try the rights and excellencies of a church with them upon other accounts; by such indications as are the most proper tokens of life, I mean, propositions of holiness, the necessities of a holy life: for certainly that church is most to be followed, who brings us nearest to God; and they make our approaches nearest, who teach us to be most holy, and whose doctrines command the most excellent and severest lives. But if it shall appear that the prevailing doctrines in the church of Rome do consequently teach or directly warrant impiety, or, which is all one, are too easy in promising pardon, and for it have no defences, but distinctions of their own inventing, I suppose it will be a greater reproof to their confidence and bold pretensions, than a discourse against one of their immaterial propositions, that have neither certainty nor usefulness. But I had rather that they would preach severity, than be reproved for their careless propositions, and therefore am well pleased that even amongst themselves some are so convinced of the weakness of their usual ministries of repentance, that, as much as they dare, they call upon the priests to be more deliberate in their absolutions, and severe in their impositions of satisfactions, requiring a longer time of repentance before the penitents be reconciled.

Monsieur Arnauld, of the Sorbonne, hath appeared publicly in reproof of a frequent and easy communion, without the just and long preparations of repentance, and its proper exercises and ministry. Petavius the Jesuit hath opposed him; the one cries, "The present church," the other, "The ancient church;" and as Petavius is too hard for his adversary in the present authority, so Monsieur Arnauld hath the clearest advantage in the pretensions of antiquity and the arguments of truth; from

[e] Epist. 4. [f] Lib. 3. c. 11.

which Petavius and his abettor Bagot the Jesuit have no escape or defensative, but by distinguishing repentance into solemn and sacramental: which is just as if they should say, repentance is twofold; one, such as was taught and practised by the primitive church; the other, that which is in use this day in the church of Rome: for there is not so much as one pregnant testimony in antiquity for the first four hundred years, that there was any repentance thought of, but repentance toward God, and sometimes performed in the church, in which, after their stations were performed, they were admitted to the holy communion; excepting only in the danger or article of death, in which they hastened the communion, and enjoined the stations to be afterward completed, in case they did recover, and if they did not, they left the event to God. But this question of theirs can never be ended upon the new principles, nor shall be freely argued because of their interest. For whoever are obliged to profess some false propositions, shall never from thence find out an entire truth; but like casks in a troubled sea, sometimes they will be under water, sometimes above. For the productions of error are infinite, but most commonly monstrous: and in the fairest of them there will be some crooked or deformed part.

But of the thing itself I have given such accounts as I could, being engaged on no side, and the servant of no interest, and have endeavoured to represent the dangers of every sinner, the difficulty of obtaining pardon, the many parts and progressions of repentance, the severity of the primitive church, their rigid doctrines and austere disciplines; the degrees of easiness and complyings that came in by negligence; and I desire that the effect should be, that all the pious and religious curates of souls in the church of England would endeavour to produce so much fear and reverence, caution and wariness, in all their penitents, that they should be willing to undergo more severe methods in their restitution than now they do: that men should not dare to approach to the holy sacrament, as soon as ever their foul hands are wet with a drop of holy rain; but that they should expect the periods of life, and when they have given to their curate fair testimony of a hearty repentance, and know it to be so within themselves, they may with comfort to all parties, communicate with holiness and joy. For I conceive this to be that event of things which was designed by St. Paul[g] in that excellent advice; "Obey them that have the rule over you, *καὶ ὑπείκετε*, 'submit yourselves,' (viz. to their ordering and discipline,) because they watch for your souls, as they that must give accounts for them, that they may do it with joy." I am sure we cannot give accounts of souls of which we have no notice: and though we had reason to rescue them from the yoke of bondage, which the unjust laws and fetters of annual and private confession (as it was by them ordered) did make men to complain of; yet I believe we should be all unwilling our charges should exchange these fetters for worse, and by shaking off the laws of confession, accidentally entertain the tyranny of sin. It was neither fit that all should be tied to it, nor yet that all should throw it off. There are some sins, and some cases, and some persons, to whom an actual ministry and personal provision and conduct by the priest's office, were better than food or physic. It were therefore very well if great sinners could be invited to bear the yoke of holy discipline, and do their repentances under the conduct of those who must give an account of them, that they would inquire into the state of their souls, that they would submit them to be judged by those who are justly and rightly appointed over them, or such whom they are permitted to choose; and then that we would apply ourselves to understand the secrets of religion, the measures of the Spirit, the conduct of souls, the advantages and disadvantages of things and persons, the ways of life and death, the labyrinths of temptation, and all the remedies of sin, the public and private, the great and little, lines of conscience, and all those ways by which men may be assisted and promoted in the ways of godliness: for such knowledge, as it is most difficult and secret, untaught and unregarded, so it is most necessary; and for want of it, the holy sacrament of the eucharist is oftentimes given to them that are in the gall of bitterness: that which is holy is given to dogs. Indeed neither we nor our forefathers could help it always; and the discipline of the church could seize but upon few: all were invited, but none but the willing could receive the benefit; but, however, it were pity that men, upon the account of little and trifling objections, should be discouraged from doing themselves benefit, and from enabling us with greater advantages to do our duty to them. It was of old observed of the christians; *Πείθονται τοῖς ὡρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους*: "They obey the laws, and by the excellency of their own lives excel the perfection of the laws:" and it is not well, if we shall be earnest to tell them that such a thing is not necessary, if we know it to be good. For in this present dissolution of manners, to tell the people concerning any good thing, that it is not necessary, is to tempt them to let it alone.

The presbyterian ministers (who are of the church of England, just as the Irish are English) have obtained such power with their proselytes, that they take some account of the souls (of such as they please) before they admit them to their communion in sacraments; they do it to secure them to their party, or else make such accounts to be as their Shibboleth, to discern their Jews from the men of Ephraim: but it were very well we would do that for conscience, for charity, and for piety, which others do for interest, or zeal; and that we would be careful to use all those ministries, and be earnest for all those doctrines, which visibly in the causes of things are apt to produce holiness and severe living. It is no matter whether by these arts any sect or name be promoted; it is certain christian religion would, and that is the real interest of us all, that those who are under our charges should know the force of the resurrection of Christ, and the conduct of the Spirit, and live according to the purity

[g] Heb. xiii. 17.

of God, and the light of the gospel. To this let us co-operate with all wisdom, and earnestness, and knowledge, and spiritual understanding. And there is no better way in the world to do this, than by ministering to persons singly in the conduct of their repentance; which as it is the work of every man, so there are but few persons who need not the conduct of a spiritual guide in the beginnings and progressions of it.

To the assistance of this work I have now put my symbol, having by the sad experience of my own miseries and the calamities of others, to whose restitution I have been called to minister, been taught something of the secret of souls: and I have reason to think that the words of our dearest Lord to St. Peter were also spoken to me; "Tu autem conversus confirma fratres." I hope I have received many of the mercies of a repenting sinner, and I have felt the turnings and varieties of spiritual intercourses; and I have often observed the advantages in ministering to others, and am most confident that the greatest benefits of our office may, with best effect, be communicated to souls in personal and particular ministrations. In the following book I have given advices, and have asserted many truths in order to all this: I have endeavoured to break in pieces almost all those propositions, upon the confidence of which men have been negligent of severe and strict living: I have cancelled some false grounds upon which many answers in moral theology used to be made to inquiries in cases of conscience: I have, according to my weak ability, described all the necessities, and great inducements of a holy life; and have endeavoured to do it so plainly, that it may be useful to every man, and so inoffensively, that it may hurt no man.

I know but one objection which I am likely to meet withal (excepting those of my infirmity and disability, which I cannot answer but by protesting the piety of my purposes) but this only, that in the chapter of original sin, I speak otherwise than is spoken commonly in the church of England: whose ninth article affirms, that the natural propensity to evil, and the perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit, deserves the anger of God and damnation; against which I so earnestly seem to dispute in the sixth chapter of my book. To this I answer, that it is one thing to say a thing in its own nature deserves damnation; and another to say, it is damnable to all those persons in whom it is subjected. The thing itself, that is, our corrupted nature, or our nature of corruption, does leave us in the state of separation from God, by being unable to bear us to heaven: imperfection of nature can never carry us to the perfections of glory; and this I conceive to be all that our church intends: for that in the state of nature we can only fall short of heaven, and be condemned to a "pœna damni," is the severest thing that any sober person owns; and this I say, that nature alone cannot bring us to God; without the regeneration of the Spirit, and the grace of God, we can never go to heaven: but because this nature was not spoiled by infants, but by persons of reason, and we are all admitted to a new covenant of mercy and grace, made with Adam presently after his fall, that is, even before we were born, as much as we were to a participation of sin before we were born, no man can perish actually for that, because he is reconciled by this. He that says, every sin is damnable, and deserves the anger of God, says true; but yet some persons that sin of mere infirmity, are accounted by God in the rank of innocent persons. So it is in this article. Concupiscence remains in the regenerate, and yet concupiscence hath the nature of sin, but it brings not condemnation. These words explain the former. Original imperfection is such a thing as is even in the regenerate; and it is of the nature of sin, that is, it is the effect of one sin, and the cause of many; but yet it is not damning, because as it is subjected in unconsenting persons, it loses its own natural venom, and relation to guiltiness, that is, it may of itself in its abstracted nature be a sin, and deserve God's anger, viz. in some persons, in all them that consent to it: but that which will always be in persons that shall never be damned, that is, in infants and regenerate, shall never damn them. And this is the main of what I affirm. And since the church of England intended that article against the doctrine of the Pelagians, I suppose I shall not be thought to recede from the spirit and sense of the article, though I use differing manners of expression; because my way of explicating this question, does most of all destroy the Pelagian heresy, since although I am desirous to acquit the dispensation of God and his justice from any imputation or suspicion of wrong, and am loth to put our sins upon the account of another, yet I impute all our evils to the imperfections of our nature and the malice of our choice, which does most of all demonstrate, not only the necessity of grace, but also of infant baptism: and then to accuse this doctrine of Pelagianism, or any newer name of heresy, will seem like impotency and weakness of spirit; but there will be nothing of truth or learning in it. And although this article was penned according to the style of the schools, as they then did love to speak, yet the hardest word in it is capable of such a sense as complies with the intendment of that whole sixth chapter. For though the church of England professes herself fallible, and consequently that all her truths may be peaceably improved; yet I do think that she is not actually deceived; and also that divers eminently learned do consent in my sense of that article. However, I am so truly zealous for her honour and peace, that I wholly submit all that I say there, or any where else, to her most prudent judgment. And though I may most easily be deceived, yet I have given my reasons for what I say, and desire to be tried by them, not by prejudice, and numbers, and zeal: and if any man resolves to understand the article in any other sense than what I have now explicated, all that I shall say is, that it may be I cannot reconcile my doctrine to his explication; it is enough that it is consistent with the article itself in its best understanding and compliance with the truth itself, and the justification of God. However, he that explicates the article, and thinks

it means as he says, does all the honour he can to the authority; whose words if he does not understand, yet the sanction he reveres.

And this liberty I now take, is no other than hath been used by the severest votaries in that church where to dissent is death, I mean, in the church of Rome. I call to witness those disputations and contradictory assertions in the matter of some articles, which are to be observed in Andreas Vega, Dominicus à Soto, Andradius, the lawyers about the question of divorces, and clandestine contracts, the divines about predetermination, and about this very article of original sin, as relating to the Virgin Mary. But blessed be God, we are under the discipline of a prudent, charitable, and indulgent mother; and if I may be allowed to suppose, that the article means no more in short, than the office of baptism explicates at large, I will abide by the trial, there is not a word in the rubrics or prayers, but may very perfectly consist with the doctrine I deliver. But though the church of England is my mother, and I hope I shall ever live, and at last die, in her communion, and if God shall call me to it, and enable me, I will not refuse to die for her; yet I conceive there is something most highly considerable in that saying, "Call no man master upon earth:" that is, no man's explication of her articles shall prejudice my affirmative, if it agrees with Scripture, and right reason, and the doctrine of the primitive church for the first three hundred years; and if in any of this I am mistaken, I will most thankfully be reproved, and most readily make honourable amends. But my proposition, I hope, is not built upon the sand: and I am most sure it is so zealous for God's honour, and the reputation of his justice and wisdom, and goodness, that I hope all that are pious (unless they labour under some prejudice, and prepossession) will upon that account be zealous for it, or at least confess, that what I intend hath in it more of piety, than their negative can have of certainty. That which is strained and held too hard will soonest break. He that stoops to the authority, yet twists the article with truth, preserves both with modesty and religion.

One thing more I fear will trouble some persons, who will be apt to say to me, as Avitus of Vienna did to Faustus of Rhegium; "Hic quantum ad frontem pertinet, quasi abstinentissimam vitam professus, et non secretam crucem, sed publicam vanitatem," &c. That upon pretence of great severity, as if I were exact or could be, I urge others to so great strictness, which will rather produce despair than holiness. Though I have in its proper place taken care concerning this, and all the way intend, to rescue men from the just causes and inlets to despair; that is, not to make them do that against which, by preaching a holy life, I have prepared the best defensative; yet this I shall say here particularly, that I think this objection is but a mere excuse which some men would make, lest they should believe it necessary to live well. For to speak truth, men are not very apt to despair, they have ten thousand ways to flatter themselves, and they will hope in despite of all arguments to the contrary; in all the Scripture there is but one example of a despairing man, and that was Judas; who did so, not upon the stock of any fierce propositions preached to him, but upon the load of his foul sin, and the pusillanimity of his spirit. But they are not to be numbered who live in sin, and yet "sibi suaviter benedicunt," think themselves in a good condition; and all they that rely upon those false principles which I have reckoned in this preface, and confuted in the book, are examples of it. But it were well if men would distinguish the sin of despair from the misery of despair. Where God hath given us no warrant to hope, there to despair is no sin; it may be a punishment, and to hope also may be presumption.

I shall end with the most charitable advice I can give to any of my erring brethren. Let no man be so vain as to use all the wit and arts, all the shifts and devices, of the world that he may behold, to enjoy the pleasure of his sin, since it may bring him into that condition, that it will be disputed, whether he shall despair or no. Our duty is to make our calling and election sure; which certainly cannot be done but by a timely and effective repentance. But they that will be confident in their health, are sometimes pusillanimous in their sickness, presumptuous in sin, and despairing in the day of their calamity. "Cognitio de incorrupto Dei judicio in multis dormit; sed excitari solet circa mortem," said Plato.[h] For though men give false sentences of the Divine judgments when their temptations are high, and their sin is pleasant, yet "about the time of their death, their understanding and notices are awakened," and they see what they would not see before, and what they cannot now avoid.

Thus I have given account of the design of this book to you, most reverend fathers and religious brethren of this church; and to your judgment I submit what I have here discoursed of; as knowing that the chiefest part of the ecclesiastical office is conversant about repentance; and the whole government of the primitive church was almost wholly employed in ministering to the orders, and restitution and reconciliation of penitents; and therefore you are not only by your ability, but by your employment and experiences, the most competent judges, and the aptest promoters of those truths, by which repentance is made most perfect and irreprovable. By your prayers, and your authority, and your wisdom, I hope it will be more and more effected, that the strictnesses of a holy life be thought necessary, and that repentance may be no more that trifling little piece of duty, to which the errors of the late schools of learning, and the desires of men to be deceived in this article, have reduced it. I have done thus much of my part toward it, and I humbly desire it may be accepted by God, by you, and by all good men.

JER. TAYLOR.

[h] De Repub. I.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION AND NECESSITY OF REPENTANCE.

SECTION I.

Of the indispensable Necessity of Repentance in Remedy to the unavoidable transgressing the Covenant of Works.

IN the first intercourse with man, God made such a covenant as he might justly make out of his absolute dominion, and such as was agreeable with those powers which he gave us, and the instances in which obedience was demanded. For, 1. Man was made perfect in his kind, and God demanded of him perfect obedience. 2. The first covenant was "the covenant of works;" that is, there was nothing in it, but man was to obey or die: but God laid but one command upon him that we find; the covenant was instanced but in one precept. In that he failed, and therefore he was lost. There was here no remedy, no second thoughts, no amends to be made. But because much was not required of him, and the commandment was very easy, and he had strengths more than enough to keep it, therefore he had no cause to complain: God might, and did, exact at first the covenant of works; because it was, at first, infinitely tolerable. But,

2. From this time forward this covenant began to be hard, and, by degrees, became impossible; not only because man's fortune was broken, and his spirit troubled, and his passions disordered and vexed by his calamity and his sin,—but because man, upon the birth of children and the increase of the world, contracted new relations, and consequently had new duties and obligations; and men hindered one another, and their faculties by many means became disordered, and lessened in their abilities; and their will becoming perverse, they first were unwilling, and then unable, by superinducing dispositions and habits, contrary to their duty. However, because there was a necessity that man should be tied to more duty, God did, in the several periods of the world, multiply commandments, first to Noah, then to Abraham, and then to his posterity; and by this time they were very many: and still God held over man's head the covenant of works.

3. Upon the pressure of this covenant all the world did complain, "tanta mandata sunt, ut impossibile sit servari ea," said St. Ambrose: "the commandments were so many and great, that it was impossible they should be kept."[i] For, at first, there were no promises at all of any good, nothing but a threatening of evil to the transgressors; and after a long time they were entertained but with the promise of temporal good things, which to some men were performed by the pleasures and rewards of sin; and then there being a great imperfection in the nature of man, it could not be that man should remain innocent; and for repentance, in this covenant there was no regard, or provisions made. But I said,

4. The covenant of works was still kept on foot—how justly, will appear in the sequel; but the reasonableness of it was in this, that men, living in a state of awfulness, might be under a pedagogy of severe institution, restraining their loosenesses, recollecting their inadvertences, uniting their distractions. For the world was not then prepared by spiritual usages and dispositions to be governed by love and an easy yoke, but by threatenings and severities. And this is the account St. Paul gives of it, ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς, "the law as a schoolmaster;" that is, had a temporary authority serving to other ends, with no final concluding power. It could chastise and threaten, but it could not condemn: it had not power of eternal life and death; that was given by other measures. But because the world was wild and barbarous, good men were few, the bad potent and innumerable, and sin was conducted and helped forward by pleasure and impunity,—it was necessary that God should superinduce a law, and show them the rod, and affright and check their confidences, lest the world itself should perish by dissolution. The law of Moses was still a part of the covenant of works. Some little it had of repentance: sacrifice and expiations were appointed for small sins; but nothing at all for greater. Every great sin brought death infallibly. And as it had a little image of repentance, so it had something of promises, to be as a grace and auxiliary to set forward obedience. But this would not do it. The promises were temporal, and that could not secure obedience in great instances; and there being for them no remedy appointed by repentance, the law could not justify; it did not promise life eternal, nor give sufficient security against the temporal: only it was brought in as a pedagogy for the present necessity.

5. But this pedagogy or institution was also a manuduction to the gospel. For they were used to severe laws, that they might the more readily entertain the holy precepts of the gospel, to which eternally they would have shut their ears, unless they had some preparatory institution of severity and fear: and therefore St. Paul also calls it, παιδαγωγίαν εἰς Χριστὸν, "a pedagogy," or institution leading "unto Christ."

6. For it was this which made the world of the godly long for Christ, as having commission to open the κρυπτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, "the hidden mystery" of justification by faith and repentance. For the

[i] In cap. 3. Gal.

[k] Gal. iii. 21.

law called for exact obedience, but ministered no grace but that of fear, which was not enough to the performance or the engagement of exact obedience. All, therefore, were here convinced of sin; but by this covenant they had no hopes, and therefore were to expect relief from another and a better: according to that saying of St. Paul, "The Scripture concludes all under sin, (that is, declares all the world to be sinners,) that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."[l] This St. Bernard expresses in these words; "Deus nobis hoc fecit, ut nostram imperfectionem ostenderet, et Christi avidiores nos faceret:" "Our imperfection was sufficiently manifest by the severity of the first covenant, that the world might long for salvation by Jesus Christ."

7. For since mankind could not be saved by the covenant of works, that is, of exact obedience, they must perish for ever; or else hope to be saved by a covenant of ease and remission, that is, such a covenant as may secure man's duty to God, and God's mercy to man; and this is the covenant which God made with mankind in Christ Jesus, the covenant of repentance.

8. This covenant began immediately after Adam's fall. For as soon as the first covenant, the covenant of works, was broken, God promised to make it up by an instrument of mercy, which himself would find out. "The seed of the woman" should make up the breaches of the man. But this should be acted and published in its own time, not presently. In the mean time, man was, by virtue of that new covenant, or promise, admitted to repentance.

9. Adam confessed his sin and repented. Three hundred years together did he mourn upon the mountains of India; and God promised him a Saviour, by whose obedience his repentance should be accepted. And when God did threaten the old world with a flood of waters, he called upon them to repent; but because they did not, God brought upon them the flood of waters. For one hundred and twenty years together he called upon them to return, before he would strike his final blow. Ten times God tried Pharaoh, before he destroyed him. And in all ages, in all periods, and with all men, God did deal by this measure; and (excepting that God in some great cases, or in the beginning of a sanction to establish it with the terror of a great example) he scarce ever destroyed a single man with temporal death for any nicety of the law, but for long and great prevarications of it: and when he did otherwise, he did it after the man had been highly warned of the particular, and could have obeyed easily; which was the case of the man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath; and was like the case of Adam, who was upon the same account judged by the covenant of works.

10. This, then, was an emanation both of God's justice and his mercy. Until man had sinned, he was not the subject of mercy: and if he had not then received mercy, the infliction had been too severe and unjust; since the covenant was beyond the measures of man, after it began to multiply into particular laws, and man by accident was lessened in his strengths.

11. From hence the corollaries are plain, I. God was not unjust for beginning his intercourse with mankind by the covenant of works, for these reasons.

I. Because man had strengths enough to do it, until he lessened his own abilities.

II. The covenant of works was, at first, instanced but in a small commandment: in abstaining from the fruit of one tree, when he had by him very many others for his use and pleasure.

III. It was necessary that the covenant of works should begin: for the covenant of faith and repentance could not be at first; there was no need of it, no opportunity for it, it must suppose a defailance, or an infirmity, as physic supposes sickness and mortality.

IV. God never exacted the obedience of man by strict measures, by the severity of the first covenant after Adam's fall; but men were saved then as now: they were admitted to repentance, and justified by faith and the works of faith. And therefore the Jews say that three things were before the world, the law,—the name of the Messias,—and repentance;—that is, as St. Paul better expresses it, This repentance through faith in the Messias is "the hidden wisdom of God, ordained before the world unto our glory."[m] So that, at first, it was not impossible; and when it was, it was not exacted in the impossible measure: but it was kept in pretence and overture for ends of piety, wisdom, and mercy, of which I have given account; it was *σοφία ἀποκεκρυμμένη*, "a wise dispensation," but it was "hidden."

12. For since it is essential to a law, that it be in a matter that is possible, it cannot be supposed that God would judge man by an impossible commandment.[n] A good man would not do it, much less the righteous and merciful judge of men and angels. But God, by holding over the world the covenant of works, "non fecit prevaricatores sed humiles;" "did not make us sinners" by not observing the *ἀκρίβεια*, the minutes and tittles of the law, "but made us humble," needing mercy, begging grace, longing for a Saviour, relying upon a better covenant, waiting for better promises, praying for the Spirit of grace, repenting of our sins, deploring our infirmities, and justified by faith in the promises of God.

13. II. This, then, is the great introduction and necessity of repentance. We neither could have lived without it, nor have understood the way of the Divine justice, nor have felt any thing of his most glorious attribute. But the admission of us to repentance is the great verification of his justice, and the most excellent expression of his mercy: this is the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, springing from the fountains of grace, purchased by the blood of the holy Lamb, the eternal sacrifice, promised from the beginning, always ministered to man's need in the secret economy of God, but proclaimed to all the

[l] Gal. iii. 22.
[m] 1 Cor. ii. 7.
[n] Plato, lib. 5. de leg. Demosth. contra Timocratem. Plutar. in Solon. Curius Fortunatianus Rhet. Nemo obligatur ad impossibile.

world at the revelation of God incarnate, the first day of our Lord Jesus.

14. But what are we eased now under the gospel, which is a law of greater holiness and more commandments, and a sublimer purity, in which we are tied to more severity than ever man was bound to, under any institution and covenant? If the law was an impossible commandment, who can say he hath strictly and punctually performed the injunctions of the gospel? Is not the little finger of the Son heavier than the Father's loins? Here therefore it is to be inquired, Whether the commandments of Jesus Christ be as impossible to be kept as the law of Moses? If we by Christ be tied to more holiness than the sons of Israel were by Moses's law, then because that could not be kept, then neither can this. But if we be not tied to more than they, how is the law of Christ a more perfect institution? and how can we now be justified by a law no better than that, by which we could not be justified? But then, if this should be as impossible as ever, why is it anew imposed? why is it held over us, when the ends for which it was held over us, now are served? And at last, how can it be agreeable to God's wisdom and justice, to exact of us a law which we cannot perform, or to impose a law which cannot justly be exacted? The answering and explicating this difficulty, will serve many propositions in the doctrine of repentance.

SECTION II.

Of the Possibility or Impossibility of keeping the Precepts of the Gospel.

15. It were strange that it should be possible for all men to keep the commandments, and required and exacted of all men with the intermination or threatening of horrid pains, and yet that no man should ever do it. St. Jerome brings in Atticus thus arguing; "Da exemplum, aut confitere imbecillitatem tuam;"[o] and the same also was the argument of Orosius; and the reasonableness of it is a great prejudice against the contrary affirmation of St. Austin, Alipius et Evodias, Aurelius et Possidius, who,—because it is no good consequence to argue "à non esse ad non posse," and though it is not done, yet possibly it might; conclude, that it is possible to keep the commandments; though as yet no man ever did, but he that did it for us all. But as Marcellinus said well, "It is hard to say, that by a man a thing can be done, of which although there was a great necessity and a severe commandment, yet there never was any example."—Because in men there is such infinite variety of tempers, dispositions, apprehensions, designs, fears and hopes, purposes and interests, that it were next to a miracle that not one of all mankind should do what he can, and what so highly concerns him. But because this, although it be a high probability, yet is no certain demonstration; that which St. Paul[p] taught is certainly to be relied upon, "that the law could no do it for us," that is, could not bring us justification "in that it was weak through the flesh;" meaning that because we were so weak we could not fulfi the righteousness of the law, therefore we could no be justified by that covenant. "Mosi manus graves facies cornuta, impedita lingua, lapideæ tabulæ:" "Moses's hands were heavy, his face bright, his tongue stammering, and the tables were of stone;" by which is meant, that the imposition and the burden were great, but the shoulder is weak and crushed, and therefore was not able to bear it; and therefore much less can it stand under a bigger load, if the holy precepts of the gospel should prove so, and we be assisted by no firmer supporters.

16. For the nature and constitution of man are such, that he cannot perpetually attend to any state of things: "Voluntas per momenta variatur, quia solus Deus immutabilis;"[q] Variety and change, inconstancy and repentance, are in his very nature. If he be negligent, he is soon tempted. If he be watchful, he is soon wearied. If he be not instructed, he is exposed to every abuse. If he be, yet he is ignorant of more than he knows, and may be cozened by very many things; and in what he knows or seems to know, he is sometimes confident, sometimes capricious, curious and impertinent, proud and contemptuous. The commandments are instanced in things against our natural inclinations, and are restraints upon our appetite; and although a man may do it in single instances, yet to act a part of perpetual violence and preternatural contentions, is too hard and severe an expectation, and the often-unavoidable failings of men will show how impossible it is. It is, as St Jerome's expression is, as if a man should hale a boat against the stream; if ever he slacken his hand, the vessel falls back: and if ever we give way to our appetite in any of the forbidden instances, we descend naturally and easily. Some vices are proportionable to a man's temper, and there he falls pleasantly and with desire; Ἡδὺ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ βίαιον λυπηρὸν, said Aristotle; "That which is natural is sweet, but that which is violent is troublesome:" to others he is indifferent, but to them he is turned by every bias. If a man be morose, he is apt to offend with sullenness and angry pretensions; but if he be compliant and gentle, he is easily cozened with fair entreaties. If he be alone, he is sad and fantastic, and "woe to him that is alone;" if he be in company, it will be very hard for him to go with them to the utmost limits of permission, and not to step beyond it. No man's leisure is great enough to attend the inquiry after all the actions and particulars, for which he is to be judged: and he does many things, which he considers not whether they be sins or no; and when he does consider, he often judges wrong. For some things there are no certain measures; and there are very many constituent or intervening things and circumstances of things, by which it is made impossible to give a certain judgment of the whole.

[o] Lib. 1. Dial. adv. Pelag.
[p] Rom. viii.
[q] St. Jerom. lib. 2. in Gal. c. 3.
[r] Rhet. lib. 1.

Oftentimes a man is surprised and cannot deliberate for want of time: sometimes he is amazed, and wants order and distinction to his thoughts, and cannot deliberate for want of powers. Sometimes the case is such, that if a man determines it against his temporal interest, he determines falsely, and yet he thinks he does it safest: and if he judges in compliance with his temporal regards, he cannot be confident but that he was moved, not by the prevailing reason, but by prevailing passion. If the dispute be concerning degrees, there is no certain measure to weigh them by: and yet sometimes a degree does diversify the kind, and virtue and vice are but differing degrees of the same instance: and the ways of sinning upon the stock of ignorance are as many as there are ignorances, and degrees, and parts, and vicious causes, and instances of it.

17. Concerning our infirmities, they are so many that we can no more account concerning the ways of error coming upon that stock, than it can be reckoned in how many places a lame man may stumble, that goes a long journey in difficult and uneven ways. We have beginning infant-strengths, "which are therefore imperfect because they can grow:" "Crescere posse imperfectæ rei signum est:"[s] and when they are most confirmed and full grown, they are imperfect still. When we can reckon all the things of chance, then we have summed up the dangers and aptnesses of man to sin upon that one principle; but so as they can, they are summed up in the words of Epiphanius;[t] Οὐκ ἀναιροῦμεν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, εἰδότες τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ τὸ συγγνωστὸν τῆς φύσεως, τὸ εὐριπιστὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς σαρκὸς, τὸ πολύθλυστον τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰσθήσεως. "The condition of our nature, the inconstancy of our spirits, the infirmity of our flesh, the distraction of our senses, are an argument to make us with confidence expect pardon and mercy from the loving-kindness of the Lord, according to the preaching of truth, the gospel of Christ."

18. But besides all this, the numbers of sin are not easily to be told: the lines of account are various and changeable, our opinions uncertain, and we are affrighted from one into another, and all changes from sin are not into virtue, but more commonly into sin. "Obsessa mens hominis et undique diaboli infestatione vallata vix occurrit singulis, vix resistit; si avaritia prostrata est, exsurgit libido."[u] And if we do not commit things forbidden, yet the sins of omission are innumerable and undiscernible. Businesses intervene, and visits are made, and civilities to be rendered, and friendly compliances to be entertained, and necessities to be served, and some things thought so which are not so,—and so the time goes away, and the duty is left undone; prayers are hindered, and prayers are omitted; and concerning every part of time which was once in our power, no man living can give a fair account.

19. This moral demonstration of the impossibility of perfect and exact obedience and innocence, would grow too high, if I should tell how easily our duties are soured even when we think we walk wisely. Severity is quickly turned into ungentleness, love of children to indulgence, joy to gaiety, melancholy to peevishness, love of our wives to fondness, liberties of marriage to licentiousness, devotion to superstition, austerity to pride, feasting to intemperance, urbanity to foolish jesting, a free speech into impertinence and idle talking.

20. There were no bottom of this consideration, if we consider how all mankind sins with the tongue. "He that offends not in his tongue, he is a perfect man indeed:" but experience and the following considerations do manifest, that no man is so perfect. For,

21. Every passion of the soul is a spring and a shower, a parent and a nurse, to sin. Our passions either mistake their objects, or grow intemperate; either they put too much upon a trifle, or too little upon the biggest interest. They are material and sensual, best pleased and best acquainted with their own objects: and we are to do some things, which it is hard to be told how they can be in our own power. We are commanded to be angry, to love, to hope, to desire certain things towards which we cannot be so affected ever when we please. A man cannot love or hate upon the stock and interest of a commandment, and yet these are parts of our duty. To mourn and to be sorrowful are natural effects of their proper apprehensions, and therefore are not properly capable of a law. Though it be possible for a man who is of a sanguine complexion, in perfect health and constitution, not to act his lust; yet it will be found next to impossible not to love it, not to desire it: and who will find it possible that every man, and in all cases of his temptation, should overcome his fear? But if this fear be instanced in a matter of religion, it will be apt to multiply eternal scruples; and they are equivocal effects of a good meaning, but are proper and univocal enemies to piety and a wise religion.

22. I need not take notice of the infinite variety of thoughts and sentences, that divide all mankind concerning their manner of pleasing and obeying God; and the appendant zeal by which they are furiously driven on to promote their errors or opinions, as they think, for God: and he that shall tell these men they do amiss, would be wondered at; for they think themselves secure of a good reward, even when they do horrible things. But the danger here is very great, when the instrument of serving God is nothing but opinion and passion abused by interest; especially since this passion of itself is very much to be suspected; it being temerity or rashness; (for some zeal is no better;) and its very formality is inadvertency and inconsideration.

23. But the case is very often so, that even the greatest consideration is apt to be mistaken: and how shall men be innocent, when besides the signal precepts of the gospel, there are propounded to us some general measures, and, as I may call them, "extraregular lines," by which our actions are to be directed; such as are, the analogy of faith, fame,

[s] Seneca, Ep. 67. [t] Hæres. 59.

[u] Zabuli. St. Cypr. de oper. et eleemos.

reputation, public honesty, not giving offence, being exemplary; all which, and divers others, being indefinite measures of good and evil, are pursued as men please, and as they will understand them. And because concerning these, God alone can judge righteously, he alone can tell when we have observed them: we cannot; and therefore it is certain we very often do mistake.

24. Hence it is that they who mean holiness and purity, are forced to make to themselves rules and measures by way of idea or instrument, endeavouring to choose that side which is the surest; which indeed is but a guessing at the way we should walk in; and yet by this way also, men do often run into a snare, and lay trouble and intricacy upon their consciences, unnecessary burdens which presently they grow weary of: and in striving to shake them off, they gall the neck, and introduce tediousness of spirit or despair.

25. For we see when religion grows high, the dangers do increase, not only by the proper dangers of that state, and the more violent assaults made against saints than against meaner persons of no religious interest; but because it will be impossible for any man to know certainly what intention of spirit is the "minimum religionis," the necessary condition, under, or less than, which God will not accept the action: and yet sometimes two duties justle one another, and while we are zealous in one, we less attend the other, and therefore cannot easily be certain of our measures; and because sometimes two duties of a very different matter are to be reconciled and waited upon, who can tell what will be the event of it,—since man's nature is so limited and little, that it cannot at once attend upon two objects?

26. Is it possible that a man should so attend his prayers, that his mind should be always present and never wander? does not every man complain of this, and yet no man can help it? And if of this alone we had cause to complain, yet even for this we were not innocent in others; and "he that is an offender in one, is guilty of all;" and yet it is true that "in many things we all offend." And all this is true when a man is well and when he is wise; but he may be foolish and he will be sick; and there is a new scene of dangers, new duties, and new infirmities, and new questions, and the old uncertainty of things, and the same certainty of doing our duty weakly, and imperfectly, and pitiably.

> ——Quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
> Conatus non pœniteat votique peracti? JUVEN.

27. Since therefore every sin is forbidden, and yet it can enter from so many angles, I may conclude in the words of Sedulius;[x] "Lex spiritualis est, quia spiritualia mandat, ardua præcipit opera spiritus, prohibens peccata, et ideò non potest impleri:" "God's law is spiritual, and we are carnal and disproportionate to it while we are in the state of conjunction, and therefore it cannot be kept."—"Deus jugum legis homini imponit, homo ferre non valet," said the fathers of the synod of Frankfort; "God hath imposed a yoke, but man cannot bear it." For that I may sum up all,

28. In affirmative precepts the measure is,—To love God with all our faculties and degrees.—In negative precepts the measure is,—Not to lust or desire.—Now if any man can say that he can so love God in the proper and full measures, as never to step aside towards the creatures with whom he daily converses, and is of the same kindred with them, and that he can so abstain from the creature as never to covet what he is forbidden; then indeed he justifies God in imposing a possible law, and condemns himself that he does not what he ought. But in all he infers the absolute necessity of repentance.

29. But because we are sure God is just and cannot be otherwise, all the doctors of the church have endeavoured to tie these things together, and reconcile our state of infirmity with the justification of God. Many lay the whole fault upon man, not on the impossible imposition. But that being the question, cannot be concluded on either hand with a bare affirmative or negative; and besides it was condemned by the African councils to say, that a man might, if he pleased, live without sin.

> Posse hominem sine peccato decurrere vitam,
> Si velit, ut potuit, nullo delinquere primus
> Libertate suâ: nempe hæc damnata fuêre
> Conciliis, mundique manu———said Prosper.[y]

For if it were only the fault of men, then a man might, if he pleased, keep the whole law, and then might be justified by the law, and should not need a Saviour. St. Austin[z] indeed thought it no great error, and some African bishops did expressly affirm that some from their conversion did to the day of their death live without sin. This was worse than that of Pelagius, save only that these took in the grace of God, which (in that sense which the church teaches) the Pelagians did not. But this also was affirmed by St. Austin:[a] upon which account it must follow that the commandments are therefore possible, because it is only our fault that they are not kept. But how to reconcile this opinion and saying of St. Austin and some other Africans with the African councils, with St. Jerome, Orosius, Lactantius, and with St. Austin himself,[b] and generally the whole ancient church against the Pelagians, I cannot understand: but it is sufficiently confuted by all the foregoing considerations.

30. St. Jerome says, that the observation of the commandments is possible to the whole church, but not to every single person: but then the difficulty remains. For the whole church, being a collection of single persons, is not the subject of a law. Nothing is universal but names and words; a thing cannot be universal, it is a contradiction to say it is. To say the church can keep it, is to say that every man can keep it; to say, that every man of the church cannot keep it, is to say, that the whole church cannot keep it; as he that says, *mankind* is reasonable, says, that *every man* is; but he that

[x] In cap. 7. Rom.
[y] Carm. de ingratis, c. 9.
[z] Epist. ad Innocent.
[a] Lib. 2. de merit. et remiss. c. 6. lib. de Spirit. et lit. c. 1.
[b] Serm. 49. de tempore.

says, *every man* is not just, says, that *all mankind* is not just. But if it contains in it another sense, it is a dangerous affirmative, which I shall represent in his own words: "Ita fit ut quod in alio aut primum aut totum est, in alio ex parte versetur, et tamen non sit in crimine qui non habet omnia, nec condemnetur ex eo quod non habet, sed justificetur ex eo quod possidet."[d] I will not be so severe as St. Austin, who in his nineteenth sermon "de tempore," calls it "blasphemy." It is indeed a hard saying, if he means that a man can be justified by some virtues, though he retains some vices: "for he that sins in one, is guilty of all."—But yet some persons shall be crowned, who never converted souls; and some, that never redeemed captives; and millions, that never sold all and gave to the poor; and there are many graces, of which some lives have no opportunities. The state of marriage hath some graces proper to itself; and the calling of a merchant, and the office of a judge, and the employment of an advocate hath some things of virtue which others do not exercise, and they also have their proper graces: and in this sense it is true what St. Jerome says, that he that hath not all, may be justified by what he hath, and not sentenced for what he hath not; it not being imputed to him that he hath not that of which he hath no use. Now although this be true, yet it is not sufficient to explicate the question; for the commandments are not only impossible in this sense; but even in that where the scene of his duty does lie, and where his graces ought to have been exercised, every man is a sinner, every man hath failed in his proper duty and calling. So that now to say, the commandments are possible to the whole church, and not to every single person, is to divide the duty of a christian, and to give to every one a portion of duty, which must leave in every one a portion of impiety; and to say that this is keeping the commandments, or a sufficient means of justification, is that which St. Austin called blasphemy.

31. But St. Jerome hath another answer: "Hoc et nos dicimus, posse hominem non peccare, si velit, pro tempore, pro loco, pro imbecillitate corporeâ, quamdiu intentus est animus, quamdiu chorda nullo vitio laxatur in citharâ:"[e] "God hath not imposed an impossible law. For there is no commandment, but a man that considers, that endeavours, that understands, that watches, that labours, may do in time and place; and so long as he adverts, and is dispassionate, so long his instrument is in tune:" which answer is like that saying of the schools, that there is no difficulty in things, but every thing is easy to be understood; but that we find difficulty, is because of the weakness of the understanding; that is, things are easy to be understood, if we were wise enough to understand them: but because our understanding is weak, therefore things are hard; for to be intelligible, is a relative term; and it is not sense to say, that a thing is in itself easy to be understood, but hard to the understanding; for it is as if it were said, it is easy, but that it is hard; and that is the thing, which, in this question, is complained of on all hands. For an oak is easy to be pulled up by the roots, if a man had strength enough to do it; but if this be imposed upon a weak man or a child, they have reason to complain: and a bushel or two of wheat is no great thing to carry, but it is too great for me, I cannot do it. So by this account of St. Jerome, the commandments are not impossible, for there is not any one of them, but any man can do at some time, while he considers and is in perfect disposition. But then we are to remember, that the commandments are always imposed, and we are not always in that condition of good things to be wise and watchful, well disposed and well resolved, standing upon our guard, and doing what we can at other times; and therefore it is that the commandments are impossible, So that still the difficulty remains, and the inquiry must go on, how we are to understand the Divine justice in exacting an impossible law? or if he does not exact it, how we understand the way of the Divine wisdom in imposing that law, which he cannot justly exact?

32. To the first I answer, that God doth not exact of us what is not possible to be done. The highest severity of the gospel is, "to love God with all our soul," that is, to love him as much as we can love him; and that is certain we can do. Every man can do as much as he can, and God requires no more; and even those things which we can do, though he calls upon us to do the most, yet he punishes us not if we do it heartily and sincerely, though with less passion and exactness. Now as God's justice was secured in the imposition of the law of Moses, because whatever severity was held over them to restrain their loosenesses, yet God exacted it only by the measures of a man, and healed all their breaches by the medicine of repentance; so now, in the gospel, he hath done it much more γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, God hath taken the veil off, and professed it openly, he hath included this mercy in the very constitution of the covenant. For the gospel is the covenant of repentance: we shall not have leave to sin, but we shall have leave to repent, if we have sinned: so that God hath imposed a law of perfection, but he exacts it according to the possibilities of imperfect persons: "Omnia mandata Dei facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit, ignoscitur;" "And then we have kept the commandments, when we have received our pardon for what we have not kept."[f]

33. II. As the law of Moses was not of itself impossible absolutely and naturally; so neither are the commandments of the gospel. For if we consider the particulars of Moses's law, they were such a burden which the Jews themselves were loth to part withal; because it was, in the moral part of it, but a law of abstinence from evil; to which fear and temporal promises were, as they understood it, a sufficient endearment: but that burden, which neither "they nor their fathers were able to bear," was the sting of the law, that it allowed no repentance for great crimes, but the transgressor should die "without mercy under two or three witnesses."[g] Now, then, since in the gospel there is no such

[d] Lib. 1. dial. adv. Pelag. [e] Dial. extr. adv. Pelag. l. 3. [f] St. August. lib. 1. Retract. c. 19. [g] Heb. x. 28.

thing, but there is an allowance of repentance,—this must needs be an easy yoke. This only is to be added, that the righteousness of the law was in abstinence from evil; the righteousness of the gospel is in that, and in the doing all the affirmative commandments of Christ. Now this, being a new obligation, brought also with it new abilities, I mean the glorious promises of the gospel, which whosoever believes heartily, will find himself able to do or suffer any thing for the enjoying of them; and this is that which is taught us by St. Paul:[h] "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son," made it possible by the Spirit of grace, and by our spiritual conversation.

34. III. There is a natural possibility, and a moral: there are abilities in every man to do any thing that is there commanded, and he that can do well to-day, may do so to-morrow; in the nature of things this is true: and since every sin is a breach of a law, which a man might and ought to have kept, it is naturally certain, that whenever any man did break the commandment, he might have done otherwise. In man therefore, speaking naturally and of the physical possibilities of things, there is, by those assistances which are given in the gospel, ability to keep the commandments evangelical. But in the moral sense, that is, when we consider what man is, and what are his strengths, and how many his enemies, and how soon he falls, and that he forgets when he should remember, and his faculties are asleep when they should be awake, and he is hindered by intervening accidents, and weakened and determined by superinduced qualities, habits, and necessities,—the keeping of the commandments is morally impossible. Now that this may also be taken off, there is an abatement and an allowance made for this also. Our infirmities are pitied, our ignorances excused, our unavoidable errors not imputed. These in the law were imputable, and it was lawful for the avenger of blood to kill a manslayer who sinned against his will, if he could overtake him before he got to sanctuary. These, I say, in the law were imputable, but they were not imputed: God's mercy took them off privately upon the accounts of his mercy and a general repentance: but in the gospel, they are neither imputed, nor imputable: they were paid beforehand, and put upon the accounts of the cross: "God winked at the times of your ignorance;" and, "The Lord had pity on me, because I did it in ignorance," said St. Paul; and so Christ prayed; "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."—"But ye did it ignorantly, as did also your rulers;" so St. Peter, and upon that account he called them to accept of mercy. And it is certain in reason, that if God forgives those sins of malice of which we repent, infinitely rather will he not impute what we cannot probably or possibly avoid. For to do otherwise, were *τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ κοινῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι· ἕως ἂν τις ἂν ἁμαρτήτους κολάζῃ, τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβαίνει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐπανορθώσεως*:[i] it is a severity above the measures of human sufferance and capacity, to be punished for infirmities when they do not sin wilfully; and therefore God, who remembers and pities our infirmities, will never put these into his account, especially the holy Jesus having already paid our symbol. Upon the account of these particulars it is certain, God does not exact of us an impossible commandment; that is, not in the impossible measure; for that is the meaning of those words of St. Basil, *ἀσεβὲς γὰρ λέγειν ἀδύνατα εἶναι τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παραγγέλματα*·[k]—"It is impious to say, the commandments of the Spirit," i. e. of the gospel, "are impossible," viz. in that sense in which they are exacted.

But now to the second inquiry: Since in justice God exacts not an impossible law, how does it consist with his wisdom to impose what, in justice, he does not exact? I answer, 1. That it was necessary the law, in its latitude and natural extension, should be given; for if, in the sanction, any limits and lessenings had been described, it had been a permission given to us to despise him in a certain degree, and could, in no sense, have been proportionable to his infinity. God commands us to "love him with all our hearts and all our strengths;" that is, always and with all that we can: if less than this had been imposed, and we commanded to love God but to a less, and a certain proportion, besides that it would not have been possible for us to understand when we did what was commanded,—it would have been either a direct lessening our opinion of God, by tempting us to suppose no more love was due to him than such a limited measure; or else a teaching us not to give him what was his due; either of which must necessarily tend to God's dishonour.

36. II. The commanding us to do all that we can, and that always, though less be exacted, does invite our greatest endeavours; it entertains the faculties and labours of the best, and yet despises not the meanest; for they can endeavour too, and they can do their best: and it serves the end of many graces besides, and the honour of some of the Divine attributes.

37. III. By this means still we are contending and pressing forward; and no man can say, he does now comprehend, or that his work is done, till he die; and therefore for ever he must grow in grace, which could not be without the proposing of a commandment, the performance of which would for ever sufficiently employ him: for by this means the commandments do every day grow more possible than at first. A lustful person thinks it impossible to mortify his lust: but when he hath long contended and got the mastery, it grows easy, and at last, in the progressions of a long piety, sin is more impossible[l] than duty is. "He that is born of God, sinneth not, neither indeed can he;" so St. John;—and, "through Christ, that strengthens me, I can do all things," saith St. Paul. It is long before

[h] Rom. viii. 3.

[i] Apud Diodor. Sicul.

[k] Hom. 3. inter. 19.

[l] In epistolâ ad Innocentium dictum est, multos catholicos viros dixisse posse hominem esse sine peccato per gratiam Dei, non à nativitate sed à conversione.

a man comes to it, but the impossibility by degrees turns into a possibility, and that into an easiness, and at last into a necessity. It is a trouble for some to commit a sin. By this also we exercise a holy fear, and work out our salvation with fear and trembling. It enlarges our care, and endears our watchfulness and caution. It cures or prevents our pride and bold challenges of God for rewards, which we never can deserve. It convinces us of the necessity of the Divine aid, and makes us to rely upon God's goodness in helping us, and his mercy in pardoning us; and truly, without this we could neither be so sensible of our infirmities, nor of the excellent gifts and mercies of God: for although God does not make necessities on purpose that he may serve them, or introduce sin that he might pardon it,—yet he loves we should depend upon him: and by these rare arts of the Divine economy makes us to strive to be like him, and in the midst of our finite abilities, have infinite desires, that even so we may be disposed towards the holiness and glories of eternity.

38. IV. Although God exacts not an impossible law under eternal and insufferable pains, yet he imposes great holiness in unlimited and indefinite measures, with a design to give excellent proportions of reward answerable to the greatness of our endeavour. Hell is not the end of them, that fail in the greatest measures of perfection; but great degrees of heaven shall be their portion, who do all that they can always, and offend in the fewest instances. For as our duty is not limited, so neither are the degrees of glory: and if there were not this latitude of duty, neither could there be any difference in glory; neither could it be possible for all men to hope for heaven, but now all may: the meanest of God's servants shall go thither; and yet there are greater measures for the best and most excellent services.

39. Thus we may understand, that the imposing of the Divine laws, in all the periods of the world, was highly consistent with the Divine justice, and an excellent, infinite wisdom, and yet in the exacting them, mercy prevailed;—because the covenant of works or of exact obedience was never the rule of life and death, since the Saviour of the world was promised, that is, since the fall of Adam, but all mankind was admitted to repentance, and washed clean in the blood of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, and was slain from the beginning of it. Repentance was the measure of our duty, and the remedy for our evils; and the commandments were not impossible to him, that might amend what was done amiss.

SECTION III.

How Repentance, and the Precept of Perfection evangelical, can stand together.

40. That the gospel is a covenant of repentance, is evident in the whole design and nature of the thing, in the preparatory sermons made by the Baptist, by the apostles of our Lord, by the seventy-two disciples, and the exhortations made by St. Peter at the first opening the commission, and the secret of the religion. Which doctrine of repentance, lest it should be thought to be a permission to sin, a leave to need the remedy, is charged with an addition of a strict and severe holiness, the precept of perfection. It therefore must be such a repentance as includes in it perfection, and yet the perfection is such as needs repentance. How these two are to stand together, is the subject of the present inquiry. "Be ye therefore perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect;"[m] that is the charge. To be perfect as God, and yet to repent as a man, seem contrary to each other. They seem so only. For,

41. I. It does not signify perfection of degrees in the natural sense of the word. For as Philo said well, Ἀψευδῶς αἱ τελείοτητες καὶ ἀκρότητες ἑνός εἰσι μόνου, "Perfections and the heights of excellences are only proper to one:"—Σοφὸς ὁ μόνος Θεὸς καὶ τέλειος μόνος, said Clemens of Alexandria; "God alone is wise, he alone is perfect."—All that we do is but little; and that little is imperfect, and that imperfection is such as could be condemned, if God did not use gentleness and mercy towards us. But,

42. II. Although perfection of degrees cannot be understood to be our duty in the periods and spaces of this life, because we are here in the state of labour and contention, of pilgrimage and progression, yet even in this life we are to labour towards it: and, "Be ye perfect," viz. with the highest degrees of holiness, is to be understood in a current and transient sense. For this precept, thus understood, hath its obligation upon our endeavour only, and not upon the event. When a general commands his army to destroy the enemy, he binds them only to a prudent, a possible, and vigorous endeavour to do it, and cannot intend the effect, but by several parts answerable to the steps of the progression. So is that in the Psalms; "Be learned, ye that are princes of the world;"[n] that is, Learn, and so by industry and attention arrive at knowledge. For although every man be a sinner, yet he that does not endeavour to avoid all sin, is not only guilty of the sin he commits,—but the negligence also, which is the parent of the sin, is another sin, and directly criminal. So it is in the degrees of perfection; what we cannot attain to, we must at least desire. In this world, we cannot arrive thither; but in this life, we must always be going thither. It is "status viæ;" grace is the way to glory. And as he, that commands us to enter into a city from which we are hugely distant, means we should pass through all the ways that lead thither, so it is here. The precept must be given here, and begun, and set forward; and it will be finished hereafter. But as a man may be an adulterer, or a thief, with his heart and his eye, as well as with his hand; so it is also in good things: a man's heart and eye may be in heaven, that is, in the state of perfection, long before he sets his feet upon the golden threshold. His desires

[m] Matt. v. 48.

[n] Psalm ii.

are first crowned and sainted, and then the work shall be made perfect.

43. III. There is another sort of perfection, which may not be improperly meant in this charge of duty, and that is, a perfection of state. "Be ye perfect," that is, be ye holy; for τελετεύω is "sanctifico;" and τελετὴ is "festum," or "a holy day," a day that hath the perfection added to it of which a day is capable, a day sanctified to the Lord. For τελειοῦν is the same with ἁγιάζειν, to "sanctify" is to "make perfect." "Nihil enim sanctificavit lex," so the Latin reads the words of St. Paul;[o] but in the Greek it is ἐτελείωσεν, "The law *made that perfect* which it did sanctify." So that, "Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect," is, Be ye holy like him, or in imitation of him. And thus the word is expounded in Plato: Τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸ ὁμοιωθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσιν δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι. "That is the perfection of good, to be like God; but to be like him is to be just, and holy, and prudent."—That is κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, "as much as we can;" that is, with a hearty, righteous, sincere endeavour: for so ὅσιος or "holy" is used. It signifies sincere, true, without error. Οὐχ ὅσιόν ἐστι τὰ μεγάλα σοφὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τὰ μικρὰ μὴ δυνάμενον. So Damascius in Suidas: "It is not likely or true, that he that is not wise in little things, should be wise in great things." But to live holily in the christian sense, is to live in faith and good works; that is christian perfection. Ὁ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθοεργίας οἰκειῶθεὶς ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος ὀνομάζεται εἰκότως. "He is good and holy, who, by faith and good works, is like unto God." For this perfection or ὁσιότης "holiness," is nothing else but a pursuance of that which is just and good; for so said Moses concerning the man that forsook God, and denied that he had made a covenant with him; "Do not say in thine heart, Ὅσιά μου γένοιτο ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, 'Let it be lawful or holy, or permitted to me to depart from the Lord.'" To this sense was that of Justin Martyr, who expounds this phrase of "Be ye perfect" by "Christianum fieri;" "Be perfect," that is, "Be christians," be Christ's disciples; for he who came ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον "to fulfil," to consummate obedience, to perfect "the law,"—to obey him, and be disciples of his institution, is our perfection and consummation.

44. IV. This perfection of state, although it does not suppose a perfection of degrees, yet it can be no less than, 1. a perfection of parts. It must be a religion that is not mingled with interest, piety to God that is not spoiled with cruelty to our neighbours, a zeal that hath in it no uncharitableness or spite; that is, our religion must be entire, and not defective in any constituent part. So St. James uses the word τέλειοι for ὁλόκληροι, "perfect and entire, wanting nothing."[p] 2. To which add this also, that to this perfection of state, perseverance is of necessity to be added. For so we are taught by the same apostle; "Let patience have her perfect work;" that is, let it bear you through all your trials, lasting till all your sufferings are over; for he that endures to the end, shall be crowned, because he only is perfect. Our holiness must persevere to the end. But, 3. it must also be growing all the way. For this word "perfect" is sometimes in Scripture used for degrees, and as a distinction between christians in the measures of duty. St. Paul uses it to signify "well grown christians," or men in christianity. Στῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληρωμένοι ἐν παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ; "stand perfectly and full," or "confidently fulfilling all the will of God:"[q] for therefore "we preach Christ, and exhort every man, and teach every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man" τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ "perfect in Christ Jesus;"[r] that is, that they should not always be as babes, for whom milk and weak nutriment are to be provided; nor like those silly women, always learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth;" but it is commanded us to be wise and perfect, "to be men in Christ;" so St. Paul makes the antithesis; "Be ye babes in malice, but in your minds τέλειοι γίνεσθε, be perfect,"[s] that is, Be men, wise, and confident, and strong, and well grown. "Perfectly instructed;" that is, "readily prepared to every good work;" not always employed in the elements and infant-propositions and practices of religion, but doing noble actions, well skilled in the deepest mysteries of faith and holiness. This is agreeable to that expression of St. Paul, who having laid the foundation of christianity by describing the fundamentals, intending to speak of the more mysterious points of the religion, calls it "a going on to perfection:"[t] so that by this precept of perfection it is intended we should do more than the lowest measure of our duties, and there is no limit, but even the utmost of our power; all that we can, is the measure of our duty: I do not say, all that we can naturally or possibly; but all that we can morally and probably, according to the measures of a man, and the rate of our hinderances and infirmities.

45. V. But the last sort and sense of perfection, is that which our blessed Saviour intended particularly in the instance and subject-matter of this precept, and that is, a perfection in the kind of action, that is, a choice and prosecution of the most noble and excellent things in the whole religion. Three are especially instanced in the holy gospel.

1. The first is,—a being ready, or a making ourselves ready to suffer persecution,—prescribed by our blessed Saviour to the rich young man: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all and give to the poor;" that is, If thou wilt be my disciple, make thyself ready, "and come and follow me."[u] For it was at that time necessary to all that would follow Christ's person and fortune, to quit all they had above their needs. For they that followed him, were sure of a cross; and therefore to invite them to be disciples, was to engage them to the suffering persecution; and this was that which our blessed Saviour calls perfection.

[o] Heb. vii. 19.
[p] Jam. i. 4.
[q] Col. iv. 12
[r] Col. i. 28.
[s] 1 Cor. xiv. 20.
[t] Heb. vi. 1.
[u] Matt. xix. 21.

——Dulce periculum est
(O Lenæe!) sequi Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino. HOR.

It is an easy thing to follow God in festivals and days of eucharist; but to serve him in hard battles, to die for him, is the perfection of love, of faith, and obedience. "Obedient unto death," was the character of his own perfection; for "greater love than this hath no man, than to lay down his life."—"Scis quem dicam bonum, perfectum, absolutum? Quem malum facere nulla vis, nulla necessitas potest:" "He is good, absolute, and perfect, whom no force, no necessity, can make evil."[y]

II. The second instance is,—being merciful;—for St. Luke recording this precept expounds it by ἐλεήμονες, "Be ye perfect,"[z] that is, "Be ye merciful, as your heavenly Father is merciful;" for by mercy only we can be like him. Ὅστις τοῦ πλησίου ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν, Θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων οὗτος μιμητὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ. "He that bears his neighbours' burden, and is willing to do benefit to his inferiors, and to minister to the needy of the good things which God hath given him,—he is as God to them that receive, he is an imitator of God himself."[a]—And Justin Martyr, reciting this precept of our blessed Saviour, instead of τέλειοι uses the word χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, "Be ye good and bountiful, as your heavenly Father is."—And to this purpose the story of Jesus and the young man before mentioned, is interpolated in the gospel according to the Hebrews or the Nazarenes, "The Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets, when it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself? and behold, many of thy brethren the sons of Abraham are covered in filth, and die with hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing goes forth to them from thence. If therefore thou wilt be perfect, sell all and give to the poor."—Charity, which is the fulfilling the commandment, is also the perfection of a christian: and that a giving of alms should be "perfection," is not disagreeing with the design of the word itself; τελεῖν γὰρ δαπανᾶν, say the grammarians; it signifies "to spend;" and πολυτελὴς is a "great spender" or a bountiful person.

III. The third is the very particular to which our blessed Master did especially relate in the words of the sanction or institution: and we are taught it by the particle οὖν or "therefore." For when the holy Jesus had described that glory of christianity, that—"we should love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them which despitefully use us and persecute us;"—he propounds the example of our "heavenly Father; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good." But the publicans love their friends, and salute their brethren: but more is expected of us: "Be ye therefore perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect;" that is, do more than the publicans, do as your Father does, be perfect as he is, that is,—"love your enemies."

46. VI. Now concerning this sense of the precept of perfection, which is the choice and pursuance of the noblest actions of religion, we must observe that they are therefore "perfection," because they suppose a man to have passed through the first and beginning graces, to have arrived at these excellences of piety and duty. For as no man can, on a sudden, become the worst man in the world, his soul must by degrees be unstripped of holiness, and then of modesty, and then of all care of reputation, and then of disuse; and by these measures he will proceed to the consummation of the method of hell and darkness: so can no man on a sudden come to the right use of these graces. Not every man that dies in a good cause, shall have the reward of martyrdom; but he that, having lived well, seals that doctrine with dying, which before he adorned with living. And therefore it does infinitely concern all them that suffer in a good cause, to take care that they be not prodigal of their sufferings, and throw them away upon vice. Peevishness or pride, lust or intemperance, can never be consecrated by dying or by alms. But he that after a "patient continuance in well-doing," adds charity or martyrdom to the collective body of his other graces, he hath made them "perfect" with this kind of "perfection." Martyrdom can supply the place of actual baptisms, but not of repentance: because without our fault it may so happen, that the first cannot be had; but, without our fault, the second is never left undone.

47. Thus perfection and repentance may stand together. Perfection does not suppose the highest intention of degrees in every one, but in all according to their measures of grace and time. Evangelical perfection is such as supposes a beginning, an infant-grace, progression and variety, watchfulness and fear, trembling fear. And there are many graces required of us, whose material and formal part is repentance: such as are mortification,—penitential sorrow,—spiritual mourning,—patience,—some parts of humility,—all the parts and actions of humiliation;—and since in these also, "perfection" is as great a duty as in any thing else, it is certain that the perfection of a christian is not the supreme degree of action or intention.

48. But yet perfection cannot be less than an entire piety, a holiness perfect in its parts, wanting nothing material, allowing no vicious habit, permitting no vile action, but contending towards the greatest excellency, a charitable heart, a ready hand, a confident religion, willing to die when we are called to die, patient, constant, and persevering, endeavouring κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν "according to the measures" of a man, to be pure and pleasing to God in Jesus Christ. This is the sum of all those several senses of perfection, which are prescribed in the several uses of the word in Holy Scripture. For though God through Jesus Christ is pleased to abate for our unavoidable infirmities, that is, for our nature,—yet he will not abate or give allowance to our superinduced evil customs; and the reason is plain for both; because the one can be

[y] Seneca. [z] Luke vi. 36. [a] Scriptor ad Diognetum.

helped, and the other cannot; and therefore as to allow that is to be a patron of impiety, so not to allow for this, is to demand what cannot be done: *that* is against the holiness, *this* against the goodness of God.

49. "There is not a man upon earth that sinneth not," said Solomon;[b] and, "the righteous shall be punished," said David;[c] and he found it so by a sad experience: for he, though affirmed to be "blameless save in the matter of Uriah," and "a man after God's own heart," yet complains, "that his sins are innumerable, more than the hairs upon his head." But though no man can live without error or mistake, the effects of weakness and ignorance, inadvertency and surprise, yet being helped by God's grace, we can and must live without great sins, such which no man admits but with deliberation.

50. For it is one thing to keep the commandments in a sense of favour and equity, and another thing to be without sin. To keep the commandments κατ' ἀκρίβειαν or "exactly," is to be without sin; because the commandment forbids every sin, and sin is a transgression of the commandment: but as in this sense no man can keep the commandments; so in no sense can he say, that he hath not sinned. But we can, by the help of God's grace, keep the commandments "acceptably through Jesus Christ," but we cannot keep them so as to be without sin. Which St. Gregory thus expresses: "Multi sine crimine, nullus verò esse sine peccatis valet:" "Many live without crimes, none without offence." And it is now as it was under the law; many were then righteous and blameless; David, Josiah, Joshua, Caleb, Zachary, and Elizabeth, Saul, before his conversion, according to the accounts of the law; and so are many now, according to the holy and merciful measures of the gospel; not by the force of nature, but by the helps of grace; not always, but at some time; not absolutely, but in a limited measure; that is, not innocent, but penitent; not perfect absolutely, but excellently contending, and perfect in their desires; not at their journey's end, but on their way thither; free from great sins, but speckled with lesser spots; ever striving against sin, though sometimes failing. This is the precept of perfection, as it can consist with the measures and infirmities of a man.

51. We must turn from all our evil ways, leaving no sin unmortified, that is one measure of perfection; it is a "perfect conversion." We must have charity; that is another perfection; it is a "perfect grace." We must be ready to part with all for a good conscience, and to die for Christ; that is "perfect obedience," and the most "perfect love." We must conform to the Divine will in doing and suffering; that is "perfect patience:" we must "live in all holy conversation and godliness;" that is a "perfect state." We must ever be going forward and growing in godliness, that so we may be "perfect men in Christ." And we must persevere unto the end; that is "perfection," and the crown of all the rest. If any thing less than this were intended, it cannot be told how the gospel should be a holy institution, or that God should require of us to live a holy life; but if any thing more than this were intended, it is impossible but all mankind should perish.

52. To the same sense are we to understand those other severe precepts of Scripture, of "being pure, unblamable, without spot or wrinkle, without fault," that is, that we be honest and sincere, free from hypocrisy, just in our purposes and actions, without partiality and unhandsome mixtures. St. Paul[d] makes them to expound each other, ἀπρόσκοποι and εἰλικρινεῖς, "sincere," that is, without fault, pure and clear in conscience.

53. Like to this is that of "toto corde," loving and serving God "with all our heart" and with all our strength. That this is possible, is folly to deny. For he that saith, he cannot do a thing with all his strength, that is, that he cannot do what he can do, knows not what he says: and yet to do this, is the highest measure and sublimity of christian perfection, and of keeping the commandments. But it signifies two things: 1. ἀνυποκρίτως, "without hypocrisy," sincerely and heartily, opposite to that of "corde et corde" in the Psalmist. "Corde et corde loquuti sunt;" "they spake with a double heart:" but "the men of Zebulun went out to battle 'absque corde et corde,'" they "were not of a double heart,"[e] so St. Jerome renders it; but, heartily, or with a whole heart, they did their business. 2. It signifies diligence and labour, earnestness and caution: "totus in hoc sum:" so the Latins use to speak; "I am earnest and hearty in this affair;" I am wholly taken up with it.

54. Thus is the whole design of the gospel rarely abbreviated in these two words of perfection and repentance. "God hath sent Jesus to bless you," ἐν τῷ ἀναστρέφειν ἕκαστον, "whilst," or, "so that, every one of you turn from your iniquities."[f] He blesses us, and we must do our duty; he pardons us, and we obey him; "He turns us, and we are turned." And when St. Peter had represented the terrors of the day of judgment, he infers, "What manner of persons ought we to be," ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ εὐσεβείαις, "in holy living and holy worshippings?"[g] This he calls "a giving diligence to be found," ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι, "without spot and unblamable;"[h] that is christian perfection: and yet this very thing is no other than what he calls a little before εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι, "a coming to repentance." Living in "holy conversation and piety," in the faith of Christ, is the extent and burden of repentance, and it is the limit and declaration of the "spotless and unblamable." This is no more, and that is no less.

55. Upon this account the commandments are not only possible but easy, necessary to be observed, and will be exacted at our hands as they are imposed. That is, 1. That we abstain from all deliberate acts of sin. 2. That we never contract any vicious habit. 3. That if we have, we quite rescind

[b] 1 Kings viii. 46. [c] Psal. xxxvii. 29. vet. edit. [d] Phil. i. 10. [e] 1 Chron. xii. 33. [f] Acts iii. 26. [g] 2 Pet. iii. 11, 14. [h] Verse 9.

and cut them off, and make amends for what is past. 4. That our love to God be entire, hearty, obedient, and undivided. 5. That we do our best to understand God's will and obey it, allowing to ourselves deliberately or by observation not the smallest action that we believe to be a sin. Now, that God requires no more, and that we can do thus much, and that good men from their conversion do thus much though in differing degrees, is evident upon plain experience and the foregoing considerations. I conclude with the words of the Arausican council: "Omnes baptizati, Christo auxiliante et cooperante, possunt et debent quæ ad salutem pertinent, si fidelitèr laborare voluerint, adimplere:" "All baptized christians may, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, if they will faithfully labour, perform and fulfil all things that belong to their salvation."

56. The sum of all is this: The state of regeneration is perfection all the way, even when it is imperfect in its degrees. The whole state of a christian's life is a state of perfection. Sincerity is the formality or the soul of it: a hearty constant endeavour is the body or material part of it: and the mercies of God accepting it in Christ, and assisting and promoting it by his Spirit of grace, is the third part of its constitution, it is the Spirit. This perfection is the perfection of men, not of angels; and it is as in the perfection of glory, where all are perfect, yet all are not equal. Every regenerate man hath that perfection, without which he cannot be accepted, but some have this perfection more, some less. It is the perfection of state, but the perfection of degrees is not yet. Here men are διὰ τὸν πατρικὸν νοῦν τελειούμενοι, "made perfect according to the measure of their fathers," as Porphyry expressed it; that is, by the measures of mortality, or as it pleases God to enable and accept them.

SECTION IV.

The former Doctrine reduced to Practice.

1. THE law is either taken for "the law of Moses," or "the law of works:" the law of works is that empire and dominion which God exercised over man, using his utmost right, and obliging man to the rigorous observation of all that law he should impose upon him. And in this sense, it was a law of death, not of life; for no man could keep it; and they that did not, might not live. This was imposed on Adam only.

2. But when God brought Israel out of Egypt, he began to make a covenant with them, with some compliance to their infirmities: for because little things could not be avoided, sacrifices were appointed for their expiation; which was a mercy as the other was a misery, a repentance as the sin: but for great sins there was no sacrifice appointed, no repentance ministered. And therefore still we were in the ministration of death: for this mercy was not sufficient; as yet it was not possible for a man to be justified by the law. It threatened sinners with death, it inflicted death, it did not promise eternal life, it ministered no grace, but fear and temporal hope: it was written in tables of stone, not in their hearts; that is, the material parts of the law of Moses were not consonant to natural and essential reason, but arbitrary impositions; they were not perfective of a man, but very often destructive. This was a little alteration or ease of the covenant of works, but not enough.

3. From this state of evil things we were freed by Christ: the law was called "the letter," "the ministration of death," "the ministration of condemnation," "the old testament:" apt to amaze and confound a sinner, but did not give him any hopes of remission, no glimpse of heaven, no ministry of pardon: but the gospel is called "the Spirit," or "the ministration of the Spirit," "the law of faith," "the law of liberty;" it ministers repentance, it enjoins holiness, it gives life, and we all have hopes of being saved.

4. This, which is the state of things in which the whole world is represented in their several periods, is by some made to be the state of every returning sinner; and men are taught that they must pass through the terrors of the law, before they can receive the mercies of the gospel. The law was a schoolmaster to bring the synagogue to Christ; it was so to them who were under the law, but it cannot be so to us, "who are not under the law, but under grace." For if they mean "the law of works," or that interposition which was the first intercourse with man, they lose their title to the mercies of the gospel; if they mean "the law of Moses," then they do not "stand fast in the liberty, by which Christ hath made them free." But whatsoever the meaning be, neither of them can concern christians. For God hath sent his Son to establish a better covenant in his blood, to preach repentance, to offer pardon, to condemn sin in the flesh, to publish the righteousness of God, to convince the world of sin by his Holy Spirit, to threaten damnation, not to sinners absolutely, but absolutely to the impenitent, and to promise and give salvation to his sons and servants.

5. I. The use that we christians are to make of the law, is only to magnify the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, who hath freed us from so severe a covenant, who does not judge us by the measures of an angel, but by the span of a man's hand. But we are not to subject ourselves, so much as by fiction of law or fancy, to the curse and threatenings of the covenant of works, or of Moses's law, though it was of more instances and less severity, by reason of the allowance of sacrifices for expiation.

6. II. Every christian man sinning, is to consider the horrible threatenings of the gospel, the severe intermination of eternal pains, the goodness of God leading to repentance, the severity of his justice in exacting great punishments of criminals, the reasonableness of this justice punishing such persons intolerably, who would not use so great a grace in so pleasing a service, for the purchase of so glorious a reward. The terrors of the law did end in temporal death, they could affright no further; but in the gospel, heaven and hell were opened, and laid be-

fore all mankind: and therefore, by these measures, a sinner is to enter into the sorrows of contrition and the care of his amendment. And it is so vain a thing to think every sinner must, in his repentance, pass under the terrors of the law, that this is a very destruction of that reason, for which they are fallen upon the opinion. The law is not enough to affright sinners; and the terrors of the gospel are far more to persevering and impenitent sinners, than the terrors of the law were to the breakers of it. The cause of the mistake is this: the law was more terrible than the gospel is, because it allowed no mercy to the sinner in great instances: but the gospel does. But then if we compare the state of those men who fell under the evils of the law, with these who fall under the evils threatened in the gospel, we shall find these to be in a worse condition than those by far, as much as hell is worse than being stoned to death, or thrust through with a sword. This we are taught by that excellent author of the divine epistle to the Hebrews;[1] "He that despised Moses's law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under-foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the Spirit of grace?" So that, under the gospel, he that sins and repents, is in a far better condition, than he that sinned under the law and repented. For repentance was not then allowed of; the man was to die without mercy. But he that sins and repents not, is, under the gospel, in a far worse condition than under the law; for under the gospel, he shall have a far sorer punishment, than under the law was threatened. Therefore, let no man mistake the mercies of the new covenant, or turn the grace of God into wantonness. The mercies of the gospel neither allow us to sin, nor inflict an easier punishment; but they oblige us to more holiness, under a greater penalty. In pursuance of which I add,

7. III. The covenant by which mankind must now be judged, is a covenant of more mercy, but also of more holiness: and therefore let no man think that now he is disobliged from doing good works, by being admitted to the covenant of faith: for though the covenants are opposed, as old and new, as a worse and a better, yet faith and works are not opposed. We are, in the gospel, tied to more, and to more excellent works, than ever the subjects of any law were; but if, after a hearty endeavour, we fall into infirmity, and still strive against it, we are pitied here, but there we were not. Under the first covenant, the covenant of works, no endeavour was sufficient, because there was no allowance made for infirmities, no abatements for ignorance, no deductions of exact measures, no consideration of surprises, passions, folly, and inadvertency; but under the new covenant, our hearty endeavour is accepted; but we are tied to endeavour higher and more excellent things than they. But he that thinks this mercy gives him liberty to do what he pleases, loses the mercy, and mistakes the whole design and economy of God's loving-kindness.

8. IV. To every christian it is enjoined, that they be perfect; that is, according to the measure of every one: which perfection consists in doing our endeavour. He that does not do that, must never hope to be accepted, because he refuses to serve God by something that is in his power. But he that does that, is sure that God will not refuse it; because we cannot be dealt withal upon any other account, but by the measures of what is in our power; and for what is not we cannot take care.

9. V. To do our endeavour or our best, is not to be understood equally in all the periods of our life, according to the work or effect itself, nor according to our natural powers, but it is accounted for by the general measures and great periods of our life. A man cannot pray always with equal intention, nor give the same alms, nor equally mourn with sharpness for his sins. But God having appointed for every duty proper seasons and solemnities, hath declared, that *he* does his best, who heartily endeavours to do the duty in its proper season: but it were well we would remember, that he that did a good act to-day, can do the same to-morrow in the same circumstances; and he that yesterday fought a noble battle and resisted valiantly, can, upon the same terms, contend as manfully every day, if he will consider and watch. And though it will never be, that men will *always* do as well as *at some times*, yet when at any time they commit a sin, it is not because they could not, but because they would not, help it.

10. VI. He that would be approved in doing his best, must omit no opportunity of doing a good action; because, when it is placed in its proper circumstances, God lays his hand upon it, and calls to have it done, and there can be no excuse for the omission. He does not do his best, that does not do that, because such a person does voluntarily omit the doing of a good, without just cause; and that cannot proceed from an innocent principle.

11. VII. He that leaves any thing undone which he is commanded to do, or does what he is commanded to forbear, and considers or chooses so to do,—does not do his best, cannot plead his privilege in the gospel; but is fallen under the portion of sinners; and will die, if he does not repent and make it up some way or other, by sorrow, and a future diligence.

12. VIII. To sin against our conscience, can, at no hand, consist with the duty of christian perfection; because he loves not God with all his heart, nor serves him with all his strength, who gives some of his strength, and some of his affection, to that which God forbids.

13. IX. No man must account that he does his duty, that is, his best, or according to the perfection required of christians; but he that does better and better, and grows towards the measures of the fulness of Christ. For "perfection" is an infinite word; and it could not be communicated to several persons of different capacities and degrees, but that there is something common to them all, which hath

[1] Heb. x. 28, 29.

analogy and equivalent proportions. Now nothing can be "perfect," but that to which nothing is wanting; and therefore a man is not any way perfect but by doing all, all that he can; for then nothing is wanting to him, when he hath put forth all his strength. For perfection is not to be accounted by comparing the subjects which are perfect; for in that sense nothing is perfect but God; but perfection is to be reckoned by every man's own proportions; for a body may be a perfect body, though it have not the perfection of a soul; and a man is perfect when he is heartily and entirely God's servant, though he have not the perfection of St. Paul; as a man is a meek man, though he be not so meek as Moses or Christ. But he is not meek, if he keeps any fierceness or violence within. But then because to be more perfect is incident with human nature, he that does not endeavour to get as much as he can, and more than he hath, he hath not the perfection of holy desires. Therefore,

14. X. Every person that is in the state of grace, and designs to do his duty, must think of what is before him, not what is past; of the stages that are not yet run, not of those little portions of his course he hath already finished.

> Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
> Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
> Præteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.[k]

For so did the contenders in the Olympic races, never look behind but contend forwards: and from hence St. Paul[l] gives the rule I have now described. "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling. Let therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded." That is, no man can do the duty of a christian, no man can in any sense be perfect, but he that adds virtue to virtue, and one degree of grace unto another.

> Nilque putans actum, dum quid superesset agendum.
> LUCAN.

"Nothing is finished, as long as any thing is undone." For our perfection is always growing; it stands not, till it arrive at the τελείωσις ἀζήλητον, the crowning of him that runs. For the enforcing of which the more, I only use St. Chrysostom's argument; Εἰ δὲ ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν, εἰ δὲ ὁ διωκόμενος, εἰ δὲ ὁ τὴν νέκρωσιν ἔχων, οὔπω ἐθάῤῥει περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐκείνης, τί ἂν εἴπωμεν ἡμεῖς: If St. Paul, who had done so much, and suffered so much, was not very confident, but that if he did look back he might also fall back; what shall we say, whose perfection is so little, so infant and imperfect, that we are come forwards but a little, and have great spaces still to measure?

15. XI. Let every man that is, or desires to be, perfect, endeavour to make up the imperfection or meanness of his services, by a great, a prompt, an obedient, a loving, and a friendly mind. For in the parable our blessed Lord hath taught us, that the servant who was bidden to plough the field, or feed the cattle, is still called an unprofitable servant,[m] because he hath done only what was commanded him; that is, they had done the work, "utcunque," "some way or other;" the thing was finished, though with a servile spirit; for ποιεῖν properly signifies "to do the outward work;" and the works of the law are those which consisted in outward obedience, and by which a man could not be justified. But our blessed Saviour, teaching us the righteousness of the kingdom, hath also brought the word ποιεῖν to signify the internal also; a mixture of faith and operation. For to the Jews inquiring, "What shall we do to work the works of God?" Jesus answers,[n] Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα πιστεύσητε, &c. "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent:" and since this,—"to do," in the christian sense, is to do "bona benè," "good works with a good mind." For since the works are not only in themselves inconsiderable, but we also do them most imperfectly and with often failings,—a good mind, and the spirit of a friend or a son, will not only heighten the excellency of the work, but make amends for the defect too. "The doing" what we are commanded, that is, in the usual sense of "doing," still leaves us "unprofitable;" for we are servants of God, he hath a perfect and supreme right over us, and when this is done, still can demand more; when we have "ploughed," he will call upon us "to wait at supper;" and for all this, we are to expect only impunity and our daily provisions. And upon this account, if we should have performed the covenant of works, we could not have been justified. But then, there is a sort of working, and there are some such servants which our Lord uses, "magis ex æquo et bono, quàm ex imperio;" with the usages of sons, not of slaves or servants. "He will gird himself, and serve them,[o]—he will call them friends, and not servants;" these are such as serve "animo liberali," such which Seneca calls "humiles amicos," "humble friends," serving as St. Paul expresses it, ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας, "in the simplicity of their heart;" not ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, "with eye-service;" but honestly, heartily, zealously, and affectionately, ἑκουσίως, προθύμως, οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς: so St. Peter, "freely, readily, not grudgingly, or of necessity."

16. XII. The proper effect of this is, that all the perfect do their services so, that their work should fail rather than their minds, that they do more than is commanded. "Exiguum est ad legem bonum esse;" To be good according to the rigour of the law, to do what we are forced to, to do all that is lawful to do, and to go towards evil or danger as far as we can, these are no good signs of a filial spirit, this is not christian perfection; τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἐπίταγμα, *that* slaves consider; *this* is commanded and must be done under horrible pains: and such are the negative precepts of the law, and the proper duties of every man's calling. Τὸ δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως κατόρθωμα, This is an act of piety of mine own choosing, a righteousness that I

[k] Horat. Serm. l. 1. Satyr. [l] Phil. iii. 13, 14. [m] Luke xvii. 7 [n] John vi. 28, 29. [o] Luke xii. 37.

delight in; that is the voice of sons and good servants, and that is rewardable with a mighty grace. And of this nature are the affirmative precepts of the gospel, which being propounded in general terms, and with indefinite proportions, for the measures are left under our liberty and choice, to signify our great love to God. Ὅ*σα μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολήν γίνεται, πολὺν ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τοῦτο*, said St. Chrysostom; "Whatsoever is over and above the commandments, that shall have a great reward." God forbids unmercifulness; he that is not unmerciful keeps the commandment; but he that, besides his abstinence from unmercifulness according to the commandment, shall open his hand and his heart, and give plentifully to the poor, this man shall have a reward; he is amongst those servants whom his "Lord will make to sit down, and himself will serve him." When God in the commandment forbids uncleanness and fornication; he that is not unchaste, and does not pollute himself, keeps the commandment. But if to preserve his chastity he uses fasting and prayer, if he mortifies his body, if he denies himself the pleasures of the world, if he uses the easiest, or the harder remedies, according to the proportion of his love and industry, especially if it be prudent,—so shall his greater reward be. If a man, out of fear of falling into uncleanness, shall use austerities, and find that they will not secure him, and therefore, to ascertain his duty the rather, shall enter into a state of marriage, according as the prudence and the passion of his desires were for God and for purity;—so also shall his reward be. To follow Christ is all our duty; but if, that we may follow Christ with greater advantages, we quit all the possessions of the world, this is more acceptable; because it is a doing the commandment with greater love. We must so order things that the commandment be not broken; but the difference is in finding out the better ways, and doing the duty with the more affections.

17. Now in this case they are highly mistaken that think any thing of this nature is a work of supererogation: for all this is nothing but a pursuance of the commandment. For *ἐντολὴ*, or "commandment," is taken in a general sense, for the prescription of whatsoever is pleasing and acceptable to God, whatsoever he will reward with mighty glories. So "loving God with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our mind, and all our strength," is called *πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή*, "the first and the great commandment;"[q] that is, nothing is more pleasing, nothing more acceptable to God, because it proceeds out of an excellent love. But some commandments are propounded as to friends, some as to servants; some under the threatening of horrible pains, others not so, but with the proposition and under the invitation of glorious rewards. It was commanded according to St. Paul to preach the gospel: if he had not obeyed, he should have perished: "Woe is me," saith he, "if I preach not the gospel:" he was bound to do it. But he had another commandment also, to love God as much as was possible, and to love his neighbour: which precepts were infinite, and of an unlimited signification, and therefore were left to every servant's choice to do them with his several measures of affection and zeal. He that did most, did the commandment best; and therefore cannot be said to do more than was commanded; but he that does less, if he preaches the gospel, though with a less diligence, and fewer advantages, he obeys the commandment, but not so nobly as the other. For example: God commands us to pray. He obeys this that constantly and devoutly keeps his morning and evening sacrifice, offering devoutly twice a day. He that prays thrice a day, does better; and he that prays seven times a day, hath done no work of supererogation, but does what he does in pursuance of the commandment. All the difference is, in the manner of doing what is commanded; for no man can do more than he is commanded. But some do it better, some less perfectly; but all is comprehended under this commandment, of loving God with all our hearts. When a father commands his children to come to him, he that comes slowly obeys the commandment, but he that runs does obey more willingly and readily: now though to come running was left to the choice of the child's affection, yet it was but a brisk pursuance of the commandment. Thus when he that is bound to pay tithes, gives the best portion, or does it cheerfully without contention, in all questions taking the worse of the thing, and the better of the duty, does what he is commanded, and he does it with the affection of a son and of a friend, he loves his duty. "Be angry, but sin not:" so it is in the commandment; but he that, to avoid the sin, will endeavour not to be angry at all, is the greater friend of God by how much the farther he stands off from sin. Thus in all doubts to take the surest side, to determine always for religion, when without sin we might have determined for interest; to deny ourselves in lawful things, to do all our duty by the measures of love and of the Spirit, are instances of this filial obedience, and are rewarded by a *πεποίθησις καὶ παῤῥησία*, "a persuasion and confidence" of God's love to us, enabling us to call him Father as well as Lord. Thus this parable, or one like it, is told in the book of Hermas. "The Lord commanded his servant to put pales about his vineyard; he did so, and digged a ditch besides, and rooted out all the weeds; which when his lord observed, he made him coheir with his son." When St. Paul exhorted the Corinthians to give a free contribution to the poor saints at Jerusalem, he invites to do it nobly and cheerfully, not as of constraint; for God's commandment named not the sum, neither can the degree of affection be named; but yet God demands all our affection. Now in all the affirmative precepts, the duty in the lowest degree is, that which is now made necessary under the loss of all our hopes of eternity; but all the further degrees of the same duty are imposed upon the condition of greater rewards, and other collateral advantages of duty.

When Hystaspes asked Cyrus the Persian why he preferred Chrysantas before him, since he did

[q] Matt. xxii. 37.

obey all his commands: the prince answered,[r] Χρυσάντας οὐτοσὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κλῆσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῆν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ, τι αὐτὸς γνόιη ἄμεινον εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. "Chrysantas does not stay till he is called; and he does not only what is commanded, but what is best, what he knows is most pleasing to me." So does every perfect man, according to the degrees of his love and his perfection; Τῷ τελείῳ οὐκ ἐν συμβολαίοις πολιτικοῖς οὐδ' ἐν ἀπαγορεύσει νόμου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδιοπραγίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης ἡ δικαιοσύνη.[s] "The righteousness of a perfect man consists not in legal innocence, but in love and voluntary obedience." This is that charity which is the glory of christianity, the crown of all other graces, that which makes all the external works of obedience to be acceptable, and every act of the most excellent piety and devotion is a particular of that grace; and therefore, though it is highly acceptable, yet it is also commanded in the general, and in the sense before explicated; and he that does no more than he is particularly commanded, obeys God, as a lion obeys his keeper; meat and stripes are all the endearments of his peace and services.

Qui manet, ut moneatur semper, servos homo, officium suum,
Nec voluntate id facere meminit, servos is habitu haud probus est. PLAUTUS Sticho.

"The servant that must be called upon at every step, is but an unprofitable and unworthy person:" to do only what we are commanded, will never bring us to the portion and inheritance of sons. We must do this cheerfully, and we must do more; even contend to please God with doing that which is the righteousness of God, striving for perfection, till perfection itself becomes perfect; still obeying that law of sons, "Love the Lord with all thy heart," till our charity itself is crowned. Therefore,

19. XIII. Let no man propound to himself a limit of duty, saying, he will go so far, and go no farther. For the commandment is infinite, and though every good man obeys it all the way of his holy conversation, yet it shall not be finished till his life is done. But he that stints himself to a certain measure of love, hath no love at all; for this grace grows for ever: and when the object is infinite, true love is not at rest till it hath possessed what is infinite; and therefore towards that there must be an infinite progression, never stopped, never ceasing, till we can work no more.

20. XIV. Let every man be humbled in the sense of his failings and infirmities. "Multum in hâc vitâ ille profecit, qui quàm longè sit à perfectione justitiæ proficiendo cognovit," said St. Austin:[t] "It is a good degree of perfection to have proceeded so far, as well to know and observe our own imperfections." The Scripture concludes all under sin; not only because all have failed of the covenant of works, of the exactness of obedience, but by reason of their prevarication of that law which they can obey. And indeed no man could be a sinner, but he that breaks that law which he could have kept. We were all sinners by the covenant of works, but that was in those instances where it might have been otherwise. For the covenant of works was not impossible, because it consisted of impossible commandments; for every commandment was kept by some or other, and all at some times: but therefore it was impossible to be kept, because at some time or other, men would be impotent, or ignorant, or surprised, and for this no abatement was made in that covenant. But then since in what every man could help he is found to be a sinner, he ought to account it a mighty grace that his other services are accepted. In pursuance of this,

21. XV. Let no man boast himself in the most glorious services and performances of religion. "Qui in ecclesiâ semper gloriosè et granditer operati sunt, et opus suum Domino nunquam imputaverunt," as St. Cyprian's expression is;[u] "They who have greatly served God in the church, and have not been forward to exact and challenge their reward of God," they are such whom God will most certainly reward. For "humility without other external works is more pleasing to God, than pride though standing upon heaps of excellent actions." It is the saying of St. Chrysostom. For if it be as natural to us to live according to the measures of reason, as for beasts to live by their nature and instinct, what thanks are due to us for that, more than to them for this? And therefore one said well, "Ne te jactes si benè servisti: obsequitur sol, obtemperat luna:" "Boast not if thou hast well obeyed: the sun and the moon do so," and shall never be rewarded. But when ourselves and all our faculties are from God, he hath power to demand all our services without reward; and therefore if he will reward us, it must wholly be a gift to us that he will so crown our services. But he does not only give us all our being and all our faculties, but makes them also irriguous with the dew of his divine grace; sending his holy Son to call us to repentance, and to die to obtain for us pardon, and resurrection, and eternal life; sending his Holy Spirit by rare arguments, and aids external and internal, to help us in our spiritual contentions and difficulties.[x] So that we have nothing of our own, and therefore can challenge nothing to ourselves. But besides these considerations, many sins are forgiven to us, and the service of a whole life cannot make recompence for the intimate favour of receiving pardon: especially since, after our amendment and repentance, there are remaining such weaknesses and footsteps of our old impieties, that we who have daily need of the Divine mercy and pity, cannot challenge a reward for that which in many degrees needs a pardon; for if every act we do should not need some degrees of pardon, yet our persons do in the periods of our imperfect workings. But after all this, all that we can do is no advantage to God;[y] he is not profited or obliged by our services, no moments do thence accrue to his felicities; and to challenge a reward of God, or to

[r] Xen. Cyrop.
[s] Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.
[t] De Spir. et Lit. c. 36.
[u] Epist. ad Lapsos.
[x] Consil. Arausic. 2. c. 18. Debetur merces bonis operibus: sed gratia quæ non debetur, præcedit ut fiant.
[y] Job xxxv. 7.

think our best services can merit heaven, is as if Galileo when he had found out a star which he had never observed before, and pleased himself in his own fancy, should demand of the grand signior to make him king of Tunis: for what is he the better, that the studious man hath pleased himself in his own heart, and the Turkish empire gets no advantages by his new argument? And this is so much the more material, if we consider that the littleness of our services (if other things were away) could not countervail the least moment of eternity:[a] and the poor countryman might as well have demanded of Cyrus to give him a province for his handful of river-water, as we can expect of God to give us heaven as a reward of our good works.

22. XVI. But although this rule, relying upon such great and convincing grounds, can abolish all proud expectations of reward from God as a debtor for our good works, yet they ought not to destroy our modest confidence and our rejoicings in God, who by his gracious promises hath not only obliged himself to help us if we pray to him, but to reward us if we work. For "our God is merciful, he rewardeth every man according to his work:" so said David;[b] according to the nature and graciousness of the work,[c] not according to their value and proper worthiness; not that they deserve it, but because God for the communication of his goodness was pleased to promise it. "Promissum quidem ex misericordiâ sed ex justitiâ persolvendum," said St. Bernard: "Mercy first made the promise, but justice pays the debt." Which words were true, if we did exactly do all that duty to which the reward was so graciously promised; but where much is to be abated even of that little which was bound upon us by so glorious promises of reward, there we can in no sense challenge God's justice, but so as it signifies equity, and is mingled with the mercies of the chancery. "Gratis promissit, gratis reddit." So Ferus. "God promised freely, and pays freely."[d]— "If therefore thou wilt obtain grace and favour, make no mention of thy deservings. And yet let not this slacken thy work, but reinforce it, and enlarge thy industry, since thou hast so gracious a Lord:" who of his own mere goodness will so plentifully reward it.

23. XVII. If we fail in the outward work, let it be so ordered, that it be as little imputable to us as we can; that is, let our default not be at all voluntary, but wholly upon the accounts of a pitiable infirmity: for the law was a covenant of works, such as they were; but the mind could not make amends within for the defect without. But in the gospel it is otherwise: for here the will is accepted for the fact, in all things where the fact is not in our power. But where it is, there to pretend a will, is hypocrisy. "Nequam illud verbum est, 'benè vult,' nisi qui benè facit," said the comedian. This rule is our measure in the great lines of duty, in all negative precepts, and in the periods of the law of Christ, which cannot pass by us without being observed. But in the material and external instances of duty we may without our fault be disabled, and therefor can only be supplied with our endeavours and de sires. But that is our advantage: we thus can per form all God's will acceptably. For if we endeavou all that we can, and desire more, and pursue more it is accepted as if we had done all: for we are ac cepted "according to what a man hath, and not ac cording to what he hath not."[e] Unless we ca neither endeavour, nor desire, we ought not to com plain of the burden of the Divine commandments For to endeavour truly, and passionately to desir and contend for more, is obedience and charity, an that is the fulfilling of the commandments.

[a] Rom. viii. 18. [b] Psal. lxii. 12.
[c] Matt. v. 12. 1 Cor. iii. 8. Matt. xvi. 27. 2 Cor. iv. 17. 2 Thess. i. 5. Apoc. iii. 4. and xvi. 6. Rom. viii. 18.

[d] In Matt. lib. 3. cap. 20. v. 8.
[e] 2 Cor. viii. 12.

MATTER FOR MEDITATION OUT OF SCRIPTURE, ACCORDING TO THE FORMER DOCTRINE.

The old Covenant, or the Covenant of Works.

IN that day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.—Gen. ii. 17.

Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the law, to do them.—Gal. iii. 10. Deut. xxvii. 26.

And thou shalt write upon stones all the words of this law very plainly.—Deut. xxvii. 8.

Thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand or to the left.

But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes, then shall all these curses come upon thee, and overtake thee —Deut. xxviii.

And if you will not be reformed by these things but will walk contrary unto me, then will I also walk contrary unto you, and will punish you yet seven times for your sins.—Lev. xxvi. 23, 24, &c.

He that despised Moses's law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses.—Heb. x. 28.

The new Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace.

WE are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. To declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Where is boasting then? It is excluded: by what law? Of works? Nay: but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.—Rom. iii. 24—28.

There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. For as many as are led by the Spirit, they are the sons of God. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; because

he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God.—Rom. viii. 1, 14, 26—28.

He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall not he with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth.—Ver. 33, &c.

This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws in their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people—all shall know me from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.—Heb. viii. 10—12.

If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away, all things are become new. And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God. For he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.—2 Cor. v. 17—21.

Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call.—Acts ii. 37, 38.

And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved.—Rom. x. 13.

Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doth those things, shall live by them. But the righteousness which is of faith, speaketh on this wise;—The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is, the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.—Acts ii. 21. Rom. x. 5, 6, 8, 9.

Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.—1 Cor. xv. 55, 56.

My yoke is easy, and my burden is light.—Rom. viii. 3, 4.

For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, hath for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.—Rom. viii. 3, 4.

His commandments are not grievous.—1 John v. 3.

If while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.—Rom. v. 10.

I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.—Phil. iv. 13.

My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness.—2 Cor. xii. 9.

Ask and ye shall have, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.—Matt. vii. 7.

To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.—2 Cor. vii. 1. Vide etiam Isa. xlix. 6. and liii. 12.

Having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.—Psal. xxii. 22—28. Jer. xxxii. 34.

The Prayer.

I.

O eternal God, Lord of heaven and earth, Father of men and angels, we do adore thy infinite goodness, we revere thy justice, and delight in thy mercies, by which thou hast dealt with us, not with the utmost right and dominion of a lord, but with the gentleness of a father; treating us like friends, who were indeed thy enemies. Thou, O God, didst see our follies, and observe our weaknesses; thou knowest the averseness of our nature to good, and our proneness to commit vanity; and because our imperfect obedience could not bring us to perfect felicity, whither thou didst design us, the great God of all the world was pleased to make a new covenant with man, and to become a debtor to his servants. Blessed be God, and blessed be that mercy which hath done so great things for us. O be pleased to work that in us which thou expectest from us. Let us not lose our title in the covenant of faith and repentance, by deferring the one, or dishonouring the other; but let us walk worthy of our vocation, according to the law of faith, and the mercies of God, and the covenant of our Lord Jesus.

II.

O blessed Jesus, never suffer us to abuse thy mercies, or to turn thy grace into wantonness. Let the remembrance and sense of thy glorious favours endear our services, and let thy goodness lead us to repentance, and our repentance bring forth the fruits of godliness in our whole life. Imprint deeply upon our hearts the fear and terror of thy majesty, and perpetually entertain our spirits with highest apprehensions of thy loving-kindness, that we may fear more, and love more, every day more and more; hating sin, crucifying all its affections and desires, passionately loving holy things, zealously following after them, prudently conducting them, and indefatigably persevering in them to the end of our lives.

III.

O blessed and eternal God, with thy Spirit enlighten our understandings in the rare mysterious

secrets of thy law. Make me to understand all the most advantageous ways of duty, and kindle a flame in my soul, that no difficulty or contradiction, no temptation within or persecution without, may ever extinguish. Give me a mighty grace, that I may design to please thee with my best and all my services, to follow the best examples, to do the noblest charities, to pursue all perfection, ever pressing forward to the mark of the high calling in Christ Jesus. Let us rather choose to die, than to sin against our consciences. Let us also watch, th we may omit nothing of our duty, nor pretermit ar opportunity by which thou canst be glorified, or ar christian instructed, comforted, or assisted, not res ing in the strictest measures of command, but pas ing forward to great and prudent significations love, doing heroic actions; some things by whic thou mayest be greatly pleased, that thou maye take delight to pardon, to sanctify, and to preserv thy servants for ever. Amen.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NATURE AND DEFINITION OF REPENTANCE; AND WHAT PARTS OF DUTY ARE SIGNIFIED BY IT IN HOLY SCRIPTURES.

SECTION I.

THE Greeks use two words to express this duty, *μεταμέλεια* and *μετάνοια*. *Μεταμέλεια* is from *μεταμελεῖσθαι* "post factum angi et cruciari," to be afflicted in mind, to be troubled for our former folly; it is *δυσαρέστησις ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις*, saith Phavorinus; "a being displeased for what we have done:" and it is generally used for all sorts of repentance, but more properly to signify either the beginnings of a good, or the whole state of an effective repentance. In the first sense we find it in St. Matthew,[f] *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐ μεταμελήθητε ὕστερον, τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ*, and "ye seeing, did not repent that ye might believe him." Of the second sense we have example in Judas,[g] *μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπέστρεψε*, he repented too, but the end of it was, he died with anguish and despair; and of Esau it is said, *μετανόιας τόπον οὐχ εὗρε*, "he found no place for" an effective "repentance," but yet he repented too, for he was *μετέπειτα θέλων*, and *μετὰ δακρύων ἐκζητήσας*, he fain would have had it otherwise, and he "sought it with tears;"[h] which two do fully express all the meaning of this *μεταμέλεια*, when it is distinguished from the better and effective repentance. There is in this repentance a sorrow for what is done, a disliking of the thing with its consequents and effect: and so far also it is a change of mind. But it goes no farther than so far to change the mind, that it brings trouble and sorrow, and such things which are the natural events of it. *Μεταμέλεια πάθος ἀνθρώπινον*, saith Suidas. It is "an affection incident to man," not to God, who cannot repent: where although by *πάθος* he means "an accident or property" of man, that is, a quality in the general sense; yet that it is properly a passion in the special sense, was the sense of all men, as Tertullian[i] observes; saying, that the heathens know repentance to be "passionem animi quandam," (the same with *πάθος ἀνθρώπινον* in Suidas,) "a passion," "quæ veniat de offensâ sententiæ prioris," "coming from our being offend ed, or troubled at our former course."—But Tertul lian uses the Latin word, of which I shall give ac count in the following periods.

2. But when there was a difference made, *μετά νοια* was the better word: which does not properl signify the sorrow for having done amiss, but some thing that is nobler than it, but brought in at th gate of sorrow. For *ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη*, "a godl sorrow," that is *μεταμέλεια*, or the first beginning o repentance, *μετάνοιαν κατεργάζεται*, "worketh this better repentance, *μετάνοιαν ἀμεταμέλητον*, an *εἰς σωτηρίαν*, "a repentance not to be repented of," not to be sorrowed for, a repentance that is "unt salvation."[k] Sorrow may go before this, but dwell not with it, according to that of St. Chrysostom "Medicinæ hic locus, non judicii; non pœnas se peccatorum remissionem pœnitentia tribuit."[l] Me *τάνοια* is the word. "Repentance brings no pains, but pardon with it; for this is the place o medicine and remedy, not of judgment or condem nation:" meaning, that this repentance is wholly salutary, as tending to reformation and amendment But Tertullian[m] made the observation more express "In Græco sono, pœnitentiæ nomen non ex delict confessione, sed ex animi demutatione compositum est;" "To repent, among the Greeks, signifies, no a confession of our fault, but the change of mind." He speaks of the grammatical sense of the word for in the whole use of it it is otherwise.

3. For however the grammarians may distinguish them, yet the words are used promiscuously; for *μετάνοια* is sometimes used in the bad sense, and *μεταμέλεια* signifies the better repentance; not often but sometimes it does. The son[n] that told his father, he would not work in his vineyard, afterwards was sorry for refusing, and he went to work, *μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθε*; and in the same chapter, *ὑμεῖς ἰδόντες οὐ μεταμελέθητε*; "ye seeing were not troubled, and sorrowful, that ye might believe, that is, amend your fault." *Μεταμελεῖσθαι* is in both

[f] Matt. xxi. 32. [g] Matt. xxvii. 3.
[h] Heb. xii. 17. [i] Lib. de Pœnit.
[k] 2 Cor. vii. 11. [l] Homil. 9. de Pœnit.
[m] Lib. 2. adv. Marcion. cap. 20. [n] Matt. xxi. 29.

places used for "a salutary repentance." And on the other side, *μετάνοια* is used to signify, in the evil sense, "a state of misery, without remedy." *Πανοῦργος ἔρχεται εἰς μετάνοιαν*, so the Septuagint read that of Solomon;[o] "The wicked man cometh to repentance," that is, to misery and sorrow. So that there is nothing of usefulness which can be drawn from the grammatical sense of these words; they both signify a change of mind, and they both signify a sorrow; and they both are used for the same thing: and indeed that will be the best use of them: no man can be truly said to repent, but he who, being sorrowful for doing evil, betakes himself to wiser courses. So Phavorinus: *Μετάνοιά ἐστι συναίσθησις ψυχῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξεν ἀτόπως*· "Repentance is a sense and compunction of the soul for those things which were done foolishly."

Sum Dea, quæ facti, non factique exigo pœnas,
Nempe ut pœniteat; sic Metanœa vocor.[p]

Repentance does exact punishment for evils done, and good undone: but besides this, it is *ἡ πρὸς κρεῖσσον ἐπιστροφὴ*, "a conversion to that which is better."—So Aretas defines it: *Μετάνοιά ἐστι μετάθεσις ἀπὸ χειρόνων, καὶ μεταβολὴ ἐπὶ βέλτιον*, the same with the former; "an eschewing evil, and doing good."

4. And thus the Holy Scriptures understand this word and this duty. It is a whole change of state and life; *ἀποστροφὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀπόστασις ἀπ' ἀδικίας*, "a turning from sin;"[q] and it is emphatically called by the apostle *μετάνοια ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων*, "a repentance from dead works," that is, a forsaking them with sorrow that ever we committed them: and it is also *ἐπιστροφὴ πρὸς Θεὸν*, "a conversion to God;"[r] from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God: *ἀνανήφειν*, "a returning to sobriety," the same with *μεταβάλλειν, μεταθέσθαι, μεταγινώσκειν*, in Justin Martyr, all signifying a departing from our follies, and a changing to a better life. And though sometimes "to repent," is in Scripture taken for sorrow only, or a being troubled that the fact is done; yet it is called repentance, no otherwise than as alms is called charity; that is, it is an effect of it, a part, or action, or adjunct, of the duty and state of repentance: which ought to be observed, lest (as it is too commonly) one act be mistaken for the whole state, and we account ourselves perfect penitents if we have only wept a penitential shower; which is also to be observed in the definitions which the doctors give of it.

5. Tertullian[s] calls it "a passion of the mind, or grief for the offence of our former acts:" St. Austin calls it,[t] "a revenge always punishing in itself that which it grieves to have committed." These do only describe that part of repentance which is sometimes signified by *μεταμέλεια*, and is nothing else but a godly sorrow, the porch, or beginnings of repentance. On the other side Lactantius[u] describing repentance, gives only the grammatical sense of *μετάνοια*. "Agere autem pœnitentiam nihil aliud est quàm profiteri et affirmare se ulteriùs non peccaturum:" "To repent is nothing else but a profession and affirmation, that he will sin no more;" which descriptions of repentance are just as if we should say,—A man is a creature that speaks, or laughs, or that can learn to read.—These are effects of his nature, but not the ingredients of a proper definition. Sorrow, and revenge, and holy purposes and protestations, are but single acts of a returning and penitent man: whereas repentance is a whole state of a new life, an entire change of the sinner, with all its appendages and instruments of ministry.

6. As the Greeks have, so have the Latins also, two words to signify this duty, "pœnitentia" and "resipiscentia," and these have almost the same fate and the same usages with the other. "Pœnitentia" is used by the old Latin translation; and is most tenaciously retained by all them, who make the very life of repentance to run into corporal austerities, (like the juice of luxuriant trees into irregular suckers and excrescences,) which therefore, by way of eminency, they call "penances;" for they suppose the word, in its very nature and institution, to signify something that is punitive and afflictive. So Hugo: "Pœnitentia quasi puni-entia, quòd per eam homo in se puniat, quòd malè admisit."[x] Much like that of Scotus: "Pœnitentia quasi pœnæ tenentia;" which they both learned from St. Austin;[y] "Pœnitere est idem quod rei commissæ aliquem pudere ac pigere, ita ut *pœnitet* sit idem quod *pœna tenet*." This sense of the word prevailed long, and therefore some that would speak exactly, observing that the duty of repentance did principally consist in the amendment of our lives, were forced to use the word "resipiscentia,"[z] which better renders the Greek *μετάνοια*. So Lactantius expressly: 'Græci meliùs et significantiùs *μετάνοιαν* dicunt: quam Latinè possumus "resipiscentiam' dicere. Resipiscit enim, ac mentem suam quasi ab insaniâ recipit, quem errare piget, castigatque seipsum dementiæ, et confirmat animum suum ad rectiùs vivendum:" "He truly repents who recovers his mind from folly, and chastising his error, and grieving for his madness, strengthens his purposes to better living."

7. Either of the words will serve the turn. "Pœnitentia," or "penance," is the old Latin word; "resipiscentia" is the new one, but very expressive and significant: and it is indifferent which be used, if men had not a design upon one, which cannot prudently be effected by it. But such is the force of words, especially when men choose and affect one particularly, and studiously reject another, which is

[o] Prov. xiv.

[p] Auson. Epigr. Malè Metanœa usus est: verbum purum Grae um est, nec tamen eo sensu et definitione à Græcis usurpatum. Rectè igitur et facetè fassus est idem Ausonius in epigrammate de abusu hujus verbi parum Latini,

Sum Dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.

[q] Heb. vi. 1. 1 Kings viii. 35. Isa. lix. 20. 2 Chron. vii. 14. Jer. xviii. 7—9. and xxxi. 19. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

[r] 2 Sam. xii. 5, 13. Deut. xxx. 2. Jer. iii. 7. Acts xxvi. 18. Eph. v. 14. Ezek. xxxiii. 12. Luke xix. 8—10.

[s] De Pœnit. in princip. [t] Lib. de ver. et fals. Pœnit. c. 8.

[u] Lib. 6. Divin. instit. c. 13. [x] Lib. 3. de Myste. Eccles.

[y] Solil. cap. 19. [z] Lib. 6. c. 24.

apt to signify the same thing,—that, in the Greek church, because their words for "repentance" did imply only or principally "a change of life," they usually describe "repentance" in that formality; but the later Latins practise and discourse to other purposes; and the college of Rheims render *μετανοεῖτε*, word for word after their vulgar Latin; "agite pœnitentiam," "do penance;" which is so absurd a reddition, that their interest and design are more apparent than their skill in grammar, or their ingenuity. It is much, very much better, which we learn from a wise heathen, who gives such an account both of the words and thing, as might not misbecome the best instructed christian, so far as concerns the nature and morality of the duty: his words are excellent words, and therefore I shall transcribe them. *Διὸ πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν· ἁμαρτόντας δὲ σπεύδειν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἰατρικὴν τῆς πονηρίας τὴν δίκην, ἐπανορθουμένους τὴν ἀβουλίαν τῇ κρείττονι βοηθείᾳ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ ἐκπεπτώκαμεν, τοῦ γίνεσθαι γοῦν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα μεταμελείᾳ εὐγνώμονι, τὴν θείαν ἐπανόρθωσιν εἰσδεχόμενοι. Ἡ δὲ μετάνοια αὕτη φιλοσοφίας ἀρχὴ γίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων φυγὴ, καὶ τῆς ἀμεταμελήτου ζωῆς ἡ πρώτη παρασκευή.*[a] "We ought principally to take care that we do not sin; but if we be overtaken, then to make diligent haste to return to justice or righteousness as the cure of our wickedness; that we may amend our evil counsels or wills, by the help of a better. For when we are fallen from goodness, we receive or recover it again *μεταμελείᾳ εὐγνώμονι*, by a wise or well-principled penitential sorrow, admitting a divine correction. *Ἡ δὲ μετάνοια αὕτη*, but repentance itself is the beginning of wisdom, a flying from foolish words and deeds, and the first institution of a life not to be repented of." Where, besides the definition of repentance, and a most perfect description of its nature and intention, he with some curiosity differences the two Greek words; making *μεταμέλεια* to be but the beginning of *μετάνοια*: "sorrow" the beginning of "repentance;" and both together the reformation of the old, and the institution of a new life.

8. But to quit the words from being the subject matter of a quarrel, it is observable that the Latin word "pœnitentia," does really signify (by use I mean and custom) as much as the Greek *μετάνοια*, and is expressive of the whole duty of repentance; and although it implies that sorrow and grief, which are the natural inlet of reformation of our lives, and the consequent of our shame and sin, yet it also does signify correction and amendment, which are the formality and essence of repentance; and therefore Erasmus more warily, and in imitation of the old Latins, says, that "pœnitere" is from "pone tenere," "quod est posterius consilium capere;" to be wiser the next time; to choose again, and choose better; and so A. Gellius[b] defines it: "Pœnitere, tum dicere solemus, cum quæ ipsi fecimus, aut quæ de nostrâ voluntate nostroque consilio facta sunt, ea nobis pòst incipiunt displicere, sententiamque in iis nostram demutamus:" "To repent is, when those things which we have done displease us, and we change our minds."—So that here is both a "displeasure" and a "change;" displeasure and sorrow for the evil, and a change to better. And there ought to be no scruple in this; for by the first sorrow of a penitent man, is meant nothing else but the first act of eschewing evil: which whether it be by grief alone, or by fear or by hope, or by all these, it is not without some trouble of mind, and displeasure; for if it were still in all senses a pleasure to go on, they would never return back. And therefore to suppose repentance without displeasure, is to suppose a change of mind without alteration, or a taking a new course without disliking the old. But then to suppose any other sorrow naturally necessary, than this which naturally is included in the change, is to affirm that to be true which experience tells us is not true: and it is to place self-affliction and punition at the head which is to be looked for in the retinue of repentance; to make the daughter to be before the mother and the fruit to be kept in the root, not to grow upon the branches. But the Latin words can no way determine any thing of question in this article and the Greek words are used promiscuously; and when they are distinguished, they differ but as the more and less perfect, as the beginning of repentance and the progress of perfection; according to that saying; "Pœnitentia erroris magnus gradus est ad resipiscentiam," "To acknowledge and be sorry for our sin, is a great step to repentance;—and both together signify all that piety, that change, and holiness, which are the duty of the new man, of the returning sinner: and we can best learn it by the words of him that revealed and gave this grace to all his servants: even of the Holy Jesus speaking to St. Paul at his conversion;[c] from whose blessed words, together with those of St. Paul in his narrative of that story, we may draw this more perfect description. To repent is to "turn from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, doing works worthy of amendment of life, for the forgiveness of sins, that we may receive inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus."

9. Upon this account, the parts of repentance are two; 1. "Leaving our sins:" which is properly repentance from dead works. And, 2. "Doing holy actions" in the remaining portion of our days: "actions meet for repentance;" so the Baptist called them. This is in Scripture, by way of propriety, called repentance; *μετάνοια*, so the Baptist[d] used it; distinguishing repentance from its fruits: that is, from such significations, exercises, and prosecutions of this change, as are apt to represent, and to effect it more and more; such as are confession, weeping, self-afflictions, alms, and the like. So St. Paul, using the same words before King Agrippa.[e] But by way of synecdoche, not only the fruits and consequent expressions, but the beginning-sorrow also is signified by the same word: and all are under the same commandment, though with different

[a] Hierocl. in Pythag. in vers. 29. p. 166. edit. Lond. 1654.
[b] Noct. Att. lib. 17. c. 1.
[c] Acts xxvi. 18, 20.
[d] Matt. iii. 8.
[e] Acts xxvi. 20.

degrees of necessity and expression; of which I shall afterwards give account. Here I only account concerning the essential and constituent parts and definition of repentance.

10. All the whole duty of repentance, and every of its parts, is sometimes called conversion. Thus godly sorrow is a conversion or change: and upon that account St. James[f] calls upon sinners; "Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep, let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into weeping." This is the first change of our affections, which is attended with a change of our judgment: when we do no longer admire the false beauties of sin; but judge righteously concerning it. And of this the prophet Jeremy[g] gives testimony; "Surely, after that I was turned, I repented." And by this word נָחַם the Hebrews express the duty; which the LXX indifferently render by *μετάνοια* and *μεταμέλεια*, and is best rendered "conversion." And then follows the conversion of the whole man, body and soul, mind and spirit; all are set in opposition against sin, and apply themselves to the service of God, and conformity to Jesus.

SECTION II.

Of Repentance in general; or Conversion.

1. "Repentance" and "faith" in Scriptures signify sometimes more generally; and, in the federal sense, are used for all that state of grace and favour, which the holy Jesus revealed, and brought into the world. They both signify the gospel: for the whole gospel is nothing else but that glad tidings which Christ brought to all mankind, that the covenant of works, or exact measures, should not now be exacted, but men should be saved by second thoughts, that is, by repentance and amendment of life, through faith in the Lord Jesus. That is, if we become his disciples, (for that is the condition of the covenant,) we shall find mercy, our sins shall be blotted out, and we shall be saved if we obey heartily and diligently, though not exactly. This becoming his disciples, is called "faith;" that is, coming to him, believing him, hoping in him, obeying him; and consequent to this is, that we are admitted to repentance, that is, to the pardon of our sins. "For him hath God exalted on his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour *δοῦναι μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, to give repentance and remission of sins."[h] This is the sum total of the gospel. That we have leave to repent, supposes that God will pardon what is past. But then that we have leave to repent, supposes us also highly bound to it. It is in mere pity to our infirmities, our needs, and our miseries, that we have leave to do it: and this is given to mankind by faith in Jesus Christ, that is, by becoming his disciples; for he hath power to pardon sins, and to "take them away, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," viz. which we have committed. That is that which all the world did need, and longed for; it was the *κρυπτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, "the hidden mystery from all ages, but revealed in Christ;" whose blood (as St. Clement expresses it) *παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν*, "brought to all the world the grace of repentance."

2. This is the gospel.—For the gospel is nothing else but faith and repentance. The gospel is called "faith" by St. Paul, *πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν*, "before that faith came, we were under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterward be revealed;"[i] that is, to the gospel, or the glad tidings of repentance; which is called *ἀκοὴ πίστεως*, "the hearing of faith."[k] For "faith" being here opposed to "the law," that is, the covenant of mercy to the covenant of works, must mean, "the covenant of repentance." And therefore, although, if we consider them as proper and particular graces and habits, they have differing natures and definitions; yet in the general and federal sense of which I now speak, faith and repentance are only distinguished by relations and respects, not by substance and reality. "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ;"[l] that is, repentance for having sinned against God; a repentance, I say, through faith in Jesus Christ; that is, a repentance procured, and preached, and enjoined, by Christ, being the sum of his discipline. And that it may appear faith and repentance to be the same thing, and differing only in name and manner of expression, St. Paul confounds the distinction which he formerly made; and that which he called "repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus," in his sermons in Asia, in his epistle to the Hebrews he calls, "repentance from dead works and faith in God." And the words are used for each other promiscuously in St. Luke; for that which the rich man in hell called *μετανοήσουσιν* Abraham called *πεισθήσονται*. "If one comes from the dead they will repent:" no, said Abraham, "if they will not hear Moses and the prophets, then if one come from the dead, they will not believe, or be persuaded." And St. Peter,[m] giving an account of the delaying of the coming of the Lord for the punishment of the obdurate Jews and enemies of Christ, says, it is because God of his infinite goodness expects even them also to be converted to the faith, or becoming christians, as the whole design of the place infers; and this he calls *εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι*, "a coming to repentance," that is, to the faith of Christ. And therefore the gospel is nothing else but a universal publication of repentance and pardon of sins in the name of Christ, that is procured for all them who are his disciples: and to this we are baptized, that is, adopted into the religion, into that discipleship under which God requires holiness, but not perfect measures; sincerity without hypocrisy, but not impeccability or perfect innocence.

3. And as the gospel is called faith, and faith is repentance, that is, it is the same covenant of grace and mercy, with this only difference, that it is called faith, as it relates to Christ who procured this

[f] James iv.
[g] Jer. xxxi. 19.
[h] Acts v. 31.
[i] Gal. iii. 23.
[k] Verse 2.
[l] Acts xx. 21.
[m] 2 Pet. iii. 9, 15.

mercy for us, repentance, as it signifies the mercy itself so procured: so baptism, by the same analogy, is called "the baptism unto repentance," *βάπτισμα τῆς μετανοίας*, "the baptism of repentance;" so it is called in the Jerusalem creed; that is, the admission to the grace of the gospel: which the fathers of Constantinople, in their appendage to the Nicene creed thus express: "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins;" that is, to remission of sins we are admitted by baptism alone; no other way shall we have this grace, this title, but by being once initiated into the gospel to be disciples of Jesus. Not that it is to be supposed, that our sins are only pardoned when we are baptized; but that by baptism we are admitted to the state and grace of repentance and pardon of sins. And this is demonstratively certain, not only upon those many instances of baptized penitents admitted to pardon, and baptized criminals called upon in Scripture to repent,—but upon the very nature of the evangelical covenant, and the whole design of Christ's coming. For if we were not admitted to repentance after baptism, then, we were still to be judged by the covenant of works, not by the covenant of faith; and we should inherit by the law, or not at all, and not be "heirs according to promise;" and then "Christ were dead in vain, we are yet in our sins;" and all the world must perish, because all men have sinned, and so none should go to heaven but newly-baptized infants, or newly-baptized catechumens: and how then could the gospel be a new covenant, it being exactly the same with the law; for so it must be, if it promise no mercy or repentance to them that sin after our admittance to it. But baptism is a new birth, and by it we are *ἀνακαινιζόμενοι εἰς μετάνοιαν*, "renewed unto repentance," unto that state of life which supposes holiness and imperfection, and consequently needs mercy all the way: according to that saying, "Justus ex fide vivet," "The just shall live by faith;" that is, all our righteousness, all our hopes, all our spiritual life, is conserved by, and is relying upon, this covenant of mercy, the covenant of faith, or repentance: all his life-time the just shall still need pardon, and find it, if he perseveres in it,—that is, endeavours to obey according to the righteousness of faith, that is, sincerely, diligently, and by the measures of a man. Of this, we shall, in the sequel, make use.

4. For the present I consider, that repentance or conversion admits of degrees according to the necessities of men. For that repentance which Christ and his apostles preached at the opening of the kingdom, was a universal change of life, which men did lead in the darkness of heathen ignorance and idolatrous impieties among the gentiles, and the more than heathen crimes among the Jews; the whole nation being generally false, superstitious, bloody, persecutors, proud, rebellious, and at last rejecters and crucifiers of their Messias, whom they had longed for ever since they were a people: but in the persuasion and effecting of this repentance, there was some difference of dispensation and ministry.

5. John the Baptist began, and he preached repentance to the Jews that "they might believe in the Messias, and so flee from the wrath to come," that is, from the destruction of their nation, which he prophetically foretold should come to pass, for their rejecting him whom the Baptist did foresignify. Christ and his apostles pursued the same doctrine, still thrusting forward the design, that is, preaching such a repentance as was proportionable to his purpose, that is, obedience to the gospel, the admission of such doctrines which did destroy the gaieties and cursed usages of the world. So that the repentance which was first preached, was in order to faith: that is, the Baptist, and Christ, and Christ's apostles, preaching repentance, did mean such a conversion or change as would take them off from those crimes which so prepossessed their hearts, that by them they were indisposed to receive Christ's person and doctrine, both which were so contrary to their prejudices of pride and covetousness, malice and ambition.

6. And therefore among the Jews, repentance was to go before faith: for they were already sufficiently disposed to believe the revelations of God, they had been used to prophets, and expected the Messias, and prayed for his day, and longed passionately for it; so that they were by nothing hindered in their faith, but by their lusts and secular thoughts; and the way to make them believe, was to cure their pride. "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another?"[n] Their hunting after praise among the people, did indispose them to the believing and receiving Christ's person and doctrine. Therefore until they did repent of that they could not believe; and accordingly our blessed Saviour complained, that when they saw the light which shined in the ministry of John the Baptist "yet they would not repent, that they might believe." But afterwards the Jews, when they were invited to the religion, that is, to believe in Jesus, were first to be called to repentance, because they had crucified the Lord of life: and if they should not repent for crucifying an innocent person, they would be infinitely far from believing him to be the Lord of life, and their long-desired Messias.

7. But the repentance that was preached to the gentiles, though it had the same design, as to the event of things, yet it went in another method. Their religion taught them impiety, lust and folly were placed upon their altars, and their gods bore in their hands smoking firebrands kindled with the coals of Sodom: they had false confidences, and evil examples, and foolish principles; they had evil laws, and an abominable priesthood; and their demons, whom they called gods, would be worshipped with lusts and cruelty, with drunkenness and revellings; so that their false belief and evil religion betrayed them to evil lives, therefore they were to be recovered by being taught a better belief, and a more holy religion, therefore in these, faith was to go before repentance. "Pœnitentiæ stimulus ex fide acciderat," as Tertullian's expression is; "Faith was the motive of their repentance."[n]—*Πίστεως ἡ μετάνοια κατόρθωμα.* So St. Clemens Alexandrinus:[o]

[n] John v. 44. [o] Strom. 2.

Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσῃ ἁμάρτημα εἶναι ᾧ προκατείχετο, οὐδὲ μεταθήσεται· κἂν μὴ πιστεύσῃ κόλασιν μὲν ἐπηρτῆσθαι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι, σωτηρίαν δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς βιοῦντι, οὐδ' οὗτος μεταβαλεῖται· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἐκ πίστεως συνέστηκεν· "Repentance is the perfection and consummation of faith. For unless the sinner believes his action to be a sin, and that evil is his portion if he sins, and that he shall be happy if he lives by the rule of the commandments, he can never be converted."—Therefore, in the conversion of the gentiles, faith was to be ordinarily the first.

8. In proportion to these several methods, the doctrine or state of christianity was sometimes called "faith,"[p] sometimes "repentance:"[q] he that believed Jesus Christ, would repent of his sins; and he that did repent, would believe. But sometimes infidelity stood at the gate, and sometimes malice and vile affections. That which stood next, was first to be removed.

9. Now the access of both these to Christ is in Scripture called "conversion," or repentance. Where faith only was wanting, and the man was of Moses and a good man, the becoming a christian was a *τελείωσις*, "a perfection," or "consummation,"—"a progression" rather than "a returning," *προκοπὴ*, not *ἀναστροφή*. But when Christ had been preached, all the obfirmation and obstinacy of mind by which they shut their eyes against that light, all that was choice, and interest, or passion, and was to be rescinded by repentance. But "conversion" was the word indifferently used concerning the change both of Jews and gentiles, because they both abounded in iniquity, and did need this change, called by St. Paul *ἀπολύτρωσις ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας*, "a redemption from all iniquity;" by St. Peter, *ἀποστροφὴ ἀπὸ πονηριῶν*, "a conversion from wickedness."[r]

10. In analogy and proportion to these repentances and conversions of Jews and gentiles, the repentances of christians may be called "conversion."[s] We have an instance of the word so used in the case of St. Peter; "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren;" that is, When thou art returned from thy folly and sin of denying the Lord, do thou confirm thy brethren, that they may not fall as thou hast done. This is *ἀναστροφὴ ἀπὸ ματαίων*, and *ἀπ' ἀδικίας*, "a conversion from vanity, and impiety, or injustice;" when a person of any evil life returns to his duty, and his undertaking in baptism, from the unregenerate to the regenerate estate, that is, from habitual sin to habitual grace. But the repentances of good men for their sins of infirmity, or the seldom interruptions of a good life by single falls, is not properly "conversion." But as the distance from God is, from whence we are to retire, so is the degree of our conversion. The term *from whence*, is various; but the term *whither* we go, is the same. All must come to God through Jesus Christ in the measures and strictness of the evangelical holiness; which is that state of repentance I have been now describing, which is,—a perfect abrenunciation of all iniquity, and a sincere obedience in the faith of Jesus Christ:—which is the result of all the foregoing considerations and usages of words; and is farther manifested in the following appellatives and descriptions, by which repentance is signified and recommended to us in Scripture.

11. I. It is called "reconciliation," *καταλλαγή*. "We pray you in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God;" that is, to be friends with him, no longer to stand in terms of distance; for every habitual sinner, every one that provokes him to anger by his iniquity, is his enemy: not that every sinner hates God by a direct hate; but as obedience is love, so disobedience is enmity or hatred by interpretation, *ἐχθροὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς*, "enemies in their mind by wicked works."[t] So St. Paul expresses it: and therefore the reconciling of these, is to represent them "holy and unblamable, and unreprovable in his sight."—Pardon of sins is the least part of this reconciliation; our sins and our sinfulness too must be taken away: that is, our old guilt and the remanent affections must be taken off, before we are friends of God. And therefore we find this reconciliation pressed on our parts; "we are reconciled to God," not "God to us." For although the term be relative, and so signifies both parts; as conjunction, and friendship, and society, and union do: yet it pleased the Spirit of God by this expression to signify our duty expressly, and to leave the other to be supposed; because if our parts be done, whatsoever is on God's part can never fail. And, 2. Although this reconciliation begins on God's part, and he first invites us to peace, and gave his Son a sacrifice; yet God's love is very revocable till we are reconciled by obedience and conformity.

12. II. It is called "renewing," and that either with the connotation of the subject renewed, or the cause renewing. "The renewing of the Holy Ghost," and "the renewing of the mind," or "the spirit of the mind."[u] The word is exactly the same with *μετάνοια*, which is a change of mind from worse to better, as it is distinguished from the fruits and effects of it. So, "be renewed in your mind;"—that is, throw away all your foolish principles, and nonsense-propositions, by which you use to be tempted and persuaded to sin, and inform your mind with wise notices and sentences of God: "That ye put off concerning the old conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness:" which is an excellent description of repentance: in which it is observable, that St. Paul uses two words more to express the greatness and nature of this change and conversion. It is,

13. III. "A new creature;—the new man;—created in righteousness:" for the state of repentance is so great an alteration, that in some sense

[p] Mark i. 15. [q] Acts xxvi. 20. ii. 38. iii. 19.
[r] Acts xiv. 15. and xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. iii. 16. Rom. xiii. 12. 13. Eph. v. 8. Tit. ii. 11. Acts iii. 26.
[s] Luke xxii. 32. James iii. 20. Matt. xiii. 15. John xii. 40.
[t] Col. i. 21, 22.
[u] Tit. iii. 5. Rom. xii. 2. Eph. iv. 23.

it is greater than the creation;[x] because the things created had in them no opposition to the power of God, but a pure capacity obediential:[y] but a sinner hath dispositions opposite to the Spirit of grace, and he must unlearn much, before he can learn any thing; he must die before he can be born.

> Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
> Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.—LUCRET.

Our sins, the body of sin, the spirit of uncleanness, "the old man, must be abolished, mortified, crucified, buried," our sins "must be laid away," we must "hate the garments spotted with the flesh," and our "garments must be whitened in the blood of the Lamb;" our "hearts must be purged from an evil conscience, purified as God is pure," that is, as St. Paul expresses it, "from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, denying (or renouncing) all ungodliness and worldly lusts."[z]

14. And then as the antithesis or consequent of this is, when we have laid away our sin, and renounced ungodliness; "we must live godly, righteously, and soberly, in this present world;"[a] we must not live either to the world, or to ourselves, but to Christ: "Hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat;" our manner of life must be wholly differing from our former vanities, so that the life which we now live in the flesh, we must live by the faith of the Son of God, that is, according to his laws and most holy discipline.

15. This is pressed earnestly upon us by those many precepts of "obedience to God, to Christ, to the holy gospel, to the truth, to the doctrine of faith; of doing good, doing righteousness, doing the truth; serving in the newness of the spirit; giving our members up as servants of righteousness unto holiness; being holy in all conversation; following after peace with all men, and holiness; being followers of good works; providing things honest in the sight of God and men; abhorring evil, and cleaving to that which is good; perfecting holiness in the fear of God: to be perfect in every good work, being filled with the fruits of righteousness; walking worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing: being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; abounding in the work of the Lord."[c] Τέλειοι and πεπληρωμένοι are the words often used, "filled full, and perfect."

16. To the same purpose is it, that we are commanded to "live in Christ, and unto God;"[d] that is, to live according to their will, and by their rule, and to their glory, and in their fear and love: called by St. Paul, "to live in the faith of the Son of God: to be followers of Christ, and of God; to dwell in Christ, and to abide in him; to walk according to the commandments of God, in good works, in truth, according to the Spirit; to walk in light, to walk with God;"[e] which was said of Enoch: of whom the Greek LXX read εὐηρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ "he pleased God."—There are very many more t the same purpose. For with great caution an earnestness the Holy Scriptures placed the duties o mankind in practice and holiness of living, and re moves it far from a confidence of notion and specu lation. "Qui fecerit, et docuerit," "He that dot them, and teaches them, shall be great in the king dom;"[f] and "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord, and do not the things I say to you?"[g] and, "Ye ar my friends, if ye do what I command you."[h] Πρέ πον οὖν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ κα εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι μακάριο ποιεῖ. "We must not only be called christians, bu be so; for not to be called, but to be so, brings u to felicity;"[i] that is, since the life of a christian i the life of repentance, whose work it is for ever t contend against sin, for ever to strive to please God a dying to sin, a living to Christ,—he that think his repentance can have another definition, or i completed in any other, or in fewer parts, must b of another religion that is taught by Christ and hi holy apostles. This is the faith of the Son of God this is that state of excellent things which he pur chased with his blood: and as "there is no othe name under heaven," so there is no other faith, n other repentance, "whereby we can be saved."

Upon this article it is usual to discourse of sorrow and contrition, of confession of sins, of making amends, of self-affliction, and some other particulars but because they are not parts, but actions, fruits and significations, of repentance, I have reserve them for their proper place. Now I am to apply this general doctrine to particular states of sin an sinners, in the following chapters.

SECTION III.

Descriptions of Repentance taken from the Holy Scriptures.

WHEN heaven is shut up, and there is no rain because they have sinned against thee: if they pray towards this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin when thou afflictest them: then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy servants and of thy people Israel, that thou teach them the good way wherein they should walk, and give rain upon thy land, which thou hast given to thy people for an inheritance.[k]

And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's

[x] Eph. ii. 10. iii. 9. John iii. 6.
[y] Jam. i. 18.
[z] Jude. Rev. vii. 14. Heb. x. 22, 23. Psal. l. 9. 2 Cor. vii. 1. 1 John iii. 3.
[a] Gal. ii. 20.
[c] Rom. vi. 17. Acts vi. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 3. Eph. ii. 3. Jam. i. 22, 23. 1 John iii. 22. John iii. 4. 1 John i. 6. 2 Cor. viii. 21. Col. i. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 58.
[d] 2 Tim. iii. 12.
[e] Gal. ii. 20. 1 Cor. ii. 1. 1 Thess. i. 6. John ii. 6. Eph. ii. 10.
[f] Matt. v. 19.
[g] Luke vi. 46.
[h] John xv. 14.
[i] Ignat. ad Magnes.
[k] 1 Kings viii. 35, 36.

seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.[m]

Again, when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die; and if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right: if the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life without committing iniquity; he shall even live, he shall not die. None of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him; he hath done that which is lawful and right; he shall surely live.[n]

Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness.[o]

Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in the newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.[p]

And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.[q]

Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For behold, this self same thing that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge! In all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter.[r]

For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.[s]

That ye put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind. And that ye put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.[t]

Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord, walk as children of light. For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord: and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise: redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.[u]

If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry. But now, ye also put off all these, anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.[x]

For the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.[y]

Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us: looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness, springing up, trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.[z]

[m] Isa. lix. 20, 21.
[n] Ezek. xxxiii. 14–16.
[o] Rom. vi. 6. 11–13, 18, 19.
[p] Rom. vii. 4–6.
[q] Rom. xiii. 11–13.
[r] 2 Cor. vii. 1, 10, 11.
[s] 2 Cor. v. 15, 17.
[t] Ephes. iv. 22–24.
[u] Ephes. v. 6–11, 15–17.
[x] Col. iii. 1–3, 5, 8–10.
[y] Tit. ii. 11–14.
[z] Heb. xii. 1, 2, 14, 15.

Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures. Wherefore lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your ownselves.[z]

Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might be partakers of the Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust. And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity: for if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things, is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.[b]

Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought to you at the revelation of Jesus Christ. As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance. But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.[c]

Who his ownself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sins should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed.[d]

The indispensable Necessity of a good Life, represented in the following Scriptures.

Whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.[e]

And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?[f]

Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.[g]

I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, that acceptable and perfect will of God.[h]

Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life. But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness; indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the gentile;[i] but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the gentile.

Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.[k]

Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.[l]

For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.[m]

For in Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love.[n]

For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them.[o]

And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent, that ye may be sincere, and without offence till the day of Christ: being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God.[p]

Furthermore then we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk, and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your sanctification.[q]

As you know how we exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of you (as a father doth his children); that ye should walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory. For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because when ye received the word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in truth) the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe.[r]

How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?[s]

And having a High Priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water; let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering (for he is faithful that promised). And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works. Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching. For if we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses's law, died without

[z] Jam. i. 18, 21, 22.
[b] 2 Pet. i. 4–9.
[c] 1 Pet. i. 13–16.
[d] 1 Pet. ii. 24.
[e] Matt. v. 19.
[f] Luke vi. 46.
[g] John xv. 14.
[h] Rom. xii. 1. 2.
[i] Rom. ii. 6–10.
[k] 1 Cor. vii. 19.
[l] 1 Cor. xv. 58.
[m] Gal. vi. 15.
[n] Gal. v. 6.
[o] Eph. ii. 10.
[p] Phil. i. 9–11.
[q] 1 Thess. iv. 1–3.
[r] 1 Thess. ii. 11–13.
[s] Heb. ix. 14.

mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under-foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?[t]

For the time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?[u]

And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself, even as he is pure. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in his sight.[x]

And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations.[y]

A penitential Psalm, collected out of the Psalms and Prophets.

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness: according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

For our transgressions are multiplied before thee, and our sins testify against us: our transgressions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know them;

In transgressing and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood.

Our feet have run to evil, our thoughts are thoughts of iniquity. The way of peace we have not known: we have made us crooked paths; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.

Therefore do we wait for light, but behold obscurity: for brightness, but we walk in darkness.

Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards me? are they restrained?

We are indeed as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags: and we all do fade as a leaf, and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away.

But now, O Lord, thou art our Father: we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we all are the work of thy hand. Be not wroth very sore, O Lord; neither remember iniquity for ever: behold, see, we beseech thee, we are thy people. Thou, O Lord, art our Redeemer: thy name is from everlasting.

O Lord, Father and Governor of my whole life, leave me not to the sinful counsels of my own heart, and let me not any more fall by them. Set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom over my heart, lest my ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction.

O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from thy servant always a haughty mind.

Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and thou shalt hold him up that is always desirous to serve thee.

Let not the greediness of the belly, nor the lust of the flesh, take hold of me: and give not thy servant over to an impudent mind.

There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant it be not found in the portion of thy servant. For all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins.

Though my sins be as scarlet, yet make them white as snow: though they be red like crimson, let them be as wool.

For I am ashamed of the sins I have desired, and am confounded for the pleasures that I have chosen.

Lord, make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is; that I may know how frail I am, and that I may apply my heart unto wisdom.

Withhold not thou thy tender mercies from me, O Lord: let thy loving-kindness and thy truth continually preserve me.

For innumerable evils have compassed me about, mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up: for they are more than the hairs of my head, therefore my heart faileth me.

But thou, O Lord, though mine iniquities testify against me, save me for thy name's sake: for our backslidings are many, we have sinned grievously against thee.

But the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.

He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me? The Lord God will help me, who is he that shall condemn me? I will trust in the Lord, and stay upon my God.

O let me have this of thine hand, that I may not lie down in sorrow.

St. Paul's Prayer for a holy Life.

I.

I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant unto me according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man: that Christ may dwell in my heart by faith; that being rooted and grounded in love, I may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth and length, and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge: and may be filled with all the fulness of God, through the same our most blessed Saviour Jesus. Amen.[z]

The Doxology.

Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us: unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

[t] Heb. x. 21—29. [u] 1 Pet. iv. 17. [x] 1 John iii. 3, 22. [y] Apoc. ii. 26. [z] Eph. iii. 14, &c.

II.

O most gracious God, grant to thy servant to be filled with the knowledge of thy will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; to walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, to be fruitful in every good work, increasing in the knowledge of God. Strengthen me, O God, with all might, according to thy glorious power, unto all patience, and long-suffering, and joyfulness: so shall I give thanks unto the Father, who hath made me meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.[a] Amen.

III.

Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect what is lacking in my faith, direct my way unto him, make me to increase and abound in love towards all men, and establish my heart unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints.[b]

IV.

The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make me perfect in every good work to do his will, working in me what is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.[c]

A Penitential Prayer.

I.

O eternal God, most merciful Father, who hast revealed thyself to mankind in Christ Jesus, full of pity and compassion, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin; be pleased to effect these thy admirable mercies upon thy servant, whom thou hast made to put his trust in thee. I know, O God, that I am vile and polluted in thy sight; but I must come into thy presence or I die. Thou canst not behold any unclean thing, and yet, unless thou lookest upon me, who am nothing but uncleanness, I shall perish miserably and eternally. O look upon me with a gracious eye; cleanse my soul with the blood of the holy Lamb; that being purified in that holy stream, my sins may lose their own foulness, and become white as snow: then shall the leprous man be admitted to thy sanctuary, and stand before the throne of grace, humble, and full of sorrow for my fault, and full of hope of thy mercy and pardon, through Jesus Christ.

[a] Col. i. 9, &c. [b] 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12.

II.

O my God, thou wert reconciled to mankind by thy own graciousness and glorious goodness, even when thou didst find out so mysterious ways of redemption for us by sending Jesus Christ; then thou didst love us, and that holy Lamb did from the beginning of the world lie before thee as sacrificed and bleeding; and in the fulness of time he came to actuate and exhibit what thy goodness had designed and wrought in the counsels of eternity. But now, O gracious Father, let me also be reconciled to thee; for we continued enemies to thee, though thou lovedst us; let me no longer stand at distance from thee, but run unto thee, bowing my will, and submitting my understanding, and mortifying my affections, and resigning all my powers and faculties to thy holy laws, that thou mayest take delight to pardon and to sanctify, to assist thy servant with thy grace, till by so excellent conduct, and so unspeakable mercy, I shall arrive to the state of glory.

III.

O blessed Saviour Jesus, thou hast made thyself a blessed peace-offering for sins, thou hast procured and revealed to us this covenant of repentance and remission of sins: and by the infinite mercies of the Father, and the death and intercession of the Son, we stand fair and hopeful in the eye of the Divine compassion, and we have hopes of being saved. O be pleased to work thy own work in us. The grace and admission to repentance is thy own glorious production, thou hast obtained it for us with a mighty purchase: but then be pleased also to take me in, to partake actually of this glorious mercy. Give to thy servant a perfect hatred of sin, a great displeasure at my own folly for ever having provoked thee to anger; a perpetual watchfulness against it, an effective resolution against all its tempting instances, a prevailing strife, and a glorious victory; that the body of sin being destroyed, I may never any more serve any of its baser interests: but that by a diligent labour, and a constant care, I may approve myself to thee my God, mindful of thy covenant, a servant of thy will, a lover of thy glory; that being thy minister in a holy service, I may be thy son by adoption and participation of the glories of the Lord Jesus. O let me never lie down in sin, nor rise in shame; but be partaker both of the death and the resurrection of our Lord; that my imperfect and unworthy services may, by passing into the holiness of thy kingdom, be such as thy servant desires they should, and fit to be presented unto thee in the perfect holiness of eternity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[c] Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DISTINCTION OF SINS, MORTAL AND VENIAL, IN WHAT SENSE TO BE ADMITTED; AND HOW THE SMALLEST SINS ARE TO BE REPENTED OF, AND EXPIATED.

SECTION I.

Men have not been satisfied with devising infinite retirements and disguises of their follies to hide them from the world; but finding themselves open and discerned by God, have endeavoured to discover means of escaping from that eye, from which nothing can escape but innocence, and from which nothing can be hid, but under the cover of mercy. For besides that we expound the Divine laws to our own purposes of ease and ambition, we give to our sins gentle censures, and adorn them with good words, and refuse to load them with their proper characters and punishments; and at last are come to that state of things, that since we cannot allow to ourselves a liberty of doing every sin, we have distinguished the question of sins into several orders, and have taken one half to ourselves. For we have found rest to our fancies in the permissions of one whole kind, having distinguished sins into "mortal" and "venial" in their own nature; that is, sins which may, and sins which may not be done, without danger; so that all the difference is, that some sins must be taken heed of, but others there are, and they the most in number, and the most frequent in their instances and returns, which we have leave to commit, without being affrighted with the fearful noises of damnation; by which doctrine, iniquity and confidence have much increased and grown upon the ruins and declension of the Spirit.

2. And this one article hath almost an infinite influence to the disparagement of religion in the determination of cases of conscience. For supposing the distinction to be believed, experience and certain reason will evince, that it is impossible to prescribe proper limits and measures to the several kinds; and between the least mortal and the greatest venial sin, no man is able with certainty to distinguish: and therefore (as we see it daily happen, and in every page written by the casuists) men call what they please venial, take what measures of them they like, appoint what expiation of them they fancy, and consequently give what allowance they list to those whom they please to mislead. For in innumerable cases of conscience it is oftener inquired, whether a thing be venial or mortal, than whether it be lawful or not lawful; and as purgatory is to hell, so venial is to sin, a thing which men fear not, because the main stake they think to be secured: for if they may have heaven at last, they care not what comes between. And as many men of the Roman persuasion will rather choose purgatory, than suffer here an inconsiderable penance, or do those little services which themselves think will prevent it; so they choose venial sins, and hug the pleasures of trifles, warming themselves at fantastic fires, and dancing in the light of the glow-worms; and they love them so well, that rather than quit those little things, they will suffer the intolerable pains of a temporary hell; for so they believe: which is the testimony of a great evil and a mighty danger; for it gives testimony, that little sins can be beloved passionately, and therefore can minister such a delight as is thought a price great enough to pay for the sufferance of temporal evils, and purgatory itself.

3. But the evil is worse yet, when it is reduced to practice. For in the decision of very many questions, the answer is, It is a venial sin; that is, though it be a sin, yet there is in it no danger of losing the favour of God by that, but you may do it, and you may do it again a thousand thousand times; and "all the venial sins of the world put together, can never do what one mortal sin can, that is, make God to be your enemy:" so Bellarmine expressly affirms.[d] But because there are many doctors who write cases of conscience, and there is no measure to limit the parts of this distinction, (for that which is not at all, cannot be measured,) the doctors differ infinitely in their sentences; some calling that mortal which others call venial; (as you may see in the little summaries of Navarre and Emanuel Sà;) the poor souls of the laity, and the vulgar clergy who believe what is told them by the authors or confessors they choose to follow, must needs be in infinite danger, and the whole body of practical divinity, in which the life of religion and of all our hopes depends, shall be rendered dangerous and uncertain, and their confidence shall betray them unto death.

4. To bring relief to this state of evil, and to establish aright the proper grounds and measures of repentance; I shall first account concerning the difference of sins, and by what measures they are so differenced. 2. That all sins are of their own nature punishable as God please, even with the highest expressions of his anger. 3. By what repentance they are cured, and pardoned respectively.

SECTION II.

Of the Difference of Sins, and their Measures.

5. I. Sins are not equal, but greater or less in their principle as well as in their event. It was one of the errors of Jovinian, which he learned from

[d] Lib. i. de amiss. gratiæ, cap. 13. sect. alterum est.

the school of the Stoics, that all sins are alike grievous;

——— Nam dicunt esse pares res,
Furta latrociniis, et magnis parva minantur:
Falce recisuros simili se, si sibi regnum
Permittant homines.[e]

For they supposed an absolute irresistible fate to be the cause of all things; and therefore what was equally necessary, was equally culpable, that is, not at all: and where men have no power of choice, or (which is all one) that it be necessary that they choose what they do, there can be no such thing as laws, or sins against them. To which they adding that all evils are indifferent, and the event of things, be it good or bad, had no influence upon the felicity or infelicity of man, they could neither be differenced by their cause, nor by their effect; the first being necessary, and the latter indifferent. Against this I shall not need to oppose many arguments; for though this follows most certainly from their doctrine, who teach an irresistible decree of God to be the cause of all things and actions; yet they that own the doctrine disavow the consequent; and in that, are good christians, but ill logicians. But the article is sufficiently cleared by the words of our blessed Lord in the case of Judas, whose sin (as Christ told to Pilate) was "the greater," because he had not power over him but by special concession: in the case of "the servant that knows his master's will, and does it not;"[f] in the several condemnations of the degrees[g] and expressions of anger in the instances of Raca, and Μῶρε, "Thou vain man," or "Thou fool:" by this, comparing some sins to gnats, and some to camels: and in proportion to these, there are πολλαὶ πληγαὶ in St. Luke, "many stripes;" a μεῖζον κρῖμα in St. James, "a greater condemnation." Thus to rob a church is a greater sin than to rob a thief; to strike a father is a higher impiety than to resist a tutor; to oppress a widow is clamorous, and calls aloud for vengeance, when a less repentance will vote down the whispering murmurs of a trifling injury, done to a fortune that is not sensible of smaller diminutions.

Nec vincet ratio tantundem ut peccet, idemque
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,
Ut qui nocturnus Divûm sacra legerit.

He is a greater criminal that steals the chalice from a church, than he that takes a few coleworts, or robs a garden of cucumbers. But this distinction and difference is by something that is extrinsical to the action, the greatness of the mischief, or the dignity of the person; according to that,

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major, qui peccat, habetur.—Juv.

6. II. But this, when it is reduced to its proper cause, is, because such greater sins are complicated; they are commonly two or three sins wrapped together, as the unchastity of a priest is uncleanness and scandal too: adultery is worse than fornication, because it is unchastity and injustice, and by the fearful consequents of it, is mischievous and u charitable.

Et quas Euphrates, et quas mihi misit Orontes,
Me capiant; Nolo furta pudica thori.

So sacrilege is theft and impiety. And Apici killing himself, when he supposed his estate wou not maintain his luxury, was not only a self-mu derer, but a gluttonous person in his death:

Nil est, Apici, tibi gulosius factum.[h]

So that the greatness of sins is in most instances b extension and accumulation; that as he is a greate sinner who sins often in the same instance, than h that sins seldom; so is he who sins such sins a are complicated and entangled, like the twinings combining serpents. And this appears to be s because if we take single sins, as uncleanness an theft, no man can tell which is the greater sin neither can they be differenced but by somethin that is besides the nature of the action itself. thought of theft, and an unclean thought, have n thing by which they can excel each other; b when you clothe them with the dress of actiye ci cumstances, they grow greater or less respectively because then two or three sins are put together, an get a new name.

7. III. There is but one way more, by whic sins can get or lose degrees, and that is the di ferent proportions of our affections. This indee relates to God more immediately, and by him alon is judged; but the former being invested with ma terial circumstances, can be judged by men: but a that God reserves for his own portion of the sacr fice, is the heart; that is, our love and choice; an therefore the degrees of love or hatred, is that mea sure by which God makes differing judgments them. For by this it is, that little sins becom great, and great sins become little. If a Jew ha maliciously touched a dead body in the days Easter, it had been a greater crime, than if in th violence of his temptation he had unwillingly wille to commit an act of fornication. He that delight in little thefts because they are breaches of God' laws, or burns a prayer-book because he hates re ligion, is a greater criminal than he that falls int a material heresy by an invisible or less discerne deception: secure but to God your affections, an he will secure your innocence, or pardon; for me live or die by their own measures. If a man spit in the face of a priest to defy religion, or shaves th beard of an ambassador to disgrace the prince, (a it happened to David's messengers,) his sin i greater than if he killed the priest in his own jus defence; or shot the ambassador through the heart when he intended to strike a lion. For every neg ligence, every disobedience, being against charit or the love of God, by interpretation; this superad dition of direct malice is open enmity against him and therefore is more severely condemned by him who sees every thought, and degrees of passion an affection. For the increase of malice does aggra

[e] Horat. serm. l. 1. sat. 3.
[f] Matt. xxiii. 21. Luke vi. 41.
[g] Ira festuca est: odium verò trabs. Aug.
[h] Mart. Epigr. lib. 3. 22.

vate the sin, just as the complication of material instances. Every degree of malice being as distinct and commensurate a sin, as any one external instance that hath a name; and therefore many degrees of malice combine and grow greater as many sins conjoined in one action, they differ only in nature, not in morality; just as a great number and a great weight: so that, in effect, all sins are differenced by complication only, that is, either of the external or the internal instances.

8. IV. Though the negligence or the malice be naturally equal, yet sometimes by accident the sins may be unequal, not only in the account of men, but also before God too;—but it is upon the account of both the former. It is when the material effect being different upon men, God hath with greater caution secured such interests. So that by interpretation the negligence is greater, because the care was with greater earnestness commanded; or else because in such cases the sin is complicated: for such sins which do most mischief, have, besides their proper malignity, the evil of uncharitableness, or hating our brother. In some cases God requires one hand, and in others both. Now he that puts but one of his fingers to each of them, his negligence is in nature the same, but not in value; because where more is required, the defect was greater. If a man be equally careless of the life of his neighbour's son, and his neighbour's cock, although the will or attendance to the action be naturally equal, that is, none at all, yet morally, and in the Divine account, they differ, because the proportions of duty and obligation were different, and therefore more ought to have been put upon the one than upon the other: just as he is equally clothed, that wears a single garment in summer and winter, but he is not equally warm, unless he, that wears a silk mantle when the dog-star rages, claps on furs when the cold north-star changes the waters into rocks.

9. V. Single sins, done with equal affection or disaffection, do not differ in degrees as they relate to God, but in themselves are equally prevarications of the Divine commandment. As he tells a lie that says the moon is four-square, as great as he that says there were but three apostles, or that Christ was not the Son of man; and as every lie is an equal sin against truth,[k] so every sin is an equal disobedience and recession from the rule. But some lies are more against charity, or justice, or religion, than others are, and so are greater by complication; but against truth they are all equally opposed; and so are all sins contrary to the commandment. And in this sense is that saying[l] of St. Basil: "Primò enim scire illud convenit, differentiam minorum et majorum nusquam in Novo Testamento reperiri. Siquidem una est et eadem sententia adversus quælibet peccata, cum Dominus dixerit, 'Qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati:' et item, 'Sermo quem loquutus sum vobis, ille judicabit eum in novissimo die:' et Johannes vociferans dicat, 'Qui contumax est in Filium, non videbit vitam æternam; sed ira Dei manet super eum:' cum contumacia non in discrimine peccatorum, sed in violatione præcepti positam habeat futuri supplicii denunciationem:" "The difference of great and little sins is no where to be found in the New Testament. One and the same sentence is against all sins; our Lord saying, 'He that doth sin is the servant of sin;' and, 'The word that I have spoken, that shall judge you in the last day;' and John crieth out, saying, 'He that is disobedient to the Son, shall not see eternal life, but the wrath of God abideth on him:' for this contumacy or disobedience does not consist in the difference of sins, but in the violation of the Divine law; and for that it is threatened with eternal pain." But besides these arguments from Scripture, he adds an excellent reason: "Prorsus autem si id nobis permittitur, ut in peccatis hoc magnum, illud exiguum appellemus, invicto argumento concluditur magnum unicuique esse illud, à quo quisque superatur: contraque exiguum, quod unusquisque ipse superat. Ut, in athletis, qui vicit fortis est; qui autem victus est, imbecilior eo unde victus est, quisque ille sit:" "If it be permitted that men shall call this sin great, and that sin little; they will conclude that to be great which was too strong for them; and that to be little which they can master. As among champions, he is the strongest that gets the victory."—And then, upon this account, no sin is venial that a man commits; because that is it which hath prevailed upon, and mastered all his strengths.

10. The instance is great whatsoever it be that God hath chosen for our obedience. To abstain from the fruit of a tree, not to gather sticks or dew after a certain hour, not to touch the curtains of the ark, not to uncover our father's shame, all is one as to God; for there is nothing in all our duty that can add any moments to his felicity, but by what he please he is to try our obedience. Let no man, therefore, despise a sin, or be bold to plead for it, as Lot for Zoar; "Is it not a little one?" For no man can say it is little, if God hath chosen the commandment which the sin transgresses, as an instrument of his glorification and our felicity. Disobedience is the formality of sin; and since the instance or the matter of sin is all one to God, so also is the disobedience. The result of this consideration is this: 1. That no man should indulge to himself the smallest sin, because it is equally against God as the greatest; and though accidentally it may come not to be so exacted, yet of itself it may, and God is just if he does. 2. There is no sin, but if God enters into judgment with us, he may justly sentence us for it to the portion of accursed spirits. For if for any, then for all, there being (as to him) no difference. But these things are to be proved in the following section.

[k] Nihil invenies rectius recto, non magis quàm verius vero, quàm temperato temperatius; omnis in modo est virtus: modus certa mensura est. Constantia non habet quò procedat, non magis quàm fiducia, aut veritas, aut fides.—Sen Ep. 67.

[l] In regul. brevior.

SECTION III.

That all Sins are punishable as God please, even with the Pains of Hell.

11. I. In the aggravation of sins, the injured person is as considerable as any other circumstance. He that smites a prince, he that fires a temple, he that rails upon the Bible, he that pollutes the sacraments,—makes every sin to be a load; and, therefore, since every sin is against God, it ought not to be called little, unless God himself should be little esteemed. And since men usually give this account, that God punishes a transient sin with an immortal pain, because though the action is finite, yet it was against an infinite God; we may, upon the same ground, esteem it just, that even for the smallest sin, God, in the rigour of his justice, can exact the biggest calamity. For an act of murder, or a whole year of adultery, hath no nearer proportion to an eternity of pains, than one sinful thought hath: for greater or less are no approaches towards infinite; for between them both, and what is infinite, the distance is equally infinite.

12. II. In the distinction of sins, mortal and venial, the doctors of the Roman church define venial sins to be such which can consist with the love of God, which never destroy or lessen it;[m] in the very definition supposing that thing which is most of all in question; and the ground of the definition is nothing but the analogy and proportion of the intercourses and usages of men, who, for a small offence, do not neglect or cast away the endearments of an old friend:[n] of which when I have given account, I suppose the greatest difficulty of the question is removed. Against this, therefore, I oppose this proposition,—the smallest sins are destructive of our friendship with God.—For although God's mercies are infinite and glorious, and he forgives millions to us that grudge to remit the trifles of our brother; and therefore, whatsoever we can suppose a man will forgive to his friend, that and much more, infinitely more, may we expect from the treasures of his goodness and mercy; yet our present consideration is, not what we can expect from God's mercy, but what is the just demerit of our sins; not what he will forgive, but what he may justly exact; not what are the measures of pardon, but what are the accounts of his justice: for though we have hopes upon other reckonings, yet upon the account even of our smallest sins, we have nothing but fear and sadder expectations. For we are not to account the measures and rules of our friendship with God, by the easiness and ignorance, by the necessities and usual compliances of men. For,

13. I. Certain it is, that in the usual accounts of men some things are permitted, which are not so in the accounts of God. All sorts of ignorance use to lessen a fault amongst men, but before God some sorts of ignorance do aggravate; such as is the voluntary and malicious, which is the worst sort o vincible. Not that men do not esteem him viciou and unworthy who inquires not for fear he oul know, but because men oftentimes are not mpe tent judges whether they do or no.

14. II. Because men know not by what purpos their neighbours' action is directed, and therefor reckon only by the next and most apparent cause not by the secret and most operative and effective.

15. III. Because by the laws of charity we ar bound to think the best, to expound things fairly, t take up things by the easier handle; there being lef for us no other security of not being confounded b mutual censures, judgments, and afflictions, but b being restrained on the surer side of charity, o which the errors of men are not judged criminal an mischievous, as on the other side they are. Bu God knows the hearts of men, their little obliquities and intricate turnings, every propensity and secre purpose, what malice is ingredient, and what erro is invincible, and how much is fit to be pitied, an therefore what may justly be exacted. For there are three several ways of judgment, according t the several capacities of the judges. First, the law of men judge only by the event, or material action and meddle not at all with the purpose, but where it is opened by an active sign. He that gives me a thousand pounds to upbraid my poverty, or with a purpose to feed my crimes, is not punishable b law,—but he is that takes from me a thousand shillings, though secretly he means to give it to m needy brother. Because as in the estimation o men nothing is valuable but what does them good or hurt; so neither can their laws and tribunals receive testimony of any thing but what is seen o felt. And thus it is also in the measures of sins. To break order in a day of battle, is but a disorder; and so it is to break order at St. George's show, at a training, or in a procession; and yet that is punished with death, this with a cudgel; the aptness to mischief, and the evil consequent, being in human judicatories the only measures of judgment: men feel the effects, and the laws do judge accordingly. 2. In the private judgments of men, mercy must interpose; and it can oftener than in the public: because in the private intercourses of men, there is a sense, and can be a consideration of particulars, and little accidents and significations of things, and some purposes may be privately discerned, which cannot publicly be proved. He that went to help his friend out of a river, and pulled his arm out of joint, was excused by the wronged preserved person: the evil accident was taken off by the pious purpose: but he that, to dishonour his friend, throws a glass of wine in his face, and says he did it in sport, may be judged by his purpose, not by his pretence; because the pretence can be confuted by the observation of little circumstances and adherences of the action, which yet peradventure cannot legally be proved. "Alitèr leges, alitèr philosophi tollunt astutias: leges, quatenus tenere

[m] Venialia peccata, ex consensu omnium theologorum, neque tollunt neque minuunt habitum caritatis, sed solum actum et fervorem ejus impediunt. Bellarm. de amiss. grat. c. 13. sect. alterum est.

[n] Idem ib. cap. 11. sect. quartum argum.

manu res possunt; philosophi, quatenus ratione et intelligentiâ:" "Laws regard the great materialities of obedience, the real, sensible effect. But wise men, philosophers, and private judges, take in the accounts of accidental moments and incidences to the action," said Cicero.[o] But, 3. God's judgment is otherwise yet; for he alone can tell the affection, and all that which had secret influence into the event: and therefore he can judge by what is secret, by the purpose and heart, which is indeed the only way of doing exact justice. From hence it follows, that what ought not to dissolve the friendship of man, may yet justly dissolve our friendship with God, for he takes other measures than men may or can.

16. IV. Because offences against God may be avoided; but it is not so in our intercourses with men; for God hath told us plainly what is our duty, what he expects, what will please, and what will displease him: but men are often governed by chance; and that which pleases them to-day, shall provoke them to-morrow; and the next day you shall be their enemy, for that for which, three days ago, they paid you thanks.

17. V. If men exact little things, it becomes their own case; for we sin against our brother and need his pardon; and therefore

Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;

We give and ask pardon;

Det ille veniam facilè, cui veniâ est opus:

But we never found iniquity in God, or injustice in the Most High, and therefore he that is innocent may throw a stone at the criminal.

18. VI. God hath in the smallest instance left us without excuse; for he hath often warned us of small offences. He hath told us their danger. "He that despiseth little things, shall perish by little and little."—He hath told us, they asperse us with a mighty guilt; "for he that offends in one commandment, is guilty of all." He hath told us, that we are not certainly excused, though our conscience do not manifestly accuse us; for so St. Paul; "I am not hereby justified, for God is greater than my conscience." He hath threatened loss of heaven to him that is guilty of the breach of one, κἂν ἐλαχίστων, "though of the least of these commandments," (τούτων, "these" which Christ had reckoned in his sermon, where fetters are laid upon thoughts and words,) "shall be called the least in the kingdom," that is, he shall be quite shut out: for "minimus" here is as much as "nullus;" "minimus vocabitur," that is "minimi æstimabitur," "he shall not be esteemed at all" in the accounts of doomsday mercy, ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀποκαταστάσει, ἐν ᾗ γίνεται κολαζομένων τε καὶ δοξαζομένων ἡ διαίρεσις, in the accounts of the doomsday book, "where there shall be a discerning of them who shall be glorified, from them that are to be punished."[p] And this, which is one of the severest periods of Holy Scripture, can by no arts be turned aside from concluding fully in this question. Bellarmine[q] says it means only to condemn those, who by false doctrines corrupt these severe precepts, and teach men as the Pharisees did of old; not all those who break them themselves, if they teach others to keep them. "He that breaks one of these, and shall teach men so to do;" so are the words of Christ. But it is a known thing that καὶ is oftentimes used for ἤ; "He that breaks one of these, *or* shall teach others." The words were spoken to the persons of the apostles, who were to teach these doctrines κατ' ἐπίτασιν "exactly as Christ preached them;" but without peradventure they were also intended to all the church: and the following words, and the whole analogy of the adjoined discourse, make it clear to every observing reader; and the words plainly say this, "He that shall break one of these least commandments," and "He that shall teach men so," each of them "shall be called the least in the kingdom."—But, 2. Why did our blessed Lord so severely threaten those that should teach others to break any of these severe commandments by false interpretation, but only because it was so necessary for all to keep them in the true sense, and so fearful a thing to any to break them? 3. Those who preach severe doctrines to others, and touch them not with one of their fingers, are guilty of that which Christ reproved in the Pharisees; and themselves shall be cast-aways, while they preach to others: so that the breaking it by disobedience is damnable, as well as the breaking it by false interpretation:

Odi homines ignavâ operâ, philosophâ sententiâ,
Qui cum sibi semitam non sapiant, alteri monstrant viam.
Pacuvius.

Indeed it is intolerable to teach men to be vicious; but it is a hateful baseness to show others that way which ourselves refuse to walk in. Whatever therefore may not be allowed to be taught, may not also be done; for the people are not to be taught evil, because they must not do evil; but may the teachers do what they may not teach, and what the people may not do, or is not the same punishment to them both? 4. Now upon these grounds, this very gloss which Bellarmine gives, being a false interpretation of these words of Christ, (which are a summary of his whole sermon, and as it were the sanction and establishment of the former and following periods into laws,) must needs be of infinite danger to the inventor and followers of it: for this gloss gives leave to men to break the least of these commandments, "some way or other, (if they do not teach others so to do,)" without being affrighted with the fears of hell; but in the mean while this gloss teaches, or gives leave to others to break them, but allows no false interpretation of them but its own. 5. But then it is worse with them who "teach others so to do," and command all men to teach so; and if the Roman doctors who teach that some breach of these commandments is not of its own nature, and by the Divine threatenings, exclusive of the transgressors from the kingdom of God,—be not in some sense a teaching men so to do, then nothing is: for when God said to Adam, "That day thou eatest of the forbidden fruit, thou shalt die;" the tempter said, "Nay, but ye shall not die;" and so was author to

[o] Offic. lib. 3.

[p] In resp. ad orthod. apud Justin.

[q] De amiss. grat. cap. 12. sect. Restat ultim.

Adam of committing his sin. So when our blessed Saviour hath told us, that to break one of these least commandments is exclusive of us from heaven, they that say, that not every solution or breaking of them is exclusive from heaven, (which are the words of Bellarmine, and the doctrine of the Roman church,) must even by the consequence of this very gloss of his, fall under the danger of διδάξοντες, of the false teachers, or the breakers of them by false interpretation. However, fearful is the malediction even to the breakers of the least: ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται, that is, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἔσχατος καὶ ἀπερῤῥιμένος εἰς γεένναν, (that I may use the words of Theophylact,) "He shall be last in the resurrection, and shall be thrown into hell:" for that is the meaning of "least in the kingdom of heaven:" "et fortasse ideò non erit in regno cœlorum, ubi nisi magni esse non possunt," said St. Austin; "least" is "none at all;" "for into heaven none can enter, but they which are great in God's account."

19. VII. Lastly, God hath given us the perpetual assistances of his Spirit, the presence of his grace, the ministry of his word, the fear of judgments, the endearment of his mercies, the admonition of friends, the severity of preachers, the aid of books, the apprehension of death, the sense of our daily dangers, our continual necessities, and the recollection of our prayers, and above all, he hath promised heaven to the obedient, which is a state of blessings so great and infinite, as upon the account of them, it is infinitely reasonable and just, if he shall exact of us every sin, that is, every thing which we can avoid.

20. Upon this account it is, that although wise and prudent men do not despise the continual endearments of an old friend, yet, in many cases, God may and doth; and from the rules and proper measures of human friendship, to argue up to a presumption of God's easiness in not exacting our duty, is a fallacious proceeding, but it will deceive nobody but ourselves.

21. I. Every sin is directly against God's law; and therefore is damnable and deadly in the accounts of the Divine justice, one as well, though not so grievously, as another. For though sins be differenced by greater and less, yet their proportion to punishment is not differenced by temporal and eternal, but by greater and less in that kind which God hath threatened. So Origen.[s] "Unusquisque, pro qualitate et quantitate peccati diversam mulctæ sententiam expendit. Si parum est quod peccas, ferieris damno minuti, ut Lucas scripsit,—ut verò Matthæus, quadrantis. Veruntamen necesse est hoc ipsum, quod exstitisti debitor, solvere. Non enim inde exibis, nisi et minima quæque persolveris:" "Every one, according to the quantity and quality of his sin, must pay his fine;" but till he hath paid he shall not be loosed from those fearful prisons; that is, he shall never be loosed, if he agree not before he comes thither. The smallest offence is a sin, and therefore it is ἀνομία, "a transgression of the law," a violation of that band by which our obedience unites us unto God. And this the Holy Scripture signifies unto us in various expressions. For though the several words are variously used in sacred and profane writers, yet all of them signify that even the smallest sin is a prevarication of the holy laws; τῆς ἐντολῆς παράβασις, so Damascen calls sin; which we render well by "transgression:" and even those words which in distinction signify small offence, yet they also signify the same with the greater words, to show that they all have the same formality, and do the same displeasure, or at least that by the difference of the words, no difference of their natures can be regularly observed. Sins against God only are by Phavorinus called ἁμαρτίαι. Ἐξήμαρτε εἰς Θεὸν, ἐξύβρισεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους; and the same word is also used for sin against our neighbours; ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ ἄδελφος, "if thy brother sin against thee," that is, "do thee injury;" and this is properly ἀδικία "injustice;" but Demosthenes[u] distinguishes injustice from sin: ἀδικία from ἁμαρτία, by voluntary and involuntary. ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκὼν· ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων· "He that does wrong willingly, is unjust; he that does it unwillingly, is a sinner."

22. The same indistinction is observable in the other words of Scripture; παράπτωμα is by St. Jerome used for the beginnings of sin; "Cum cogitatio tacita subrepit, et ex aliquâ parte conniventibus nobis, nec dum tamen nos impulit ad ruinam;" when a sudden thought invades us without our advertency and observation, and hath not brought forth death as yet; and yet that death is appendant to whatsoever it be that can be signified by παράπτωμα, we may observe, because the sin of Adam[x] that called death upon all the world, is called παράπτωμα; and of the Ephesian gentiles St. Paul said they had been dead παραπτώμασι καὶ ἁμαρτίαις, "in trespasses and sins;"[y] and therefore it cannot hence be inferred that such little obliquities, or beginnings of greater sins, are only παρὰ τὴν νόμον, "besides the law," not against it, for it is (at least the word hinders not but it may be) of the same kind of malignity as was the sin of Adam: and therefore St. Austin[z] renders the word παράπτωμα "delictum" or "offence," and so do our Bibles. And the same also is the case of ἁμαρτία, which is attributed even to concupiscence or the beginnings of mischief, by St. Paul[a] and by St. Jerome:[b] but the same is used for the consummation of concupiscence in the matter of uncleanness by St. James;[c] "lust when it hath conceived," τίκτει ἁμαρτίαν; "peccatum" is the Latin word, which when it is used in a distinct and pressed sense, it is taken for the lesser sins, and is distinguished from "crimen."—Paulus Orosius[d] uses it to signify only the concupiscence or sinful thoughts of the heart; and when it breaks forth to action, he calls it a crime; "peccatum cogitatio concipit, crimen verò non nisi actus ostendit:" and it

[s] Homil. 35. in Lucam.
[t] Παράβασις. lib. 4. de orthod. fide, cap. 23.
[u] Orat. περὶ στεφάνου. [x] Rom. v. 18.
[y] Eph. ii. 1. [z] Lib. 3. quæst. super Levit. q. 20.
[a] Rom. vii. 5. [b] In cap. 2. Ephes.
[c] Jam. i. 15. Vide Com. DD. in Titum verb. ἀνέγκλητος.
[d] Apol. de liber. arbit.

was so used by the ancient Latins. "Peccatus" it was called by them; "quasi pellicatus," that enticing which is proper to uncleanness. So Cicero in A. Gellius:[e] "Nemo ita manifesto peccatu tenebatur, ut cum impudens fuisset in facto, tum impudentior videretur, si negaret." Thus the indistinction of words mingles all their significations in the same common notion and formality. They were not sins at all, if they were not against a law; and if they be, they cannot be of their own nature venial, but must be liable to that punishment which was threatened in the law whereof that action is a transgression.

23. II. The law of God never threatens, the justice of God never inflicts punishment, but upon transgressors of his laws; the smallest offences are not only threatened, but may be punished with death; therefore they are transgressions of the Divine law. So St. Basil argues; "Nullum peccatum contemnendum ut parvum, quando D. Paulus de omni peccato generatim pronunciaverat stimulum mortis esse peccatum;" "the sting of death is sin;" that is, death is the evil consequent of sin, and comes in the tail of it; of every sin, and therefore no sin must be despised as if it were little. Now if every little sin hath this sting also, (as it is on all hands agreed that it hath,) it follows that every little transgression is perfectly and entirely against a commandment. And indeed it is not sense to say any thing can in any sense be a sin, and that it should not in the same sense be against a commandment. For although the particular instance be not named in the law, yet every instance of that matter must be meant. It was an extreme folly in Bellarmine[f] to affirm, "peccatum veniale ex parvitate materiæ est quidem perfectè voluntarium, sed non perfectè contra legem. Lex enim non prohibet furtum unius oboli in specie, sed prohibet furtum in genere:" "that a sin that is venial by the smallness of the matter is not perfectly against the law, because the law forbids theft indeed in the general, but does not in particular forbid the stealing of a halfpenny:" for upon the same reason it is not perfectly against the law to steal three pounds nineteen shillings and three-pence, because the law in general only forbids theft, but does not in particular forbid the stealing of that sum. But what is *besides* the law and not *against* it, cannot be a sin; and therefore to fancy any sin to be only besides the law, is a contradiction; so, to walk, to ride, to eat flesh or herbs, to wear a long or a short garment, are said to be besides the law; but therefore they are permitted and indifferent. Indifferent, I say, in respect of that law, which relates to that particular matter, and indifferent in all senses: unless there be some collateral law which may prohibit it indirectly. So for a judge to be a coachman, for a priest to be a fiddler or innkeeper, are not directly unlawful, but indirectly they are, as being against decency and public honesty or reputation, or being inconvenient in order to that end whither their calling is designed. To this sense are those words of St. Paul; "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient;" that is, some things which directly are lawful, by an indirect obligation may become unfit to be done; but otherwise, "Licitum est quod nullâ lege prohibetur," saith the law. If no law forbids it, then it is lawful: and to abstain from what is lawful, though it may have a worthiness in it more than ordinary, yet to use our liberty is at no hand a sin. The issue then is this; either we are forbidden to do a venial sin, or we are not. If we are not forbidden, then it is as lawful to do a venial sin as to marry, or eat flesh: if we are forbidden, then every such action is directly against God's law, and consequently fineable at the will of the supreme Judge, and if he please, punishable with a supreme anger. And to this purpose there is an excellent observation in St. Austin:[g] "Peccatum et delictum si nihil differrent inter se, et si unius rei duo nomina essent, non curaret Scriptura tam diligentèr unum esse utriusque sacrificium:" "There are several names in Scripture to signify our wanderings, and to represent the several degrees of sin; but carefully it is provided for, that they should be expiated with the same sacrifice;" which proves that certainly they are prevarications of the same law, offences of the same God, provocations of the same anger, and heirs of the same death: and even for small offences a sacrifice was appointed, lest men should neglect what they think God regarded not.

24. III. Every sin, even the smallest, is against charity, which is the end of the commandment. For every sin or evil of transgression is far worse than all the evils of punishment with which mankind is afflicted in this world; and it is a less evil that all mankind should be destroyed, than that God should be displeased in the least instance that is imaginable. Now if we esteem the loss of our life or our estate, the wounding our head, or the extinction of an eye, to be great evils to us, and him that does any thing of this to us, to be our enemy, or to be injurious, we are to remember that God hates every sin worse than we can hate pain or beggary. And if a nice and a tender conscience, the spirit of every excellent person, does extremely hate all that can provoke God to anger or to jealousy; it must be certain that God hates every such thing with a hatred infinitely greater, so great, that no understanding can perceive the vastness of it and immensity. For by how much every one is better, by so much the more he hates every sin; and the soul of a righteous man is vexed and afflicted with the inroads of his unavoidable calamities, the armies of Egypt, the lice and flies, his insinuating, creeping infirmities. Now if it be holiness in him to hate these little sins, it is an imitation of God; for what is in us by derivation, is in God essentially; therefore that which angers a good man, and ought so to do, displeases God, and consequently is against charity or the love of God. For it is but a vain dream to imagine, that because just men, such who are in the state of grace, and of the love of God, do

[e] Lib 13. c. 19.
[f] De amiss. grat. cap. 11. sect. Assumptio probatur.
[g] Lib. 3. quæst. super Levit. q. 20.

commit smaller offences, therefore they are not against the love of God; for every degree of cold does abate something of the heat in any hot body; but yet because it cannot destroy it all, cold and heat may be consistent in the same subject; but no man can therefore say, they are not contraries, and would not destroy each other if they were not hindered by something else; and so would the smallest offences also destroy the life of grace, if they were not destroyed themselves. But of this afterwards. For the present let it be considered, how it can possibly consist with our love to God, with that duty that commands us to love him with all our heart, with all our strength, with all our might, and with all our soul; how (I say) it can be consistent with a love so extended, so intended, to entertain any thing that he hates so essentially. To these particulars I add this one consideration; that since there is in the world a fierce opinion, that some sins are so slight and little, that they do not destroy our relation to God, and cannot break the sacred tie of friendship, he who upon the inference and presumption of that opinion shall choose to commit such small sins, which he thinks to be the all that is permitted him, is not excused by that supposition: for if it be said, that he is therefore supposed to love God, because he only does those little sins which he thinks are not against the love of God, and if he did not think so, he would not do them; this excuses him not, but aggravates the sin, for it is turning the grace of God into wantonness. For since that such little things are the easier pardoned, is wholly owing to God's grace and his singular goodness, he that abuses this goodness to licentiousness, makes his sin to abound, because God's grace abounds; because God is good, he takes leave to do evil, that is, to be most contrary to God. For it is certain that every man in this case hath affections for sin as formerly; indeed he entertains it not in the ruder instances because he dares not, but he does all that he dares do; for when he is taught that some certain sins are not damnable, there he will not abstain: which is a demonstration, that though he does something for fear, yet he does nothing for love.

26. IV. From this it follows, that every sin, though in the smallest instance, is a turning from God and a conversion to the creature. Suidas defines ἁμαρτίαν "sin" to be τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀποτυχίαν, "a declension from good;" and ἁμαρτάνειν is τοῦ σκόπου ἀποτυγχάνειν, that is, ἄσκοπα τοξεύειν, "to shoot besides the mark," to conduct our actions by an indirect line to a wrong object, from God to the creature. "Peccare est tanquam lineas transilire;" so Cicero:[h] "a sinner goes out of those limits" and marks which are appointed him by God. Than this, no greater evil can be spoken of any thing; and of this, all sin partakes more or less. Some few sins are direct aversions from God; so atheism, blasphemy, apostasy, resolution never to repent, and some few more: but many other very great sins are turnings from God, not directly, but by interpretation. He that commits fornication, may yet, by a direct act of understanding and a fu consent, believe God to be the chiefest good: ar some very vicious persons have given their lives fo a good cause, and to preserve their innocence i some great instance, where the scene of their prope and natural temptation does not lie. Some othe there are who, out of a sincere but an abused co science, persecute a good cause; these men a zealous for God, and yet fight against him: but b cause these are real enemies, and but suppose friends, therefore, by interpretation, and in effec they turn from God and turn to the creature. "D lictum quasi derelictum," said St. Austin;[i] becaus in every sin God is forsaken. "They have left m the living fountain, and digged to themselves ci terns that hold no water:" so God complains b the prophet. He that prefers pleasure or prof before his duty, rejects God, but loves money, an pays his devotion to interest, or ease, or sensuality And just so does the smallest sin. For since ever action hath something propounded to it as its las end, it is certain he that sins does not do it fo God, or in order to him. He that tells a lie to pro mote religion, or to save the life of a man, or t convert his soul, does not tell that lie for God, bu tells the lie to make way for something else whic is in order to God; he breaks his legs, that he ma the better walk in the path of the Divine command ments. A sin cannot be for God, or in order t him, no, not so much as habitually. For whatso ever can never be referred to God actually, canno at any time be referred habitually. Since therefor the smallest sins cannot be for God, that which i not with him is against him; if it be no way fo God, it is either directly or by interpretation fo pleasure or ease, or profit or pride, for something that is against him.

27. And it is not to be neglected, that the smalle the sin is, the less it is excusable if it be done wher it is observed. For if it be small, is it not th sooner obeyed, and the more reasonably exacted and the more bountifully repaid, when heaven is given as the price of so small a service? He tha pursues his crime for a mighty purchase, to get a kingdom, or a vast estate, or an exquisite beauty, or something that is bigger than the ordinary virtues of easy and common men, hath something, not to warrant and legitimate, but to extenuate the offence by greatening the temptation. But to lose the friendship of God for a nutshell, to save sixpence, to lose heaven with peevishness, to despise the Divine laws for a nonsense insignificant vapour, and a testy pride,—hath no excuse; but it loads the sinner with the disreputation of a mighty folly. What excuse can be made for him that will not so much as hold his peace to please God? What can he do less for him? How should it be expected he should mortify his lusts, deny his ambition, part with his goods, lose an eye, cut off a hand, give his life for God, when he will not for God lose the no pleasure of talking vainly, and proudly, and ridiculously? If he will not chastise his wanton thoughts to please God, how shall he throw out his

[h] Parad. 3.

[i] Lib. 3. Quæst. in Lev. c. 20.

whole body of lust? If he will not resist the trifling temptations of a drinking friend to preserve his temperance, how shall he choose to be banished or murdered by the rage of a drunken prince, rather than keep the circle in their giddy and vertiginous method? The less the instance be, the direct aversation from God is also most commonly the less; but in many cases the aversation is by interpretation greater, more unreasonable, and therefore less excusable: as when the small instance is chosen by a perfect and distinct act of election; as it is in those who out of fear of hell quit the acting of their clamorous sins, and yet keep the affections to them, and consequently entertain them in thoughts and little reflections, in remembrances and fantastic images.

28. V. But if we reduce this question a little nearer to practice, and clothe it with circumstances, we shall find this account to be sadder than is usually supposed. But before I instance in the particulars, I shall premise this distinction of venial sins, which is necessary not only for the conducting of this question, but our consciences also in this whole article. The Roman schools say, that sins are venial, either by the imperfection of the agent, as when a thing is done ignorantly, or by surprise, or inadvertency: or, 2. A sin is venial by the smallness of the matter; as if a man steals a farthing, or eats a little too greedily at his meal, or lies in bed half an hour longer than would become him: or, 3. A sin (say they) is venial in its whole kind, that is, such which God cannot by the nature of the thing punish with the highest punishment; such as are idle words and the like. Now first, I suppose that the two latter will be found to be both one: for either God hath not forbidden idleness or falseness, or he hath made no restraint at all upon words, but left us at liberty to talk as we please; for if he hath in this case made a law, then idle words either cannot pretend to an excuse, or it must be for the smallness of the matter; or else it must fall in with the first, and be excused, because they cannot always be attended to.

29. Now concerning the first sort of venial sins, it is not a kind of sins, but a manner of making all sins venial, that is, apt for pardon: for by the imperfection of the agent or the act, all great sins in their matter, may become little in their malice and guilt. Now these are those which divines call sins of infirmity; and of them I shall give an account in a distinct chapter, under that title.

30. Concerning the second, i. e. sins venial for the smallness of the matter; I know none such. For if the matter be a particular that God hath expressly commanded or forbidden respectively, it is not little, but all one to him as that which we call the greatest. But if the particular be wholly relating to our neighbour, the smallness of the matter does not absolutely make the sin venial; for amongst us nothing is absolutely great, or absolutely little, but in comparison with something else; and if a vile person had robbed the poor woman that offered two mites to the treasury of the temple, he had undone her; a farthing there was all her substance: so that the smallness of the matter is not directly an excuse. If a man had robbed a rich man of a farthing, he had not indeed done him so great a mischief; but how if the rich man was not willing to part with his farthing, but would be angry at the injury, is it not a sin because the theft was small? No man questions but it is. It follows, therefore, that the smallness of the matter cannot make a sin venial, but where there is a leave expressly given, or justly presumed: and if it be so in a great matter, it is as little a sin as if the matter were small, that is, none at all.

31. But now concerning the third, which the Roman schools dream of, sins venial in their own nature, and in their whole kind; that is it which I have been disputing against all this while, and shall now farther conclude against by arguments more practical and moral. For if we consider what are those particulars, which these men call venial sins, in their whole kind and nature, we shall find that Christ and they give measures differing from each other. The catalogues of them I will take from the fathers, not that they ever thought these things to be in their nature venial (for they that think so of them are strangers to their writings: and to this purpose Bellarmine hath not brought one testimony pertinent and home to the question): but because they reckon such catalogues of venial sins, which demonstrate that they do mean sins made venial by accident, by men's infirmity, by God's grace, by pardon, by repentance, and not such which are so in their own nature. But the thing itself will be its own proof.

32. St. Austin[k] reckons, "vanas cachinnationes; in escis aviditatem, et immoderatiorem appetitum; in vendendis et emendis rebus, caritatis et vilitatis vota perversa; usum matrimonii ad libidinem; judicia apud infideles agitare; dicere fratri 'fatue:'" "vain laughter; greediness in meat; an immoderate or ungoverned appetite; perverse desires of dearness and cheapness in buying and selling commodities; the use of marriage to lustfulness and inordination; to go to law before the unbelievers; to call our brother 'fool.'"—St. Jerome[l] reckons, "jestings, anger, and injurious words."—Cæsarius Arelatensis,[m] the bishop, reckons, "excess in eating and drinking; idle words; importune silence; to exasperate an importunate beggar; to omit the fasts of the church; sleepiness or immoderate sleeping; the use of a wife to lustfulness; to omit the visitation of the sick and of prisoners; and to neglect to reconcile them that are at variance; too much severity or harshness to our family, or too great indulgence; flattery; talkings in the church; poor men to eat too much when they are brought rarely to a good table; forswearings (unwary perjury); slander or reproaches; rash judgment; hatred; sudden anger; envy; evil concupiscence; filthy thoughts; the lust of the eyes; the voluptuousness of the ears, or the itch of hearing; the speaking filthy words:" and

[k] Lib. 50. homil. hom. 50. 7. serm. 241. de Temp: Enchir. c. 78.

[l] Dial. 2. adv. Pelag.

[m] Homil. 8. et 13.

indeed he reckons almost all the common sins of mankind. St. Bernard[n] reckons, "stultiloquium; vaniloquium; otiosè dicta, facta, cogitata;" "talking vainly; talking like a fool; idle or vain thoughts, words, and deeds."—These are the usual catalogues, and if any be reckoned, they must be these; for many times some of these are least consented to, most involuntary, most ready, less avoidable, of the lightest effect, of an eternal return, incurable in the whole, and therefore plead the most probably, and are the soonest likely to prevail for pardon: but yet they cannot pretend to need no pardon, or to fear no damnation. For our blessed Saviour says it of him that "speaks an angry word, that he shall be guilty of hell-fire." Now since we find such as these reckoned in the catalogue of venial sins; and St. Austin in particular calls that venial to which our blessed Saviour threatened hell-fire; it is certain he must not mean that it is, in its own nature, venial, but damnable as any other: but it is venial, that is, prepared for pardon upon other contingencies and causes, of which I shall afterwards give account. In the mean time, I consider,

33. VI. When God appointed in the law expiatory sacrifices for sins, although there was enough to signify that there is difference in the degrees of sin, yet because they were "eodem sanguine eluenda," and, "without shedding of blood there was no remission;" they were reckoned in the same accounts of death and the Divine anger. And it is manifest that by the severities and curse of the law no sin could escape. "For cursed is he that continues not in every thing written in the law, to do them."—The law was a covenant of works and exact measures. There were no venial sins by virtue of that covenant; for there was no remission: and without the death of Christ we could not be eased of this state of danger. Since therefore that any sin is venial or pardonable, is only owing to the grace of God, to the death of Christ; and this death pardons all upon the condition of faith and repentance, and pardons none without it; it follows, that though sins differ in degree, yet they differ not in their natural and essential order to death. The man that commits any sin, dies if he repents not; and he that does repent timely and effectually, dies for none. "The wages of sin is death;" of sin indefinitely, and therefore of all sin, and all death: for there is no more distinction of sin than death: only when death is threatened indefinitely, that death is to be understood, which is properly and specifically threatened in that covenant where the death is named; as death temporal in the law, death eternal under the gospel.

34. And thus it appears in a very material instance relating to this question: for when our blessed Saviour had threatened the degrees of anger, he did it by apportioning several pains hereafter of one sort, to the several degrees of the same sin here, which he expresses by the several inflictions passed upon criminals by the houses of judgment among the Jews. Now it is observable, that "to the least" of these sins Christ[o] assigns a punishment just proportionable to that, which the gloss of the Pharisees and the law itself did to them that committed murder, which was capital; "He shall be guilty of judgment;" so we read it, ἔνοχος τῇ κρίσει, not κρίσεως: so it is in the Greek: he shall be guilty in the κρίσις, that is, "in the court of judgment;" the assembly of the twenty-three elders; and there his punishment was death, but the gentlest manner of it, the decapitation or smiting him through with the sword; and therefore the least punishment hereafter, answering to death here, can mean no less than death hereafter.[p] And so also was the second; ἔνοχος τῷ συνεδρίῳ, he that calls "Raca," shall be guilty,—that is, shall be used as one that stands guilty in the sanhedrim, or council,—meaning, that he is to die too, but with a severer execution by stoning to death: this was the greatest punishment by the houses of judgment; for crucifixion was the Roman manner. These two already signify hell, in a less degree, but as certainly and evidently as the third. For though we read hell-fire in the third sentence only, yet γεέννα no otherwise signifies hell, than the other two by analogy and proportionable representment. The cause of the mistake is this: when Christ was pleased to add yet a further degree of punishment in hell to a further degree of anger and reproach, the Jews having no greater than that of stoning by the judgment of the sanhedrim or council, he would borrow his expression from that which they and their fathers too well understood, a barbarous custom of the Phœnicians of burning children alive in the valley of Hinnom,[q] which in succession of time the Hellenists call γεέννα, not much unlike the Hebrew word: and because by our blessed Lord it was used to signify or represent the greatest pains of hell that were spoken of in that gradation, the christians took the word and made it to be its appellative, and to signify the state or place of the damned: just as גן עדן "the garden of Eden" is called "Paradise." But it was no more intended that this should signify hell than that any of the other two should. The word itself never did so before; but that and the other two were taken as being the most fearful things amongst them here, to represent the degrees of the most intolerable state hereafter: just as damnation is called death; the second death; that because we fear the first as the worst of present evils, we may be affrighted with the apprehensions of the latter. From this authority it follows; that as in the law no sins were venial, but by repentance and sacrifice; so neither in the gospel are they: not in their own nature, not by the more holy covenant of the gospel but by repentance and mortification. For the gospel hath with greater severity laid restraint upon these minutes and little particles of action and passion: and therefore if in the law every transgression was exacted, we cannot reasonably think that the least parts of duty, which the gospel super-

[n] De Præcept. et Dispens. c. 14. [o] Matt. v. 22.

[p] Ita interpretantur hunc locum Barradius, Maldonatus, et Estius ad hunc locum: et apud vetustiores eadem sententia prævaluit. Hæc enim erat mens Strabi Fuldensis qui glossam ordinariam compilavit, et Hugonis Cardinalis.

[q] גיהנום.

added with a new and severer caution, as great and greater than that by which the law exacted the greatest commandments, can be broken with indemnity, or without the highest danger. The law exacted all its smallest minutes; and therefore so does the gospel, as being a covenant of greater holiness. But as in the law for the smaller transgressions there was an assignment of expiatory rites; so is there, in the gospel, of a ready repentance, and a prepared mercy.

35. VII. Lastly; those sins which men in health are bound to avoid, those sins for which Christ did shed his most precious blood, those sins for which a dying man is bound to ask pardon, though he hopes not, or desires not to escape temporal death, certain it is, that those sins are in their nature, and in the economy or dispensation of the Divine threatenings, damnable. For what can the dying man fear but death eternal? And if he be bound to repent and ask pardon even for the smallest sins which he can remember, in order to what pardon can that repentance be, but of the eternal pain, to which every sin by its own demerit naturally descends? If he must repent and ask pardon, when he hopes not or desires not the temporal, it is certain he must repent, only that he may obtain the eternal. And they that will think otherwise, will also find themselves deceived in this. For if the damned souls in hell are punished for all their sins, then the unpardoned venial sins are there also smarted for. But so it is, and so we are taught in the doctrine of our great Master. "If we agree not while we are in the way, we shall be cast into the eternal prison, and shall not depart thence till we have paid the uttermost farthing." That is, ever for our smallest sins, if they be unremitted, men shall pay in hell their horrible symbol of damnation. And this is confessed on all hands:[r] that they who fall into hell, pay their sorrows there even for all. But it is pretended, that this is only by accident,[s] not by the first intention of the Divine justice; because it happens that they are subjected in such persons, who for other sins (not for these) go to hell. Well! yet let it be considered, whether or no do not the smallest unremitted sins increase the torments of hell in their proportion? If they do not, then they are not at all punished in hell; for if without them the perishing soul is equally punished, then for them there is no punishment at all. But if they do increase the pains, as it is certain they do, then to them properly, and for their own malignity and demerit, a portion of eternal pains is assigned. Now if God punishes them in hell, then they deserved hell; if they be damnable in their event, then they were so in their merit; for God never punishes any sin more than it deserves, though he often does less. But to say, that this is by accident, that is, for their conjunction with mortal sins, is confuted infinitely, because God punishes them with degrees of evil proper to them, and for their own demerit. There is no other accident by which these come to be smarted for in hell, but because they were not repented of; for by that accident they become mortal; as by the contrary accident, to wit, if the sinner repents worthily, not only the smallest, but the greatest also, become venial: the impenitent pays for all; all together. But if the man be a worthy penitent, if he continues and abides in God's love, he will find a mercy according to his circumstances, by the measures of God's graciousness, and his own repentance; so that by accident they may be pardoned; but if that accident does not happen, if the man be not penitent, the sins shall be punished directly, and for their own natural demerit. The sum is this:

If a man repents truly of the greater sins, he also repents of the smallest; for it cannot be a true repentance which refuses to repent of any; so that if it happens, that for the smallest he do smart in hell, it is because he did not repent truly of any, greatest, nor smallest. But if it happens that the man did not commit any of the greater sins, and yet did indulge to himself a license to do the smallest,—even for those which he calls the smallest, he may perish; and what he is pleased to call little, God may call great. "Cum his peccatis neminem salvandum," said St. Bernard;[t] "with these," (even the smallest sins,) actually remaining upon him unrepented of in general or particular, "no man can be saved."

SECTION IV.

The former Doctrine reduced to Practice.

36. I have been the more earnest in this article, not only because the doctrine which I have all this while opposed, makes all the whole doctrine of moral theology to be inartificial, and in many degrees useless, false, and imprudent; but because of the immediate influence it hath to encourage evil lives of men. For,

37. I. To distinguish a whole kind of sins, is a certain way to make repentance and amendment of life imperfect and false. For when men by fears and terrible considerations are scared from their sins, as most repentances begin with fear, they still retain some portions of affection to their sin, some lookings back and fantastic entertainments, which if they be not pared off by repentance, we love not God with all our hearts; and yet by this doctrine of distinguishing sins into mortal and venial in their whole kind and nature, men are taught to arrest their repentances, and have leave not to proceed farther; for they who say sins are venial in their own nature, if they understand the consequences of their own doctrine, do not require repentance to make them so, or to obtain a pardon which they need not.

38. II. As by this means our repentances are made imperfect, so is a relapse extremely ready: for while such a leaven is left, it is ten to one but it may sour the whole mass. St. Gregory said well,[u]

[r] Aquinas l. 2. quæst. 87. art. 5.
[s] Bellar. de Amiss. Gra. lib. 1. c. 14. sect. Ex. ad.
[t] Serm. 1. de Cœnâ Dom. et Serm. 1. de Convers. Pauli.
[u] Lib. 10. Moral. c. 14.

"Si curare parva negligimus, insensibiliter seducti audentèr etiam majora perpetramus:" we are too apt to return to our old crimes, whose relics we are permitted to keep and kiss.

39. III. But it is worse yet. For the distinction of sins mortal and venial in their nature is such a separation of sin from sin, as is rather a dispensation or leave to commit one sort of them; the expiation of which is so easy, the pardon so certain, the remedy so ready, the observation and exaction of them so inconsiderable. For there being so many ways of making great sins little, and little sins none at all, found out by the folly of men and the craft of the devil,—a great portion of God's right, and the duty we owe to him, are by way of compromise and agreement, left as a portion to carelessness and folly: and why may not a man rejoice in those trifling sins, for which he hath security he shall never be damned? As for the device of purgatory, indeed if there were any such thing, it were enough to scare any one from committing any sins, much more little ones. But I have conversed with many of that persuasion, and yet never observed any to whom it was a terror to speak of purgatory, but would talk of it as an antidote or security against hell, but not as a formidable story to affright them from their sins, but to warrant their venial sins, and their imperfect repentance for their mortal sins. And indeed let it be considered; if venial sins be such as the Roman doctors describe them; that "they neither destroy nor lessen charity," or the grace of God, that "they only hinder the fervency of an act," which sleep, or business, or any thing that is most innocent, may do; that they are not against the law, but besides it; as walking and riding, standing and sitting, are; that they are not properly sins; that "all the venial sins in the world cannot amount to one mortal sin;" but as time differs from eternity, finite from infinite, so do all the venial sins in the world, put together, from one mortal act; that for all them a man is nevertheless beloved, and loves God nothing the less; I say, if venial sins be such, (as the Roman writers affirm they are,) how can it be imagined to be agreeable to God's goodness to inflict upon such sinners, who only have venial sins unsatisfied for, such horrible pains (which they dream of in purgatory) as are, during their abode, equal to the intolerable pains of hell, for that which breaks none of his laws, which angers him not, which is not against him or his love, which is incident to his dearest servants? "Pro peccato magno paulum supplicii satis est patri;" but if fathers take such severe amends of their children for that which is not properly sin, there is nothing left by which we can boast of a father's kindness. In this case, there is no remission; for if it be not just in God to punish such sins in hell, because they are consistent with the state of the love of God, and yet they are punished in purgatory, that is, as much as they can be punished; then God does remit to his children nothing for their love's sake, but deals with them as severely as for his justice he can, in the matter of venial sins; indeed, if he uses mercy to them at all, it is in remitting their mortal sins; but in their venial sins he uses none at all. Now if things were thus on both sides, it is strange men are not more afraid of their venial sins, and that they are not more terrible in their description, which are so sad in their event; and that their punishment should be so great, when their malice is so none at all? and it is strangest of all, that if men did believe such horrible effects to be the consequent of venial sins, they should esteem them little, and inconsiderable, and warn men of them with so little caution. But to take this wonder off, though they affright men with purgatory at the end, yet they make the bugbear nothing by their easy remedies and preventions in the way. Venial sins may be taken off, according to their doctrine, at as cheap a rate as they may be committed; but of this I shall give a fuller account in the sixth section of this chapter. In the mean time, to believe purgatory, serves the ends of the Roman clergy, and to have so much easiness and leave in venial sins, serves the ends of their laity; but as truth is disserved in the former, so are piety and the severities of a holy life very much slackened by the latter.

40. But as care is taken that their doctrine do not destroy charity or good life by looseness and indulgence, so care must be taken that ours do not destroy hope, and discountenance the endeavours of pious people; for if the smallest sins be so highly punishable, who can hope ever to escape the intolerable state of damnation? And if God can be eternally angry for those things which we account small sins, then no man is a servant or a friend of God; no man is in the state of the Divine favour; for no man is without these sins; for they are such,

Quæ non possit homo quisquam evitare cavendo,

"a man, by all his industry, cannot wholly avoid." Now because the Scripture pronounces some persons "just," and "righteous," as David and Josiah, Zachary and Elizabeth, who yet could not be innocent and pure from small offences: either these little things are in their own nature venial, or the godly have leave to do that which is punished in the ungodly; or some other way must be found out, how that which is in its own nature damnable, can stand with the state of grace; and upon what causes sins, which of themselves are not so, may come to be venial, that is, more apt and ready to be pardoned, and in the next dispositions to receive a mercy.

SECTION V.

41. I. No just person does or can indulge to himself the keeping of any sin whatsoever; for all sins are accounted of by God according to our affections, and if a man loves any, it becomes his poison. Every sin is damnable when it is chosen deliberately, either by express act or by interpretation; that is, when it is chosen regularly or frequently. He that loves to cast over in his mind the pleasures of his past sin, he that entertains all those instances of sin, which he thinks not to be damnable, this

man hath given himself up to be a servant to a trifle, a lover of little and fantastic pleasures. Nothing of this can stand with the state of grace. No man can love sin and love God at the same time; and to think it to be an excuse to say the sin is little, is as if an adulteress should hope for pardon of her offended lord, because the man whom she doats upon is an inconsiderable person.

42. II. In sins we must distinguish the formality from the material part. The formality of sin is disobedience to God, and turning from him to the creature by love and adhesion. The material part is the action itself. The first can never happen without our will; but the latter may by surprise, and indeliberation, and imperfection of condition. For in this life our understanding is weak, our attention trifling, our advertency interrupted, our diversions many, our divisions of spirit irresistible, our knowledge little, our dulness frequent, our mistakes many, our fears potent, and betrayers of our reason; and at any one of these doors sin may enter, in its material part, while the will is inactive, or the understanding dull, or the affections busy, or the spirit otherwise employed, or the faculties wearied, or reason abused; therefore if you inquire for venial sins, they must be in this throng of imperfections, but they never go higher. Let no man therefore say, I have a desire to please myself in some little things; for if he desires it, he may not do it, that very desire makes that it cannot be venial, but as damnable as any, in its proportion.

43. III. If any man about to do an action of sin, inquires whether it be a venial sin or no,—to that man, at that time, that sin cannot be venial: for whatsoever a man considers, and acts, he also chooses and loves in some proportion, and therefore turns from God to the sin, and that is against the love of God, and in its degree destructive or diminutive of the state of grace. Besides this, such a person in this inquiry asks leave to sin against God, and gives a testimony that he would sin more if he durst. But in the same degree in which the choice is lessened, in the same degree the material part of the sin receives also diminution.

44. IV. It is remarkable, that amongst the ancients this distinction of sins into mortal and venial, or to use their own words, "graviora et leviora," or "peccata et crimina," does not mean a distinction of kind, but of degrees. They call them mortal sins, which shall never, or very hardly, be pardoned, not at all but upon very hard terms. So Pacianus;[x] "De modo criminum edisserens nequis existimet omnibus omnino peccatis summum discrimen impositum; seduloque requirens, quæ sint peccata, quæ crimina, nequis existimet propter innumera delicta, quorum fraudibus nullus immunis est, me omne hominum genus indiscretâ pœnitendi lege constringere." The highest danger is not in every sin; offences and crimes must be distinguished carefully: for the same severe impositions are not indifferently to be laid upon criminals, and those whose guilt is in such instances from which no man is free. "Wherefore covetousness may be redeemed with liberality, slander with satisfaction, morosity with cheerfulness, sharpness with gentle usages, lightness with gravity, perverseness or peevishness with honesty and fair carriage. But what shall the despiser of God do? what shall the murderer do? what remedy shall the adulterer[y] have? 'Ista sunt capitalia, fratres, ista mortalia:' 'These are the deadly sins, these are capital crimes:'" meaning, that these were to be taken off by the severities of ecclesiastical or public repentance, (of which I am afterwards to give account,) and would cost more to be cleansed. To a good man, and "meliorum operum compensatione," (as Pacianus affirms,) "by the compensation of good work," that is, of the actions of the contrary graces, they are venial, they are cured. For by venial they mean such which with less difficulty and hazard may be pardoned: such as was St. Paul's blasphemy and persecuting the church; for that was venial, that is, apt for pardon, because he did it "ignorantly in unbelief:" and such are those sins (saith Cæsarius) which are usual in the world, though of their own nature very horrible, as forswearing ourselves, slander, reproach, and the like; yet because they are extremely common, they are such, to which if a continual pardon were not offered, God's numbers would be infinitely lessened. In this sense every sin is venial, excepting the three capitals reckoned in Tertullian, "idolatry, murder, and adultery;" every thing but the sin against the Holy Ghost, and its branches, reckoned in Pacianus; every thing but the seven deadly sins, in others. Now, according to the degree and malignity of the sin, or its abatement by any lessening circumstance, or intervening considerations, so it puts on its degrees of veniality, or being pardonable. Every sin hath some degree of being venial, till it arrives at the unpardonable state, and then none is. But every sin that hath many degrees of venial, hath also some degrees of damnable. So that to inquire what venial sins can stand with thy state of grace, is to ask, how long a man may sin before he shall be damned; how long will God still forbear him; how long he will continue to give him leave to repent? For a sin is venial upon no other account but of repentance. If venial be taken for pardonable, it is true that many circumstances make it so, more or less; that is, whatever makes the sin greater or less, makes it more or less venial; and of these I shall give account in the chapter of sins of infirmity. But if by venial, we mean actually pardoned, or not exacted: nothing makes a sin venial, but repentance; and that makes every sin to be so. Therefore,

45. V. Some sins are admitted by holy persons, and yet they still continue holy; not that any of these sins is permitted to them; nor that God cannot as justly exact them of his servants as of his enemies; nor that in the covenant of the gospel they are not imputable; nor that their being in God's favour hides them, for God is most impatient of any remaining evil in his children: but the only reasonable

[x] In Paræn.

[y] Fornicator. Promiscuè sæpius usurpantur fornicatio et adulterium.

account of it is, because the state of grace is a state of repentance; these sins are those, which, as Pacianus expresses it, "contrariis emendata proficiunt," "they can be helped by contrary actions:" and the good man does perpetually watch against them, he opposes a good against every evil; that is, in effect he uses them just as he uses the greatest that ever he committed. Thus the good man when he reproves a sinning person, overacts his anger, and is transported to indecency, though it be for God: some are over-zealous, some are fantastic and too apt to opinion, which in little degrees of inordination are not so soon discernible. A good man may be overjoyed, or too much pleased with his recreation, or be too passionate at the death of a child, or in a sudden anger go beyond the evenness of a wise christian, and yet be a good man still, and a friend of God, his son and his servant: but then these things happen in despite of all his care and observation; and when he does espy any of these obliquities, he is troubled at it, and seeks to amend it; and therefore, these things are venial, that is, pitied and excused, because they are unavoidable, but avoided as much as they well can, (all things considered,) and God does not exact them of him, because the good man exacts them of himself. These being the rules of doctrine, we are to practise accordingly.

To which add the following measures.

46. VI. This difference in sins, of mortal and venial, that is, greater and less, is not to be considered by us, but by God alone, and cannot have influence upon us to any good purposes. For, I. We do not always know by what particular measures they are lessened: in general we know some proportions of them, but when we come to particulars we may easily be deceived, but can very hardly be exact. St. Austin[z] said the same thing, "Quæ sint levia, et quæ gravia peccata, non humano sed Divino sunt pensanda judicio:" "God only, not man, can tell which sins are great, and which little."—For since we see them equally forbidden, we must with equal care avoid them all. Indeed, if the case should be so put, that we must either commit sacrilege or tell a spiteful lie, kill a man or speak unclean words, then it might be of use to us, to consider which is the greater, which is less, that, of evils we might choose the less: but this case can never be, for no man is ever brought to that necessity, that he must choose one sin; for he can choose to die before he shall do either, and that is the worst that he can be put to. And therefore, though right reason and experience, and some general lines of religion, mark out some actions as criminal, and leave others under a general and indefinite condemnation, yet it is in order to repentance and amends when such things are done, not to greater caution directly of avoiding them in the days of temptation; for of two infinites in the same kind, one cannot be bigger than the other. We are tied with the biggest care to avoid every sin, and bigger than the biggest we find not. This only: for the avoiding of the greatest sins, there are more arguments from without, and sometimes more instruments and ministers of caution and prevention are to be used, than in lesser sins; but it is because fewer will serve in one than in another; but all that is needful must be used in all: but there is no difference in our choice that can be considerable, for we must never choose either; and therefore beforehand to compare them together, whereof neither is to be preferred before the other, is to lay a snare for ourselves, and make us apt to one by undervaluing it, and calling it less than others, that affright us more. Indeed, when the sin is done, to measure it may be of use, (as I shall show,) but to do it beforehand hath danger in it of being tempted, and more than a danger of being deceived: for our hearts deceive us, our purposes are complicated, and we know not which end is principally intended, nor by what argument, amongst many, we were finally determined, or which is the prevailing ingredient; nor are we competent judges of our own strengths, and we can do more than we think we can; and we remember not, that the temptation which prevails, was sought for by ourselves; nor can we separate necessity from choice, our consent from our being betrayed; nor tell whether our fort is given up, because we would do so, or because we could not help it. Who can tell whether he could not stand one assault more,—and, if he had, whether or no the temptation would not have left him? The ways of consent are not always direct, and if they be crooked we see them not. And after all this, if we were able, yet we are not willing, to judge right, with truth, and with severity; something for ourselves, something for excuse, something for pride; a little for vanity, and a little in hypocrisy, but a great deal for peace and quiet, that the rest of the mind may not be disturbed, that we may live and die in peace, and in a good opinion of ourselves. These indeed are evil measures, but such by which we usually make judgment of our actions, and are therefore likely to call great sins little, and little sins none at all.

47. II. That any sins are venial being only because of the state of grace and repentance, under which they are admitted; what condition a man is in, even for the smallest sins, he can no more know than he can tell that all his other sins are pardoned, that his repentance is accepted, that nothing of God's anger is reserved, that he is pleased for all, that there is no judgment behind hanging over his head, to strike him for that wherein he was most negligent. Now although some men have great and just confidences that they are actually in God's favour, yet all good men have not so. For there are coverings sometimes put over the spirits of the best men; and there are intermedial and doubtful states of men, (as I shall represent in the chapter of actual sins,) there are also ebbings and flowings of sin and pardon: and therefore, none but God only knows how long this state of veniality and pardon will last; and therefore, as no man can pronounce concerning any kind of sins, that they are in themselves venial, so neither can he know concerning his own, or any man's particular state, that any such

[z] Enchirid. cap. 78.

sins are pardoned, or venial to him. He that lives a good life, will find it so in its own case, and in the event of things; and that is all which can be said as to this particular; and it is well it is so, "ne studium proficiendi ad omnia peccata cavenda pigrescat," as St. Austin well observed. If it were otherwise, and that sins in their own nature by venial and not venial are distinguished and separate in their natures from each other, and that some of them are of so easy a remedy, and inconsiderable a guilt, they would never become earnest to avoid all.

48. III. There are some sins which indeed seem venial, and were they not sentenced in Scripture with severe words, would pass for trifles; but "in Scripturis demonstrantur opinione graviora," as St. Austin notes;[a] "they are by the word of God declared to be greater than they are thought to be;" and we have reason to judge so, concerning many instances, in which men are too easy and cruelly kind unto themselves. St. Paul said, "I had not known concupiscence to be a sin, if the law had not said, Thou shalt not lust:" and we use to call them scrupulous and fantastic persons, who make much ado about a careless word, and call themselves to severe account for every thought, and are troubled for every morsel they eat, when it can be disputed whether it might not better have been spared. Who could have guessed that calling my enemy "fool" should be so great a matter? But because we are told that it is so; told by him that shall be our judge, who shall call us to account for every idle word; we may well think that the measures which men usually make by their customs and false principles, and their own necessities, lest they by themselves should be condemned, are weak and fallacious: and therefore, whatsoever can be of truth in the difference of sins, may become a danger to them who desire to distinguish them, but can bring no advantages to the interests of piety and a holy life.

49. IV. We only account those sins great which are unusual, which rush violently against the conscience, because men have not been acquainted with them: "Peccata sola inusitata exhorrescimus, usitata verò diligimus."[b] But those which they act every day, they suppose them to be small, "quotidianæ incursiones," the unavoidable acts of every day, and by degrees our spirit is reconciled to them, conversing with them as with a tame wolf, who by custom hath forgotten the circumstances of his barbarous nature, but is a wolf still. Τὰ μικρὰ καὶ συνήθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, as Synesius calls them: "the little customs of sinning," men think, ought to be dissembled. This was so of old; Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, complained of it in his time. "Verè dico fratres,"[c] &c. "I say truly to you, brethren, this thing, according to the law and commandment of our Lord, never was lawful, neither is it, nor shall it ever be; but as if it were worse, ita peccata ista in consuetudinem missa sunt, et tanti sunt qui illa faciunt, ut jam quasi ex licito fieri credantur,' 'these sins are so usual and common, that men now begin to think them lawful.'"—And, indeed, who can do a sin every day, and think it great and highly damnable? If he think so, it will be very uneasy for him to keep it; but, if he will keep it, he will also endeavour to get some protection or excuse for it; something to warrant, or something to undervalue it; and at last it shall be accounted venial, and by some means or other reconcilable with the hopes of heaven. He that is used to oppress the poor every day, thinks he is a charitable man, if he lets them go away with any thing he could have taken from them: but he is not troubled in conscience for detaining the wages of the hireling, with deferring to do justice, with little arts of exaction and lessening their provisions. For since nothing is great or little but in comparison with something else, he accounts his sin small, because he commits greater; and he that can suffer the greatest burden, shrinks not under a lighter weight: and upon this account it is impossible but such men must be deceived and die.

50. VII. Let no man think that his venial or smaller sins shall be pardoned for the smallness of their matter, and in a distinct account; for a man is not quit of the smallest but by being also quit of the greatest: for God does not pardon any sin to him that remains his enemy; and therefore, unless the man be a good man, and in the state of grace, he cannot hope that his venial sins can be in any sense indulged; they increase the burden of the other, and are like little stones laid upon a shoulder already crushed with an unequal load. Either God pardons the greatest, or the least stand uncancelled.

51. VIII. Although God never pardons the smallest without the greatest, yet he sometimes retains the smallest, of them, whose greatest he hath pardoned. The reason is, because although a man be in the state of grace and of the Divine favour, and God will not destroy his servants for every calamity of theirs, yet he will not suffer any thing that is amiss in them. A father never pardons the small offences of his son who is in rebellion against him; those little offences cannot pretend to pardon till he be reconciled to his father; but, if he be, yet his father might chastise his little misdemeanours, or reserve some of his displeasure so far as may minister to discipline, not to destruction: and therefore if a son have escaped his father's anger and final displeasure, let him remember, that though his father is not willing to disinherit him, yet he will be ready to chastise him. And we see it by the whole dispensation of God, that "the righteous are punished," and afflictions "begin at the house of God;" and God is so impatient even of little evils in them, that to make them pure he will draw them through the fire; and there are some who are "saved, yet so as by fire." And certainly, those sins ought not to be neglected, or esteemed little, which provoke God to anger even against his servants. We find this instanced in the case of the Corinthians, who used indecent circumstances and unhandsome usages of the blessed sacrament; even for this, God severely reproved them; "for this cause many are weak and sick, and some are fallen

[a] Enchirid. 79. [b] August. ubi suprà. [c] Hom. 16.

asleep,"[d] which is an expression used in Scripture to signify them that die in the Lord, and is not used to signify the death of them that perish from the presence of the Lord. These persons died in the state of grace and repentance, but yet died in their sin; chastised for their lesser sins, but so that their souls were saved. This is that which Clemens Alexandrinus[e] affirms of sins committed after our illumination, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγίνομενα ἐκκαθαίρεται, "These sins must be purged" with a παίδευσις, "with the chastisement of sons." The result of this consideration is that which St. Peter advises, "that we pass the time of our sojourning here in fear;" for no man ought to walk confidently, who knows that even the most laudable life hath in it evil enough to be smarted for with a severe calamity.

52. IX. The most trifling actions, the daily incursions of sins, though of the least malignity, yet if they be neglected, combine and knit together, till by their multitude they grow insupportable; this caution I learn from Cæsarius Arelatensis.[f] "Et hoc considerate, fratres, quia etiamsi capitalia crimina non subreperent, ipsa minuta peccata quæ (quod pejus est) aut non attendimus, aut certè pro nihilo computamus, si simul omnia congregentur, nescio quæ bonorum operum abundantia illis præponderare sufficiat;" "Although capital sins invade you not, yet if your minutes, your small sins, which either we do not consider at all, or value not at all, be combined, or gathered into one heap, I know not what multitude of good works will suffice to weigh them down." For little sins are like the sand, and when they become a heap are heavy as lead; and "a leaking ship may as certainly perish with the little inlets of water as with a mighty wave;[g] for of many drops a river is made; and therefore, "ipsa minuta vel levia non contemnantur. Illa enim quæ humanæ fragilitati quamvis parva tamen crebra subrepunt, quasi collecta contra nos fuerint, ita nos gravabunt sicut unum aliquod grande peccatum;"[h] "Let not little sins be despised, for even those smallest things which creep upon us by our natural weakness, yet when they are gathered together against us, stand on a heap, and like an army of flies, can destroy us as well as any one deadly enemy. "Quæ quamvis singula non lethali vulnere ferire sentiantur, sicut homicidium, et adulterium, vel cætera hujusmodi, tamen omnia simul congregata velut scabies, quo plura sunt, necant, et nostrum decus ita exterminant, ut à filii, sponsi speciosi formâ præ filiis hominum, castissimis amplexibus separent, nisi medicamento quotidianæ pœnitentiæ dissecentur:" "Indeed, we do not feel every one of them strike so home and deadly, as murder and adultery do; yet when they are united, they are like a scab, they kill with their multitude, and so destroy our internal beauty, that they separate us from the purest embraces of the Bridegroom, unless they be scattered with the medicine of a daily repentance."[i] For he that does these little sins often, and repents not of them, nor strives against them, either loves them directly or by interpretation.

53. X. Let no man, when he is tempted to a sin, go then to take measures of it; because it being his own case he is an unequal and incompetent judge; his temptation is his prejudice and his bribe, and it is ten to one but he will suck in the poison, by his making himself believe that the potion is not deadly. Examine not the particular measures, unless the sin be indeed by its disreputation great; then examine as much as you please, provided you go not about to lessen it. It is enough it is a sin, condemned by the laws of God, and that death and damnation are its wages.

54. XI. When the mischief is done, then you may, in the first days of your shame and sorrow for it, with more safety, take its measures. For immediately after acting, sin does to most men appear in all its ugliness and deformity: and if in the days of your temptation you did lessen the measure of your sin, yet in the days of your sorrow do not shorten the measures of repentance. Every sin is deadly enough; and no repentance or godly sorrow can be too great for that which hath deserved the eternal wrath of God.

55. XII. I end these advices with the meditation of St. Jerome. "Si ira et sermonis injuria, atque interdum jocus, judicio, concilioque, atque Gehennæ ignibus delegatur, quid merebitur turpium rerum appetitio, et avaritia quæ est radix omnium malorum?" "If anger, and injurious words, and sometimes a foolish jest, are sentenced to capital and supreme punishments, what punishment shall the lustful and the covetous have?"—And what will be the event of all our souls, who reckon these injurious or angry words of calling "fool," or "sot," amongst the smallest, and those which are indeed less we do not observe at all? For who is there amongst us almost, who calls himself to an account for trifling words, loose laughter, the smallest beginnings of intemperance, careless spending too great portions of our time in trifling visits and courtships, balls, revellings, fantastic dressings, sleepiness, idleness, and useless conversation, neglecting our times of prayer, frequently or causelessly slighting religion and religious persons, siding with factions indifferently, forgetting our former obligations upon trifling regards, vain thoughts, wanderings and weariness at our devotion, love of praise, laying little plots and snares to be commended; high opinion of ourselves, resolutions to excuse all, and never to confess an error; going to church for vain purposes, itching ears, love of flattery, and thousands more? The very kinds of them put together are a heap; and therefore, the so frequent and almost infinite repetition of the acts of all those are, as David's expression is, without hyperbole, "more than the hairs upon our head;" they are like the number of the sands upon the sea-shore for multitude.

[d] 1 Cor. xi. 30. [e] Stromat. 4. [f] Hom. 13.
[g] St. August. epist. 108. ad Seleu. lib. 50. hom. 42.
[h] Idem. tract. 1. in ep. Johan. Levia multa faciunt unum grande. [i] Lib. 50. hom. 50. c. 8.

SECTION VI.

What Repentance is necessary for the smaller or more venial Sins.

56. I. UPON supposition of the premises; since these smaller sins are of the same nature, and the same guilt, and the same enmity against God, and consigned to the same evil portion that other sins are, they are to be washed off with the same repentance also as others. Christ's blood is the lavatory, and faith and repentance are the two hands that wash our souls white from the greatest and the least stains: and since they are by the impenitent to be paid for in the same fearful prisons of darkness, by the same remedies and instruments the intolerable sentence can only be prevented. The same ingredients, but a less quantity, possibly may make the medicine. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, who spake many excellent things in this article, says, that for these smaller sins a private repentance is proportionable:[k] "Si levia fortasse sunt delicta, v. g. si homo vel in sermone, vel in aliquâ reprehensibili voluntate; si in oculo peccavit, aut corde; verborum et cogitationum maculæ quotidianâ oratione curandæ, et privatâ compunctione terendæ sunt:" "The sins of the eye, and the sins of the heart, and the offences of the tongue, are to be cured by secret contrition and compunction and a daily prayer."—But St. Cyprian commends many whose conscience being of a tender complexion, they would even for the thoughts of their heart do public penance. His words are these;[l]—"multos timoratæ conscientiæ, quamvis nullo sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti essent, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud sacerdotes Dei dolentèr et simplicitèr confitentes exomologesin conscientiæ fecisse, animi sui pondus exposuisse, salutarem medelam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquirentes;" "Because they had but thought of complying with idolaters, they sadly and ingenuously came to the ministers of holy things, God's priests, confessing the secret turpitude of their conscience, laying aside the weight that pressed their spirit, and seeking remedy even for their smallest wounds."—And, indeed, we find that among the ancients[m] there was no other difference in assignation of repentance to the several degrees of sin, but only by public and private: capital sins they would have submitted to public judgment; but the lesser evils to be mourned for in private: of this I shall give account in the chapter of ecclesiastical repentance. In the mean time their general rule was, that because the lesser sins came in by a daily incursion, therefore they were to be cut off by a daily repentance; which, because it was daily, could not be so intense and signally punitive as the sharper repentances for the seldom-returning sins; yet as the sins were daily, but of less malice, so their repentance must be daily, but of less affliction. "Medicamento quotidianæ pœnitentiæ dissecentur;" that was St. Austin's rule.[n] Those evils, that happen every day, must be cried out against every day.

57. II. Every action of repentance, every good work done for the love of God, and in the state of grace, and designed, and particularly applied, to the intercision of the smallest unavoidable sins, is, through the efficacy of Christ's death, and in the virtue of repentance, operative towards the expiation or pardon of them. For a man cannot do all the particulars of repentance for every sin: but, out of the general hatred of sin, picks out some special instances, and apportions them to his special sins; as to acts of uncleanness he opposes acts of severity, to intemperance he opposes fasting. But then, as he rests not here, but goes on to the consummation of repentance in his whole life: so it must be in the more venial sins. A less instance of express anger is graciously accepted, if it be done in the state of grace, and in the virtue of repentance; but then the pardon is to be completed in the pursuance and integrity of that grace, in the sums total. For no man can say that so much sorrow, or such a degree of repentance, is enough to any sin he hath done: and yet a man cannot apportion to every sin large portions of special sorrow, it must therefore be done all his life-time; and the little portions must be made up by the whole grace and state of repentance. One instance is enough particularly to express the anger, or to apply the grace, of repentance to any single sin which is not among the capitals; but no one instance is enough to extinguish it. For sin is not pardoned in an instant, (as I shall afterwards discourse,) neither is the remedy of a natural and a just proportion to the sin. Therefore, when many of the ancient doctors apply to venial sins special remedies, by way of expiation, or deprecation, such as are, "beating the breast, saying the Lord's prayer, alms, communicating, confessing,"[o] and some others; the doctrine of such remedies is not true, if it be understood that those particulars are just physically or meritoriously proportioned to the sin. No one of these alone is a cure or expiation of the past sin; but every one of these in the virtue of repentance is effective to its part of the work, that is, he that repents and forsakes them as he can, shall be accepted, though the expression of his repentance be applied to his fault but in one or more of these single instances; because all good works done in the faith of Christ, have an efficacy towards the extinction of those sins which cannot be avoided by any moral diligence; there is no other thing on our parts which can be done, and if that which is unavoidable were also irremediable, our condition would be intolerable and desperate. To the sense of this advice we have the words of St. Gregory: "Si quis ergo peccata sua tecta esse desiderat, Deo ea per vocem confessionis ostendat," &c. "If any man desires to have his sins

[k] Hom. 1.
[l] De Lapsis.
[m] Vide St. Aug. lib. 83. q. 26. et Cæsar. Arelat. hom. 1.
[n] Lib. 50. hom. 50. c. 8.
[o] Ecclesia Romana alia excogitavit facilè, quorum nonnulla declinant aperte nimis ad superstitionem:

Confiteor, tundo, conspergor, conteror, oro,
Signor, edo, dono, per hæc venialia peno.

covered, let him first open them to God in confession: but there are some sins which, so long as we live in this world, can hardly, or indeed not at all be wholly avoided by perfect men. For holy men have something in this life, which they ought to cover; for it is altogether impossible that they should never sin in word or thought. Therefore, the men of God do study to cover the faults of their eyes or tongue with good deeds, they study to overpower the number of their idle words with the weight of good works. But how can it be that the faults of good men should be covered, when all things are naked to the eyes of God? but only because that which is covered is put under, something is brought over it; our sins are covered when we bring over them the cover of good works."—But Cæsarius, the bishop, is more punctual, and descends to particulars. For having given this general rule, "Illa parva vel quotidiana peccata bonis operibus redimere non desistant," "Let them not cease to redeem or expiate their daily and small faults with good works;" he adds, "But I desire more fully to insinuate to you, with what works small sins are taken off. So often as we visit the sick, go (in charity) to them that are in prison, reconcile variances, keep the fasts of the church, wash the feet of strangers, repair to the vigils and watches of the church, give alms to passing beggars, forgive our enemies when they ask pardon:" "istis enim operibus et his similibus minuta peccata quotidiè redimuntur;" "with these and the like works the minute or smaller sins are daily redeemed or taken off."

58. III. There is in prayer a particular efficacy, and it is of proper use and application in the case of the more venial and unavoidable sins, rather this than any other alone, especially being helped by charity, that is, alms and forgiveness. Because the greatest number of venial sins come in (as I shall [p] afterwards demonstrate) upon the stock of ignorance, or, which is all one, imperfect notices and acts of understanding; and therefore have not any thing in the natural parts and instances of repentance so fit to expiate or to cure them. But because they are beyond human cure, they are to be cured by the Divine grace, and this is to be obtained by prayer. And this St. Clement advised in his epistle. Ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Θεὸν, ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἵλεων γίνεσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. "Lift up your eyes to God Almighty, praying him to be merciful to you, if you have unwillingly fallen into error." And to the same purpose are the words of St. Austin: "Propter levia, sine quibus esse non possumus, oratio inventa:" "For those lighter sins, without which we cannot be, prayer is invented as a remedy." [q]

59. IV. Perpetually watch, and perpetually resolve against them, as against any, never indulging to thyself leave to proceed in one. Let this care be constant and indefatigable, and leave the success to God. For in this there is a great difference between capital or deadly, and the more venial sins. For he that repents of great sins, does so resolve against them, that he ought really to believe that he shall never return to them again. No drunkard is truly to be esteemed a penitent, but he that in consideration of himself, his purpose, his reasons and all his circumstances, is by the grace of God confident that he shall never be drunk again. The reason is plain: for if he thinks that for all his resolution and repentance the case may happen, or will return, in which he shall be tempted above his strength, that is, above the efficacy of his resolution then he hath not resolved against the sin in all its forms or instances: but he hath left some roots of bitterness which may spring up and defile him; he hath left some weak places, some parts unfortified and does secretly purpose to give up his fort, if he be assaulted by some sort of enemies. He is not resolved to resist the importunity of a friend or a prevailing person, a prince, his landlord, or his master; that for the present he thinks impossible and therefore owes his spiritual life to chance, or to the mercies of his enemy, who may have it for asking: but if he thinks it possible to resist any temptation, and resolves to do it if it be possible the natural consequent of that is, that he thinks he shall never fall again into it. But if beforehand he thinks he shall relapse, he is then but an imperfect resolver, but a half-faced penitent. But this is not so in the case of smaller sins coming by ignorance or surprise, by inadvertency and imperfect notices, by the unavoidable weakness and imperfect condition of mankind. For he who in these resolves the strongest, knows that he shall not be innocent, but that he shall feel his weakness in the same or in other instances; and that this shall be his condition as long as he lives, that he shall always need to pray, "Forgive me my trespasses:" and even his not knowing concerning all actions, and all words, and all thoughts, whether they be sins or no, is a certain betraying him into a necessity of doing something for the pardon of which Christ died, for the preventing of which a mighty care is necessary, in the suffering of which he ought to be humbled, and for the pardon of which he ought for ever to pray. And therefore St. Chrysostom upon those words of St. Paul; "I am conscious in nothing," that is, I do not know of any failing in my ministry; saith, καὶ τί δήποτε; "what then;" he is not hereby justified, ὅτι συνέβαινεν ἡμαρτῆσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ τινὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι ταῦτα ἁμαρτήματα, "because some sins might adhere to him, he not knowing that they were sins."—"Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine," was an excellent prayer of David; "Cleanse me, O Lord, from my secret faults." "Hoc dicit, nequid fortè per ignorantiam deliquisset," saith St. Jerome; "he prayed so, lest peradventure he should have sinned ignorantly."—But of this I shall give a further account in describing the measures of "sins of infirmity." For the present, although this resolution against all, is ineffective as to a perfect immunity from small offences, yet it is accepted as really done, because it is done as it can possibly.

60. V. Let no man rely upon the catalogues

[p] Chap. of Sins of Infirmity.

[q] De Symb. ad Catech. lib. 1. c. 6. et lib. 50. Homil. 28.

which are sometimes given, and think that such things which the doctors have called venial sins, may with more facility be admitted, and with smaller portions of care be regarded, or with a slighter repentance washed off. For besides that some have called perjuries, anger, envy, injurious words, by lighter names and titles of a little reproof, and, having lived in wicked times, were betrayed into easier sentences of those sins which they saw all mankind almost to practise, which was the case of some of the doctors who lived in the time of those wars which broke the Roman empire; besides this, I say, venial sins can rather be described,[r] than enumerated. For none are so in their nature, but all that are so, are so by accident; and, according as sins tend to excuse, so they put on their degrees of veniality. No sin is absolutely venial, but in comparison with others: neither is any sin at all times and to all persons alike venial. And therefore, let no man venture upon it upon any mistaken confidence: they that think sins are venial in their own nature, cannot agree which are venial and which are not; and therefore, nothing is in this case so certain, as that all that doctrine which does in any sense represent sins as harmless or tame serpents, is infinitely dangerous; and there is no safety, but by striving against all beforehand, and repenting of all as there is need.

61. I sum up these questions and these advices with the saying of Josephus: Τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις παρανομεῖν ἰσοδύναμόν ἐστι. "It is as damnable to indulge leave to ourselves to sin little sins as great ones;"[s] a man may be choked with a raisin, as well as with great morsels of flesh; and a small leak in a ship, if it be neglected, will as certainly sink her as if she sprung a plank. Death is the wages of all; and damnation is the portion of the impenitent, whatever was the instance of their sin. Though there are degrees of punishment, yet there is no difference of state as to this particular: and therefore we are tied to repent of all, and to dash the little Babylonians against the stones, against the rock that was smitten for us. For by the blood of Jesus, and the tears of repentance, and the watchfulness of a diligent, careful person, many of them shall be prevented, and all shall be pardoned.

A Psalm to be frequently used in our Repentance for our daily Sins.

Bow down thine ear, O Lord, hear me, for I am poor and needy: rejoice the soul of thy servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.

For thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee: teach me thy way, O Lord, I will walk in thy truth; unite my heart to fear thy name.

Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Behold, he put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly.

How much less on them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth! Doth not their excellency which is in them, go away? They die even without wisdom.

The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. Moreover, by them is thy servant warned; and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from my secret faults: keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me; then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.

O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn my glory into shame? How long will ye love vanity and seek after leasing? But know that the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself: the Lord will hear when I call unto him.

Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice: O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint.

If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with thee, therefore shalt thou be feared.

Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips: take from me the way of lying; and cause thou me to make much of thy law.

The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, and of great goodness; he will not always be chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever.

Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. For he knoweth whereof we are made: he remembereth that we are but dust.

Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits: which forgiveth all thy sin, and healeth all thine infirmities.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

The Prayer.

I.

O eternal God, whose perfections are infinite, whose mercies are glorious, whose justice is severe, whose eyes are pure, whose judgments are wise; be pleased to look upon the infirmities of thy servant, and consider my weakness. My spirit is willing, but my flesh is weak; I desire to please thee, but in my endeavours I fail so often, so foolishly, so unreasonably, that I extremely displease myself, and I have too great reason to fear, that thou also art displeased with thy servant. O my God, I know my duty, I resolve to do it: I know my dangers, I stand upon my guard against them; but when they come near, I begin to be pleased, and delighted in the little images of death, and am seized upon by folly, even when with greatest severity I decree against it. Blessed Jesus, pity me, and have mercy upon my infirmities.

II.

O dear God, I humbly beg to be relieved by a mighty grace, for I bear a body of sin and death

[r] See chap. 7. of Sins of Infirmity.

[s] Εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους.

about me; sin creeps upon me in every thing that I do or suffer. When I do well, I am apt to be proud; when I do amiss, I am sometimes too confident, sometimes affrighted: if I see others do amiss, I either neglect them, or grow too angry; and in the very mortification of my anger, I grow angry and peevish. My duties are imperfect, my repentances little, my passions great, my fancy trifling: the sins of my tongue are infinite, and my omissions are infinite, and my evil thoughts cannot be numbered, and I cannot give an account concerning innumerable portions of my time which were once in my power, but were let slip, and were partly spent in sin, partly thrown away upon trifles and vanity: and even of the basest sins, of which in accounts of men I am most innocent, I am guilty before thee, entertaining those sins in little instances, thoughts, desires, and imaginations, which I durst not produce into action and open significations. Blessed Jesus, pity me and have mercy upon my infirmities.

III.

Teach me, O Lord, to walk before thee in righteousness, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. Give me an obedient will, a loving spirit, an humble understanding, watchfulness over my thoughts, deliberation in all my words and actions, well-tempered passions, and a great prudence, and a great zeal, and a great charity, that I may do my duty wisely, diligently, holily: O let me be humbled in my infirmities, but let me be also safe from my enemies; let me never fall by their violence, nor by my own weakness; let me never be overcome by them nor yet give myself up to folly and weak principles to idleness, and secure, careless walking; but give me the strengths of thy Spirit, that I may grow strong upon the ruins of the flesh, growing from grace to grace, till I become a perfect man in Christ Jesus. O let thy strength be seen in my weakness; and let thy mercy triumph over my infirmities pitying the condition of my nature, the infancy of grace, the imperfection of my knowledge, the transportations of my passion. Let me never consent to sin, but for ever strive against it, and every day prevail, till it be quite dead in me; that thy servant living the life of grace, may at last be admitted to that state of glory, where all my infirmities shall be done away, and all tears be dried up, and sin and death shall be no more. Grant this, O most gracious God and Father, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen

Our Father, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

OF ACTUAL, SINGLE SINS, AND WHAT REPENTANCE IS PROPER TO THEM.

SECTION I.

I. THE first part of conversion or repentance, is a quitting of all sinful habits, and abstaining from all criminal actions whatsoever.

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitiâ caruisse——— HOR.

For unless the Spirit of God rule in our hearts, we are none of Christ's: but he rules not where the works of the flesh are frequently, or maliciously, or voluntarily entertained. All the works of the flesh, and whatsoever leads to them, all that is contrary to the Spirit, and does either grieve or extinguish him, must be rescinded, and utterly taken away. Concerning which, it is necessary that I set down the [a] catalogues, which by Christ and his apostles are left us as lights and watch-towers, to point out the rocks and quicksands where our danger is: and this I shall the rather do, not only because they comprehend many evils which are not observed or feared; some which are commended, and many that are excused; but also because, although they are all marked with the same black character of death, yet there is some difference in the execution of the sentence, and in the degrees of their condemnation, and of the consequent repentance.

Evil Thoughts; or Discoursings.

2. Διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοὶ, "evil reasonings." Διαλογισμοὶ ἀδολεσχίαι, says Hesychius, that is, "prating;" importune prattling and looseness of tongue, such as is usual with bold boys and young men; prating much and to no purpose. But our Bibles read it "evil thoughts," "or surmisings;" for in Scripture it is συνεχὴς μελέτη· so Suidas observes concerning ἀδολεσχία, and ἀδολεσχήσω, that is, διηνεκῶς μελετήσω, "to think long and carefully, to dwell in meditation upon a thing:" to which when our blessed Saviour adds κακοὶ, "evil," he notes and reproves such kind of morose thinkings and fancying of evil things: and it is not unlikely that he means thoughts of uncleanness, or lustful fancies. For διαλέγεσθαι τὸ συνουσιάζειν, saith Suidas: ἐπὶ τὸ συνουσιάζειν, says Hesychius; it signifies such words as are prologues to wantonness: so διαλέγοιντο γύναιξιν in Aristophanes.

> Τὴν μέν γε πρώτην διαλέγουσαν τὴν ὀπὴν
> Κατέλαβον, ἡ τοῦ Πάνδς ἐστὶ τ' αὔλιον. LYSISTRAT.

[a] Matt. xv. 19. Mark vii. 21. Gal. v. 16, 19–21. Eph. iv. 31, &c. v. 3 5. 2 Tim. iii. 2–5. Rom. i. 29–32. 1 Cor. vi. 9. Rev. xxi. 8. 1 Pet. iv. 3. 15.

So that here are forbidden all wanton words, and all morose delighting in venereous thoughts, all rollings and tossing such things in our mind. For even these defile the soul, "Verborum obscœnitas, si turpitudo rerum adhibeatur, ludus ne libero quidem homine dignus est," said Cicero: "Obscene words are a mockery not worthy of an ingenuous person." —This is that μωρολογία, or εὐτραπελία, that "foolish talking and jesting," which St. Paul[b] joins to αἰσχρότης, that "filthiness of communication," which men make a jest of, but is indeed the basest in the world; the sign of a vile, dishonest mind: and it particularly noted the talk of mimics and parasites, buffoons and players, whose trade was to make sport, γελωτοποιοὶ, and they did use to do it with nastiness and filthy talkings; as is to be seen in Aristophanes, and is rarely described and severely reproved in St. Chrysostom in his sixth homily upon St. Matthew. For "per verba dediscitur rerum pudor;" which St. Paul also affirms in the words of Menander, Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαὶ, "Evil words corrupt good manners;" and evil thoughts, being the fountain of evil words, lie under the same prohibition. Under this head is the ὁ προπετὴς, ὁ πρόγλωσσος, a "talkative, rash person," "ready to speak, slow to hear;" against St. James's rule.

Inventors of Evil Things.

3. Contrivers of all such artifices as minister to vice. Curious inventions for cruelty, for gluttony, for lust; witty methods of drinking, wanton pictures, and the like; which for the likeness of the matter I have subjoined next to the κακοὶ διαλογισμοὶ, the "evil thinkings" or "surmises" reproved by our blessed Saviour, as these are expressly by St. Paul.

Πλεονεξίαι, *Covetousness; or,*

4. Inordinate, unreasonable desires. For the word does not only signify the designing and contrivances of unjust ways of purchasing, which is not often separated from covetous desires: but the very "studium habendi," the thirst, or greediness, secret and impatient desires of having abundance: πλεονεξία, ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πλείονος βλάβη, "the hurt of immoderate lusting or desire;" and is sometimes applied to the matter of uncleanness; but in this catalogue I wholly separate it from this, because this is comprised under other words. Neither will it be hard to discern and to reprove this sin of desires in them that are guilty of it, though they will not think or confess what is and what is not abundance. For there is not easily to be found a greater testimony of covetousness, than the error concerning the measure of our possessions. He that is not easy to call that abundance, which by good and severe men is thought so, desires more than he should. Τὸ περισσεύειν τι τῇ ζωῇ, when any thing is "over and above the needs of our life," that is too much; and to desire that, is covetousness, saith St. Luke. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ φυλάσσετε ἀπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας, "Take heed and keep yourselves from covetousness; for our life consisteth not in abundance;" intimating, that to desire more than our life needs, is to desire abundance, and that is covetousness; and that is the root of all evil: that is, all sins and all mischiefs can come from hence.

Divitis hoc vitium est auri, nec bella fuere,
Faginus adstabat quum scyphus ante dapes. Tibull.

There were no wars in those days when men did drink in a treen cup.

Πονηρίαι, *Wickedness.*

5. This is the same that the Latins call "malitia;" a scurvy, base disposition; aptness to do shrewd turns, to delight in mischiefs and tragedies; a loving to trouble our neighbour, and to do him ill offices; crossness, perverseness and peevishness of action in our intercourse. Πονηρία, ὁ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἰς τίνα παρὰ τοῦ πόνος γινόμενος, saith Suidas. "Facessere negotium alicui;" to do a man an evil office, or "to put him to trouble." And to this is reducible that which St. Paul calls κακοήθειαν, "malignity;" a baseness of nature by which we take things by the wrong handle, and expounding things always in the worst sense. "Vitiositas" is the Latin word for it, and it seems to be worse than the former, by being a more general principle of mischief. "Malitia certi cujusdam vitii est: vitiositas, omnium," said Cicero:[c] "This is, in a man's nature, a universal depravation of his spirit; that is in manners, and is sooner cured than this."

Κακία, *Craftiness.*

6. That is, a willingness and aptness to deceive; a studying by some underhand trick to overreach our brother: like that of Corax's scholar, he cozened his master with a trick of his own art; Κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾠόν, "A crafty crow laid a crafty egg." By which is not signified that natural or acquired sagacity, by which men can contrive wittily, or be too hard for their brother, if they should endeavour it; but a studying how to circumvent him, and an habitual design of getting advantage upon his weakness; a watching him where he is most easy and apt for impression, and then striking him upon the unarmed part. But this is brought to effect, by

Deceit.

7. "Cùm aliud simulatur, aliud agitur, alterius decipiendi causâ," said Ulpian and Aquilius; that is, "all dissembling to the prejudice of thy neighbour," ἡ ἐπὶ λυμῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλή τε καὶ μηχανή· any thing designed to thy neighbour's disadvantage by simulation or dissimulation.

Uncleanness. Ἀσέλγεια.

8. "Stinking:" so the Syriac interpreter renders it; and it means "obscene actions." But it signifies all manner of excess or immoderation; and so may signify πολυτέλειαν, "prodigal or lavish expenses," and immoderate use of permitted pleasures, even the excess of liberty in the use of the marriage-bed. For the ancients use the word not only for

[b] Εὐτραπελία, καταχρηστικῶς, pro μωρολογία. Eph. v. 4.

[c] Tuscul. 4.

"unchaste," but for "great," and "excessive." Πίονές εἰσιν ἀσελγῶς, "They are exceeding fat:" —and a goat with great horns is called ἀσελγοκέρως. It is "luxuria" or the excess of desire in the matter of pleasures. Every excess is ἀσέλγεια, it is "intemperance:" ἀκαθαρσία signifies a special kind of crime under this. It means all voluntary pollutions of the body, or

Wantonness.

9. That is, all tempting foolish gestures; such which Juvenal reproves,

Chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo.

which being presented in the theatre would make the vestal wanton. Every thing by which a man or woman is κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ, "abominable in their lusts;" to which the τὰ ἄῤῥητα, "the lusts not to be named," are reducible: amongst which St. Paul reckons the "effeminate, and abusers of themselves with mankind;" that is, they that do, and they that suffer such things. Philoctetes and Paris; Cæsar and the king of Pontus. "Mollities" or "softness" is the name by which this vice is known, and the persons guilty of it, are also called the ἐξελυγμένοι, "the abominable."[d]

Hatred.

10. Ἔχθραὶ καὶ θυμοὶ; great, but transient angers. The cause, and the degree, and the abode, make the anger criminal. By these two words are forbidden all violent passion, fury, revengefulness. Ἐχθρὸς ὁ ἐκδικήτης, "The enemy and the avenger," says David. But not this only, but the misliking and hating of a man, though without actual designs of hurting him, is here noted; that is, when men retain the displeasure, and refuse to converse, or have any thing to do with the man, though there be from him no danger of damage, the former experiment being warning enough. The forbearing to salute him, to be kind or civil to him, and every degree of anger that is kept, is an ἐχθρὰ, a part of "enmity" or "hatred." To this are reduced the unmerciful; that is, such as use their right in extreme severity towards servants and malefactors, criminal or obnoxious persons;—and the implacable, that is a degree beyond; such who being once offended, will take no satisfaction, but the utmost and extremest forfeiture.

Debate, Contentions.

11. That is, all striving in words or actions, scolding and quarrels, in which as commonly both parties are faulty when they enter, so it is certain they cannot go forth from them without having contracted the guilt of more than one sin: whither is reduced clamour, or loud expressions of anger: "Clamour is the horse of anger," said Chrysostom, "anger rides upon it; throw the horse down, and the rider will fall to the ground." Blasphemy;—"backbiting"[e] we read it; but the Greek signifies all words that are injurious to God or man.

Whisperers.

12. That is, such who are apt to do shrewd turn in private; a speaking evil of our neighbour in a man's ear; "Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est Ærugo mera;"[f] this is an arrow that flieth in the dark; it wounds secretly, and no man can be warned of it. Καταλάλους, "backbiters;" it is the same mischief, but it speaks out a little more than the other; and it denotes such who pretend friendship and society, but yet traduce their friend, or accuse him secretly; καινὸς τροπὸς διαβολῆς τὸ μὴ ψέγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦντας λυμαίνεσθαι, as Polybius calls it; "a new way of accusation, to undermine a man by praising him," that you seeming his friend, a lover of his virtue and his person, by praising him may be the more easily believed in reporting his faults: like him in Horace, who was glad to hear any good of his old friend Capitolinus, whom he knew so well, who had so kindly obliged him,

Sed tamen admiror quo pacto judicium illud
Fugerit:

"but yet I wonder that he escaped the judge's sentence in his criminal cause." There is a louder kind of this evil, ὑβριστὰς, "railers;" that is, when the smoke is turned into a flame, and breaks out; it is the same iniquity with another circumstance; it is the vice of women and boys, and rich imperious fools, and hard rude masters to their servants, and it does too often infect the spirit and language of a governor. Our Bibles read this word by "despiteful;" that notes an aptness to speak spiteful words, cross and untoward, such which we know will do mischief or displease.

Foolishness.

13. Which we understand by the words of St. Paul; "Be not foolish, but understanding what the will of the Lord is:"[g] it means, a neglect of inquiring into holy things; a wilful or careless ignorance of the best things, a not studying our religion, which indeed is the greatest folly and sottishness, it being a neglecting of our greatest interests, and of the most excellent notices, and it is the fountain of many impure emanations. A christian must not be ἀσύνετος, he must not call "fool," nor be "a fool."—"Heady" is reduced to this, and signifies, rash and indiscreet in assenting and dissenting; people that speak and do foolishly, because they speak and do without deliberation.

Pride.

14. Καταφρόνησίς τις πλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων· "a despising of others, if compared with ourselves:" so Theophrastus[k] calls it. Concerning which we are to judge ourselves by the voices of others, and by the consequent actions observable in ourselves: any thing whereby we overvalue ourselves, or despise others; preferring ourselves, or depressing them in unequal places or usages, is the signification of this vice; which no man does heartily think himself guilty of, but he that is not; that is, the

[d] John xxi. 8. [e] Eph. iv. 31. [f] Hor. [g] Eph. v. 17. Prov. xxiv 9.

humble man. A particular of this sin is that which is in particular noted by the apostle, under the name of ἀλαζονεια, "arrogance," or "bragging;" which includes pride and hypocrisy together: for so Plato defines it to be, ἕξις προσποιητικὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων, "a pretending to excellencies which we have not;" a desiring to seem good, but a carelessness of being so; reputation and fame, not goodness, being the design. To this may be referred "emulations;" ζῆλοι, so the apostle calls them; "zeals," it signifies immoderate love to a lawful object: like that of the wife of Ajax in Sophocles:

——ἴδετε τὴν ὀμευνέτιν
Αἴαντος, ὃς μέγιστον ἴσχυσε στρατοῦ,
Οἵας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει!

She did him most strange, zealous services, as if her affection had no measure. It signifies also violent desires of equalling or excelling another for honour's sake, ambition and envy mixed together: it is a violent pursuit after a thing that deserves it not. A consequent of these is,

Διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις. Seditions, or Schisms and Heresies.

15. That is, divisions in the church upon diversity of opinions, or upon pride, faction, and interest, as in choosing bishops, in prelations and governments ecclesiastical, from factious rulers, or factious subjects; which are properly "schisms," "but use commonly to belch forth into heresy:" according to that saying, "Plerumque schisma in hæresin eructat."

An Evil Eye.

16. That is, a repining at the good of others; "envy," a not rejoicing in the prosperity of our neighbour; a grieving because he grieves not. "Aut illi nescio quid incommodi accidit, aut nescio cui aliquid boni:" When good happens to another, it is as bad as if evil happened to himself.

Ὦ τῆς μεγίστης τοῦ φθόνου πονηρίας·
Τὸν εὐτυχῆ μισεῖ τις, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ. Stob.

"This is one of the worst crimes, for a man to hate him that is prosperous; hate him whom God loves or blesses."—It bears part of its punishment along with it: the sin hath in it no pleasure, but very much torment.

"Nam sese excruciat qui beatis invidet."

A part of this is unthankfulness;[h] those who do not return kindnesses to others from whom they have received any, neither are apt to acknowledge them: which is properly an envying to our friend the noblest of all graces, that of charity; or it is pride or covetousness, for from any of these roots this equivocal issue can proceed.

Lovers of Pleasures.

17. Such who study and spend their time and money to please their senses;

——rarum, et memorabile magni
Gutturis exemplum, conducendusque magister: Juv.

Rare epicures and gluttons, such which were famous in the Roman luxury, and fit to be presidents of a Greek symposiac, not for their skill in philosophy, but their witty arts of drinking.

Ingeniosa gula est. Siculo scarus æquore mersus
Ad mensam vivus perducitur—— Petron.

"Sensual men:"—Such who are dull, and unaffected with the things of God, and transported with the lusts of the lower belly; persons that are greedy of baser pleasures.[i] Ὁ ἄδικος αὐτῷ πλέον τῶν ἡδέων νέμει, said the scholiast upon Aristotle: "The wicked man allows to himself too large a portion of sweet things." Lickerishness is the common word to express this vice in the matter of eating and drinking.

Busy-bodies.

18. That is, such who invade the offices, or impertinently obtrude their advice and help, when there is no need, and when it is not liked, nor out of charity, but of curiosity, or of a trifling spirit: and this produces "talking of others," and makes their conversation a scene of censure and satire against others; never speaking of their own duty, but often to the reproach of their neighbours, something that may lessen or disparage him.

The Fearful, and the Unbelievers.

19. That is, they that fear man more than God, that will do any thing, but suffer nothing, that fall away in persecution; such who dare not trust the promises, but fear want, and fear death, and trust not God with cheerfulness, and joy, and confidence.

Συνευδοκοῦντες τοῖς πράσσουσι. They that take pleasure in those that do these things.

20. That is, they who in any sense encourage, or promote, or love the sin of another, are guilty themselves; not of the other's sin, but of their own. He that commands a man to swear, is not guilty of that swearing, but of that commanding him. It is a sin to do so; but that sin to which the man is encouraged, or tempted, or assisted, in his own sin, and for it he is to repent; every man for his own. For it is inartificially said by the masters of moral theology, that by many ways we are guilty of the sins of others: by many ways indeed we can procure them to sin; and every such action of ours is a sin, against charity and the matter of that commandment in which the temptation was instanced: but their sin is not ours; their sin does not properly load us, neither does our being author of it excuse them. It was the case of Adam, and Eve, and the serpent, who yet did every one bear their own burden. Aristotle, Zeno, and Chrysippus, were notorious in this kind. "Non est enim immunis à scelere, qui ut fieret imperavit, nec est alienus à crimine, cujus consensu licèt à se non admissum crimen, tamen publicè legitur," said St. Cyprian.[k] He that commands, and he that consents, and he that delights, and he that commends, and he that maintains, and he that counsels, and he that tempts, or conceals, or is silent in another's

[h] 2 Tim. iii. 2.

[i] Alex. Aphrod. in lib. de Anim.

[k] Epist 21

danger, when his speaking will prevent it, is guilty before God. "Corrumpere, et corrumpi sæculum vocatur." This evil is of a great extent, but receives its degrees according to the influence or causality it hath in the sins of others. 21. These I have noted and explicated, because they are not so notorious as others, which have a public name, and filthy character, and easy definition; such as, adulteries, fornication, drunkenness, idolatry, hating of God and good men, perjury, malicious lies, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, as St. Paul adds, "and such like,"[l] these and those and all that are like these, exclude us from the kingdom of heaven. They are "the works of the flesh;" but these which are last reckoned are such which all the world condemns, and they are easily discerned, as smoke or a cloud upon the face of the sun; but the other are sometimes esteemed innocent, often excused, commonly neglected, always undervalued. But concerning all these, the sentence is sad and decretory. "They that are such, shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven:"[m] but "they shall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone."[n] Now if we list to observe it, many of these are such which occur so frequently in our daily conversation, are so little noted and so confidently practised, that to try men concerning their hopes of heaven by such measures, would seem strange and hard: but it is our faults that it is so; these are the measures of the sanctuary, and not to be prejudged by later and looser customs.

SECTION II.

Whether every single Act of these Sins puts a Man out of God's Favour.

22. IN this question, by a single act, I mean, a deliberate act, a wilful, observed, known act; for concerning acts by surprise, by incogitancy, by imperfection, I shall give a special account in a chapter on purpose. To this therefore I answer by several propositions.

23. I. There are some acts of sin so vile, and mischievous, that they cannot be acted but by a great malice or depravation of the will; and do suppose a man to be gone a great way from God before he can presumptuously or wilfully commit any of them; such as are idolatry, wilful murder, adultery, witchcraft, perjury, sacrilege, and the like: such which by reason of their evil effect are called "peccata clamantia ad Dominum," "crying sins;" as, oppressing widows,—entering into the fields of the fatherless,—killing a man by false accusation,—grinding the face of the poor,—some sort of unnatural lusts; or such which by reason of their scandal, and severe prohibitions of them, and their proper baseness and unholiness, are "peccata vastantia conscientiam," "they lay a man's conscience waste;" such are all these that I have now reckoned. Now concerning every one of these there is amongst wise and good men no question, but every act of them is exclusive of a man from all his hopes of heaven, unless he repent timely and effectually. For every act of these is such as a man cannot be surprised in the commission of it; he can have no ignorance, no necessity, no infirmity, to lessen or excuse his fault which, because it is very mischievous in the event expressly, and severely, and by name forbidden, also against holiness, and against charity, against God, and against the commandment, so apparently that there is nothing to lessen them into the neighbourhood of an excuse, if he that commits them have a clear use of reason. Some acts of other sins are such, which as they are innocent of doing mischief to our neighbour, so they are forbidden only in general; but concerning the particular there is not any express certainty, as in drunkenness which though every christian knows to be forbidden yet concerning every particular act, it is not always so certain that it is drunkenness, because the acts partake of more and less; which is not true in murder, in adultery, apostasy, witchcraft, and the like besides which, in some of the forbidden instances there are some degrees of surprise, even when there are some degrees of presumption and deliberation which in others there cannot be. Upon which consideration it is apparent, that the single acts of these greater sins are equal to a habit in others and are for the present destructive of the state of God's favour, a man that does them is in the state of damnation till he hath repented; that is, no good man can do one of these acts, and be a good man still; he is a wicked person, and an enemy of God if he does.

24. II. This is apparent in those acts which can be done but once; as in parricide, or murdering our father or mother, and in the wilful murder of ourself. There can be no habit of these sins; all their malignity is spent in one act: and the event is best declared by one of them; the man dies in his sin, in that sin which excludes him from heaven. Every act of these sins is like the stinging of bees

——animamque in vulnere ponunt;

He cannot strike again, he can sin that sin over no more; and therefore it is a single act that damns in that case. Now though it is by accident that these sins can be but once acted, yet it is not by accident that these single acts destroy the soul, but by their malice and evil effect, their mischief or uncharitableness: it follows therefore, that it is so in all the single acts of these great crimes; for since they that cannot be habitual, yet are highly damnable; the evil sentence is upon every act of these greater crimes.

25. III. Concerning the single acts of other sins which are not so highly criminal, yet have a name in the catalogues of condemned sins, the sentence in Scripture is the same; the penalty extreme, the fine is the whole interest: St. Paul in his epistle[o] to the Corinthians seems only to condemn the habit, "Thieves, drunkards, covetous, railers, &c. shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."—Now one act does not make them properly such; a habit,

[l] Gal. v. 21. [m] 1 Cor. vi. 10. [n] Rev. xxi. 8. [o] 1 Cor vi. 10.

not an act, denominates. But lest this be expounded to be a permission to commit single acts, St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians,[p] affixes the same penalty to the actions as to the habits; τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, "they that do such things;" that is, the actions of those sins are damnable, and exclusive from heaven as verily as the habits. And however in moral accounts, or in Aristotle's Ethics, a man is not called by the name of a single action, yet in all laws both of God and man he is. He that steals once is a thief, in the courts of God and the king; and one act of adultery makes a man an adulterer; so that by this measure, they that "are such," and they that "do such" things, mean the same; and the effect of both is exclusion from the kingdom of heaven.

26. IV. Single actions in Scripture are called, "works of darkness," "deeds of the body," "works of the flesh;"[q] and though they do not reign, yet if they enter, they disturb the rest and possession of the Spirit of grace: and therefore are in their several measures against the holiness of the gospel of Christ. All sins are single in their acting; and a sinful habit differs from a sinful act, but as many differ from one, or as a year from an hour; a vicious habit is but one sin continued or repeated; for as a sin grows from little to great, so it passes from act to habit; a sin is greater, because it is complicated externally or internally, no other way in the world; it is made up of more kinds, or more degrees of choice; and when two or three crimes are mixed in one action, then the sin is loud and clamorous; and if these still grow more numerous, and not interrupted and disjoined by a speedy repentance, then it becomes a habit. As the continuation of an instant or its perpetual flux makes time and proper succession, so does the reacting or the continuing in any one or more sins make an habitual sinner. So that in this question, the answer for one will serve for the other; wherever the habit is forbidden, there also the act is criminal and against God, damnable by the laws of God, and actually damning without repentance. Between sins great and little, actual and habitual, there is no difference of nature or formality, but only of degrees.

27. V. And therefore the words that represent the state of sin, are used indifferently both for acts and habits. Ποιεῖν signifies to do single acts, and by aggravation only can signify an habitual sinner: Ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, "He that commits sin is of the devil;" so St. John:[r] by which although he means especially him that commits sin frequently or habitually;—for where there is greater reason, there is the stronger affirmative;—yet that he must also mean it of single sins is evident, not only by the nature of the thing, some single acts in some instances being as mischievous and malicious as a habit in others; but by the words of our blessed Saviour, that the "devil is the father of lies;" and therefore every one that tells a lie, is of the devil; "catenus."—To which add also the words of St. John explicating his whole design in these and all his other words; "These things I write unto you, that ye might not sin," that is, that ye might not do sinful actions; for it cannot be supposed, that he did not as verily intend to prevent every sin, as any sin, or that he would only have men to beware of habitual sins, and not of actual, single sins, without which caution he could never have prevented the habitual. To do sin is to do one, or to do many; and are both forbidden under the same danger.

28. The same manner of expression in a differing matter hath a different signification. To do sin is to do any one act of it; but to do righteousness is to do it habitually. "He that doth sin," that is, one act of sin, "is of the devil;" but "he that doth righteousness," viz. habitually, "he only is righteous."—The reason of the difference is this, because one sin can destroy a man, but one act of virtue cannot make him alive. As a phial is broken, though but a piece of its lip be cut away: but it is not whole, unless it be entire and unbroken in every part. "Bonum ex integrâ causâ, malum ex quâlibet particulari."[s] And therefore since "he that does righteousness," in St. John's phrase, "is righteous:" and yet no man is righteous for doing one act of righteousness; it follows, that by doing righteousness he must mean doing it habitually. But because one blow can kill a man, or wound him desperately; therefore when St. John speaks of "doing sin," he means doing any sin, any way, or in any degree of act or habit. For this is that we are commanded by the Spirit of Christ; we must περιπατεῖν ἀκριβῶς, "walk exactly, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any thing of that nature, ἅγιοι καὶ ἄμωμοι, holy and unblamable;"[t] so must the church be; that is, so must be all the faithful, or the men and women of the christian church; for the church is nothing but a congregation or collective body of believing persons; Christ therefore intending to represent the church to God "without spot, or wrinkle, or fault;" intends that all his servants should be so. For, let no man deceive himself. "Omnis homo, qui post baptismum mortalia crimina commiserit; hoc est, homicidium, adulterium, furtum, falsum testimonium, vel reliqua crimina perpetravit, unde per legem mundanum mori poterat, si pœnitentiam non egerit, eleemosynam justam non fecerit, nunquam habebit vitam æternam, sed cum diabolo descendet ad inferna:" "Every man who, after his baptism, hath committed mortal or killing sins, that is to say, murder, adultery, theft, false witness, or any other crimes which are capital by human laws, if he does not repent, if he does not give just measures of alms, he shall not have eternal life, but with the devil he shall descend into hell."[u] This is the sad sentence against all single acts of sin in the capital or greater instances.

28. But upon this account who can be justified? Who can hope for heaven, since even the most righteous man that is, sinneth; and by single acts of unworthiness interrupts his course of piety, and pollutes his spirit? If a single act of these great

[p] Gal. v. 21.
[q] Ephes. v. 11. Rom. viii. 13.
[r] 1 John iii. 8.
[s] Dionys. de Divin. Nomin.
[t] Eph. v. 15, 17.
[u] Cæsar. Arelat. hom. 16.

or mortal sins can stand with the state of grace, then not acts of these but habits are forbidden, and these only shut a man from heaven. But if one single act destroys the state of grace, and puts a man out of God's favour, then no man abides in it long: and what shall be at the end of these things?

29. To this I answer, that single acts are continually forbidden, and in every period of their commission displease God, and provoke him to anger. To abide in any one sin, or to do it often, or to love it, is against the covenant of the gospel, and the essence and nature of repentance, which is a conversion from sin to righteousness: but every single act is against the cautions and watchfulness of repentance. It is an act of death, but not a state; it is the way of death, but is not in the possession of it. It is true that every single act of fornication merits an eternal hell; yet when we name it to be a single act, we suppose it to be no more, that is, to be rescinded and immediately cut off by a vigorous and proportionable repentance: if it be not, it is more than a single act, for it is a habit, as I shall remonstrate in the chapter of habits. But then upon this account a single act of any sin may be incident to the state of a good man, and yet not destroy his interests or his hopes; but it is upon no other ground but this,—it is a single act, and it does not abide there, but passes immediately into repentance: and then though it did interrupt or discompose the state of grace or the Divine favour, yet it did not destroy it quite. The man may pray David's prayer: "I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: O seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments."[x]

30. So that if a man asks whether a good man, falling into one act of these great sins, still remains a good man; the answer is to be made upon this consideration;—he is a good man that is so sorry for his sin, and so hates it, that he will not abide in it: and this is the best indication, that in the act there was something very pitiable, because the man's affections abide not there: the good man was smitten in a weak part, or in an ill hour, and then repents: for such is our goodness; to need repentance daily for smaller things, and too often for greater things. But be they great or little, they must be speedily repented of; and he that does so, is a good man still. Not but that the single act is highly damnable, and exclusive of heaven, if itself were not excluded from his affections: but it does not the mischief, because he does not suffer it to proceed in finishing that death, which it would have effected, if the poison had not been speedily expelled, before it had seized upon a vital part.

31. But, secondly, I answer, that being in the state of grace is a phrase of the schools, and is of a large and almost infinite comprehension. Every christian is in some degree in the state of grace, so long as he is invited to repentance, and so long as he is capable of the prayers of the church. This we learn from those words of St. John,[y] "All unrighteousness is sin, and there is a sin not unto death;" that is, some sorts of sins are so incident to the condition of men, and their state of imperfection, that the man who hath committed them is still within the methods of pardon, and hath not forfeited his title to the promises and covenant of repentance: but there is a sin unto death; that is, some men proceed beyond the measures and economy of the gospel, and the usual methods and probabilities of repentance, by obstinacy, and persevering in sin, by a wilful, spiteful resisting, or despising the offers of grace and the means of pardon; for such a man St. John does not encourage us to pray: if he be such a person as St. John described, our prayers will do him no good; but because no man can tell the last minute or period of pardon, nor just when a man is gone beyond the limit; and because the limit itself can be enlarged, and God's mercies stay for some longer than for others, therefore St. John left us under this indefinite restraint and caution; which was decretory enough to represent that sad state of things, in which the refractory and impenitent have immerged themselves, and yet so indefinite and cautious, that we may not be too forward in applying it to particulars, nor in prescribing measures to the Divine mercy, nor passing final sentences upon our brother, before we have heard our Judge himself speak. "Sinning a sin not unto death," is an expression fully signifying, that there are some sins, which though they be committed and displeased God, and must be repented of, and need many and mighty prayers for their pardon,—yet the man is in the state of grace and pardon, that is, he is within the covenant of mercy; he may be admitted to repentance, if he will return to his duty: so that being in the state of grace, is having a title to God's loving-kindness, a not being rejected of God, but a being beloved by him to certain purposes of mercy, and that hath these measures and degrees.

32. I. A wicked christian that lives vilely, and yet is called to repentance by the vigorous and fervent sermons of the gospel, is in a state of grace,—of this grace. God would fain save him, willing he is and desirous he should live; but his mercy to him goes but thus far, that he still continues the means of his salvation; he is angry with him, but not finally. The Jews were in some portions of this state until the final day came, in which God would not be merciful any more: "Even in this thy day, O Jerusalem," said our blessed Saviour; so long as their day lasted, their state of grace lasted; God had mercy for them, if they had had gracious hearts to receive it.

33. II. But he that begins to leave his sins, and is in a continual contestation against them, and yet falls often, even most commonly, at the return of the temptation, and sin does in some measure prevail; he is in the state of a further grace, nearer to pardon as he is nearer to holiness; his hopes are greater and nearer to performance; "He is not far from the kingdom of heaven," so our blessed Lord expressed the like condition; he is τεταγμένος εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, "ordered, disposed towards life eternal:" and this is a further approach towards the state of life.

[x] Psal. cxix. ult.

[y] 1 John v. 17.

34. III. He that loves no sin, but hath overcome affections to all, and hates all, but yet with so imperfect a choice or aversation, that his faith is weak, and his repentance like an infant; this man is in a better state than both the former: "God will not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed;" God hath in some measure prevailed upon him: and as God is ready to receive the first unto the means, and the second unto the grace of repentance; so this third he is ready to receive unto pardon, if he shall grow and persevere in grace. And these are the several stages and periods of being in the state of grace.

I. With the first of these not only an act, but a habit of sin is consistent; but how long and how far, God only knows.

II. With the second period a frequency of falling into single sins is consistent: but if he comes not out of this state, and proceed to the third period, he will relapse to the first: he must not stay here long.

III. But they that are in the third period, do sometimes fall into single sins, but it is but seldom, and it is without any remanent portion of affection, but not without much displeasure and a speedy repentance; and to this person, the proper remedy is to grow in grace; for if he does not, he cannot either be secure of the present or confident of the future.

35. IV. But then if, by being in the state of grace, is meant, a being actually pardoned and beloved of God unto salvation,—so that if the man dies so, he shall be saved,—it is certain that every deliberate sin, every act of sin that is considered and chosen, puts a man out of the state of grace; that is, the act of sin is still upon his account, he is not actually pardoned in that for any other worthiness of state, or relation of person; he must come to new accounts for that; and if he dies without a moral retractation of it, he is in a sad condition, if God should deal with him "summo jure," that is, "be extreme to mark that which was done amiss."—The single act is highly damnable; the "wages of it are death," it "defiles a man;" it excludes from heaven, "it grieves the Holy Spirit of grace," it is against his undertaking, and in its own proportion against all his hopes: if it be not pardoned, it will bear the man to hell; but then how it comes to be pardoned in good men, and by what measures of favour and proper dispensation, are next to be considered. Therefore,

36. V. Though, by the nature of the thing and the laws of the covenant, every single deliberate act of sin provokes God to anger, who therefore may punish it by the severest laws which he decreed against it;—yet by the economy of God and the Divine dispensation it is sometimes otherwise. For besides the eternal wrath of God, there are some that suffer his temporal; some suffer both; some but one. God uses to smite them whom he would make to be, or them who are, his sons,—if they do amiss. If a wicked man be smitten with a temporal judgment, and thence begins to fear God and to return, the anger will go no further; and therefore much rather shall such temporal judgments upon the good man, that was "overtaken in a fault," be the whole exaction. God smites them that sin these single sins, and though he could take all, yet will demand but a fine.

37. VI. But even this also God does not do, but in the case of scandal or danger to others: as it was in the particular of David, "Because thou hast made the enemies of God to blaspheme, the child that is born unto thee shall die:" or else, 2. When the good man is negligent of his danger, or dilatory in his repentance, and careless in his watch, then God awakens him with a judgment, sent with much mercy.

38. VII. But sometimes a temporal death happens to good men so overtaken; it happened so to Moses and Aaron for their fault at the waters of Massah and Meribah; to the prophet of Judah, that came to cry out against the altar in Bethel; to Uzzah, for touching the ark with unhallowed fingers, though he did it in zeal; to the Corinthians, who had not observed decent measures in receiving the holy sacrament; and thus it happened, say some of the ancient doctors, to Ananias and Sapphira; God took a fine of them also "salvo contenemento," "their main stake being secured."

——Culpam hanc miserorum morte piabant.

There is in these instances this difference: Moses and Aaron were not smitten in their sin, but for it, and (as is not doubted) after they had repented: but Uzzah, and the prophet, and Ananias and Sapphira, and the Corinthians, died not only *for* their sin, but *in* it too: and yet it is hoped God's anger went no further than that death, because in every such person who lives well, and yet is overtaken in a fault, there is much of infirmity and imperfection of choice, even when there are some degrees of wilfulness and a wicked heart. And though it be easy to suppose that such persons in the beginning of that judgment, and the approach of that death, did morally retract the sinful action by an act of repentance, and that upon that account they found the effect of the Divine mercies by the blood of the Lamb, who was slain from the beginning of the world; yet if it should happen that any of them die so suddenly, as not to have power to exercise one act of repentance, though the case be harder,—yet it is to be hoped that even the habitual repentance and hatred of sin, by which they pleased God in the greater portions of their life, will have some influence upon this also. But this case is but seldom, and God's mercies are very great and glorious; but because there is in this case no warrant, and this case may happen oftener than it does, even to any one that sins one wilful sin,—it is enough to all considering persons to make them fear: "but the fool sinneth, and is confident."

39. VIII. But if such overtaken persons do live, then God's dispensation is all mercy, even though he strikes the sinner, for he does it for good. For God is merciful, and knows our weaknesses, our natural and circumstant follies: he therefore recalls the sinning man, he strikes him sharply, or he corrects him gently, or he calls upon him hastily, as God please, or as the man needs. The man is

fallen from the favour or grace of God, but (I say) fallen only from one step of grace; and God is more ready to receive him, than the man is to return; and provided that he repent speedily, and neither add a new crime, nor neglect this, his state of grace was but allayed and disordered, not broken in pieces or destroyed.

40. IX. I find this thing rarely well discoursed of by some of the ancient doctors of the church. Tertullian's[z] words are excellent words to this purpose: "Licet perisse dicatur, erit et de perditionis genere retractare, quia et ovis non moriendo, sed errando,—et drachma non intereundo, sed latitando, pericrunt. Ita licet dici perisse quod salvum est:" "That may be said to be lost which is missing; and the sheep that went astray was also lost; and so was the groat, which yet was but laid aside, it was so lost that it was found again. And thus that may be said to have perished, which yet is safe."—"Perit igitur et fidelis, elapsus in spectaculum quadrigarii furoris et gladiatorii cruoris, et scenicæ fœditatis, Xysticæ vanitatis,—in lusus, in convivia sæcularis solennitatis,—in officium, in ministerium alienæ idolloatriæ aliquas artes adhibuit curiositatis,—in verbum ancipitis negotiationis impegit, ob tale quid extra gregem datus est: vel et ipse fortè irâ, tumore, æmulatione, quod denique sæpe fit, dedignatione castigationis abrupit,—debet requiri atque revocari:" "The christian is, in some sort, perished, who sins by beholding bloody or unchaste spectacles, who ministers to the sins of others; who offends by anger, emulation, rage, and swelling, too severe animadversions; this man must be sought for and called back; but this man is not quite lost.—"Quod potest recuperari, non perit, nisi foris perseveravit. Benè interpretaberis parabolam, viventem adhuc revocans peccatorem." "That which may be recovered, is but as it were lost, unless it remains abroad, and returns not to the place from whence it wandered."

41. To the same purpose St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose discourse of the parable of him, that fell among thieves and was wounded and half dead. Such are they, who, in times of persecution, fell away into dissimulation. "Nec putemus mortuos esse, sed magis semianimes jacere eos, quos persecutione funestâ sauciatos videmus; qui si in totum mortuï essent, nunquam de eisdem postmodùm et confessores et martyres fierent:"[a] "for if these were quite dead, you should not find of them to return to life, and to become martyrs and confessors for that faith," which through weakness they did seemingly abjure. These men therefore were but "wounded and half dead:" for they still keep the faith, they preserve their title to the covenant, and the promises of the gospel, and the grace of repentance. "Quam fidem qui habet, vitam habet," saith St. Ambrose;[b] "He that hath this faith hath life;" that is, he is not excluded from pardon; whom therefore peradventure the good Samaritan does not pass by, because he finds there is life in him, some principle by which he may live again.—Now as it was in the matter of faith, so it is of charity and the other graces. Every act of sin takes away something from the contrary grace: but if the root abides in the ground, the plant is still alive, and may bring forth fruit again. "But he only is dead, who hath thrown God off for ever, or entirely, with his very heart:" so St. Ambrose. To be "dead in trespasses and sins," which is the phrase of St. Paul,[c] is the same with that expression of St. John, of "sinning a sin unto death," that is, habitual, refractory, pertinacious, and incorrigible sinners, in whom there is scarce any hope or sign of life. These are they upon whom, as St. Paul's expression is,[d] "the wrath of God is come upon them to the uttermost;" εἰς τὸ τέλος, "unto death;" so was their sin, it was a sin unto death; so is their punishment.

The result of these considerations is this. He that commits one act of a wilful sin, hath provoked God to anger; which whether it will be final or no, we cannot know but by the event, by his forbearing us, and calling us, and accepting us to repentance. One act does not destroy the life of grace utterly, but wounds it more or less, according to the vileness and quantity, or abode in the sin.

SECTION III.

What Repentance is necessary for single Acts of Sin.

42. I. Upon consideration of the premises, it appears to be dangerous practically to inquire how far single acts of sin can stand with the state of grace, or the being of a good man. For they ought not to be at all, and if they be once, we must repent, and the sin must be pardoned, or we die: and when it can be asked how far any sin can be consistent with the state of God's favour, it cannot be meant that God indulges it to a good man with impunity, or that his grace and favour consist in this, that he may safely sin, once or twice, in what instance or in any instance he shall choose: but in this it does; a single act of sin does not so destroy the hopes of a good man, but that if he returns speedily, he shall be pardoned speedily; for this God will do for him, not by permitting him to sin again, but by taking his sin away, and healing his soul; but how soon, or how much, or how long, God will pardon or forbear, he hath no way told us. For in the several states and periods of the soul in order to virtue or vice respectively, there is no specifical difference but of degrees only, not of state. As the sins are more or longer, God is more angry, and the man farther off; but the man is not wholly altered from his state of grace, till he be arrived at the unpardonable condition. He is a good or an evil man, more or less, according as he sins or repents. For neither of the appellatives are absolute and irrespective; and though in philosophy we use to account them such by the prevailing ingredient, yet the measures of the spirit are otherwise. The whole affair is arbitrary, and

[z] Lib. de Pudicit. c. 7.
[a] De Lapsis ad Anton. 52.
[b] Lib. I. de Pœnit. c. 10.
[c] Eph. ii. 1.
[d] 1 Thess. ii. 16.

gradual, various by its own measures and the good pleasure of God, so that we cannot in these things, which are in perpetual flux, come to any certain measures. But although in judging of events we are uncertain, yet in the measures of repentance we can be better guided. Therefore first, in general,

43. II. St. Cyprian's rule is a prudent measure. "Quàm magna deliquimus, tam granditèr defleamus; ut pœnitentia crimine minor non sit:" "According to the greatness of the sin, so must be the greatness of the sorrow: and therefore we are, in our beginnings and progressions of repentance, to consider, 1. all the circumstances of aggravation; 2. the complication of the crime; 3. the scandal; and, 4. evil effect; and in proportion to every one of these, the sorrow is to be enlarged and continued. For if it be necessary to be afflicted because we have done evil; it is also necessary, that our affliction and grief be answerable to all the parts of evil: because a sin grows greater by being more in matter or choice, in the instances, or in the adhesion; and as two sins must be deplored more than one, so must two degrees, that is, the greater portions of malice and wilfulness be mourned for with a bigger sorrow than the less.

44. III. Every single act of sin must be cut off by a moral revocation, or a contrary act; by which I mean, an express hatred and detestation of it. For an act of sin being in its proportion an aversion or turning from God, and repentance being in its whole nature a conversion to him, that act must be destroyed as it can be. Now because that which is done, cannot naturally be made undone, it must morally; that is, it must be revoked by an act of nolition, and hatred of it, and a wishing it had never been done; for that is properly a conversion from that act of sin.

45. IV. But because, in some cases, a moral revocation may be like an ineffective resolution, therefore besides the inward nolition or hating of the sin, in all signal and remarked instances of sin, it is highly requisite that the sinning man do oppose an act of virtue to the act of sin in the same instance where it is capable; as, to an act of gluttony, let him oppose an act of abstinence; to an act of uncleanness, an act of purity and chastity; to anger and fierce contentions, let him oppose charity and silence; for to hate sin and not to love virtue, is a contradiction, and to pretend it is hypocrisy. But besides this, as the nolition or hatred of it does, if it be real, destroy the moral being of that act, so does the contrary act destroy its natural being, as far as it is capable. And however it be, yet it is, upon this account, necessary. For since one act of sin deliberately chosen was an ill beginning and inlet of a habit, it is necessary that there be as much done to obtain the habit of the contrary virtue, as was done towards the habit of vice; that to God as entire a restitution as can, may be made of his own right, and purchased inheritance.

46. V. Every act of sin is a displeasure to God and a provocation of an infinite Majesty, and therefore the repentance for it must also have other measures than by the natural and moral proportions. One act of sorrow is a moral revocation of one act of sin, and as much a natural deletion of it, as the thing is capable. But there is something more in it than thus, for a single act of sin deserves an eternal hell; and upon what account soever that be, it is fit that we do something of repentance in relation to the offence of an infinite God: and therefore let our repentance proceed towards infinite as much as it may: my meaning is, that we do not finally rest in a moral revocation of an act by an act, but that we beg for pardon all our days, even for that one sin. For besides that every sin is against an infinite God, and so ought to be washed off with a sorrow as near to infinite as we can; we are not certain in what periods of sorrow God will speak to us in the accents of mercy and voice of pardon: he always takes of them that repent less than he could in justice exact if he so pleased; but how much less he will take he hath no where told us, and therefore let us make our way as secure as we can; let us still go on in repentance, and in the progression we are sure to meet with God. But there is in it yet more. For however the act of sin be usually called and supposed to be a single act, yet if we consider how many fancies and temptations were preparatory to it, how many consentings to the sin, how many desires and acts of prosecution, what contrivances, and resistances of the holy motions of God's Spirit and the checks of conscience, how many refusings of God and his laws, what unfitting means and sinful progressions were made to arrive thither, what criminal and indecent circumstances, what degrees of consent and approaches to a perfect choice, what vicious hopes and vile fears, what expense of time and misemployed passions, were in one act of fornication or murder, oppression of the poor or subornation of witnesses, we shall find that the proportions will be too little to oppose but one act of virtue against all these evils; especially since an act of virtue, as we order our affairs, is much more single than an act of vice is.

47. VI. Every single act of vice may and must be repented of particularly, if it be a wilful, deliberate, and observed action. A general repentance will not serve the turn in these cases. When a man hath forgotten the particulars, he must make it up as well as he can. This is the evil of a delayed repentance,—it is a thousand to one but it is imperfect and lame, general and inactive; it will need arts of supply, and collateral remedies, and reflex actions of sorrow, and what the effect will be, is in many degrees uncertain: but if it be speedy and particular, the remedy is the more easy, the more ready, and the more certain. But when a man is overtaken in a fault, he must be restored again as to that particular; for by that he transgressed, there he is smitten and wounded; in that instance the habit begins, and at that door the Divine judgment may enter, for his anger is there already. For although God pardons all sins or none, in respect of the final sentence and eternal pain, yet God strikes particular sins with proper and specific punishments in this life, which if they be not diverted by proper applications, may break us all in pieces. And

therefore David's repentance was particularly applied to his special case, of murder and adultery: and because some sins are harder to be pardoned, and harder to be cured than others, it is certain they must be taken off by a special regard. A general repentance is never sufficient but when there cannot be a particular.

48. VII. Whoever hath committed any one act of a great crime, let him take the advantage of his first shame and regret; and in the activity of that passion let him design some fasting-days, as the solemnities of his repentance, which he must employ in the bitterness of his soul, in detestation of his sin, in judging, condemning, and executing sentence upon himself; and in all the actions of repentance, which are the parts and fruits of this duty, according as he shall find them described in their proper places.

49. These are the measures of repentance for single acts of deliberate sin, when they have no other appendage, or proper consideration.

But there are some acts of sin, which, by several ways and measures, pass into habits, directly, or by equivalency and moral value. For, 1. The repetition of acts and proceeding in the same crime is a perfect habit, which as it rises higher to obstinacy, to perseverance, to resolutions never to repent, to hardness of heart, to final impenitence, so it is still more killing and damnable. 2. If a man sins often in several instances, it is a habit, properly so called; for although the instances be single, yet the disobedience and disaffection are united and habitual. 3. When a single act of sin is done, and the guilt remains, not rescinded by repentance, that act which naturally is but single, yet morally is habitual. Of these I shall give account in the next chapter, where they are of proper consideration. But there are yet three ways more, by which single acts do become habits, by equivalency and moral value,—and are here to be considered accordingly.

50. VIII. First, if a single act of sin have a permanent matter, so long as that matter remains, the sin is uncancelled. Of this nature is theft, which cannot be cut off by a moral revocation, or an internal act: there must be something done without. For it is a contradiction to say, that a man is sorry for his act of stealing, who yet rejoices in the purchase and retains it: every man that repents, is bound to make his sinful act as much as he can to be undone: and the moral revocation or nolition of it, is our intercourse with God only, who takes and accepts that, which is the all that can be done to him. But God takes care of our brother also, and therefore will not accept his own share, unless all interested persons be satisfied as much as they ought. There is a great matter in it, that our neighbour also do forgive us, that his interest be served, that he do not desire our punishment: of this I shall afterwards give account; in the mean time, if the matter of our sin be not taken away,—so long as it remains, so long there is a remanency and a tarrying in it, and that is a degree of habit.

51. IX. Secondly: if the single act have a continual flux or emanation from itself, it is as a habit by moral account, and is a principle of action, and is potentially many. Of this nature is every action, whose proper and immediate principle is a passion. Such as, hatred of our neighbour, a fearfulness of persecution, a love of pleasures. For a man cannot properly be said to have an act of hatred, an actual expression of it he may: but if he hates him in one act, and repents not of it, it is a vicious affection, and, in the sense of moral theology, it is a habit; the law of God having given measures to our affections as well as to actions. In this case when we have committed one act of uncharitableness, or hatred, it is not enough to oppose against it one act of love; but the principle must be altered, and the love of our neighbour must be introduced into our spirit.

52. X. There is yet another sort of sinful action which does in some sense equal a habit,—and that is an act of the greatest and most crying sins, a complicated sin. Thus, for a prince or a priest to commit adultery; for a child to accuse his father falsely; to oppress a widow in judgment,—are sins of a monstrous proportion; they are three or four sins apiece, and therefore are to be repented of by untwining the knot, and cutting asunder every thread: he that repents of adultery, must repent of his uncleanness, and of his injustice or wrong to his neighbour, and of his own breach of faith, and of his tempting a poor soul to sin and death; and he must make amends for the scandal besides, in case there was any in it. In these, and all the like cases, let no man flatter himself, when he hath wept and prayed against his sin; one solemnity is not sufficient; one act of contrition is but the beginning of a repentance; and where the crime is capital by the laws of wise nations, the greatest, the longest, the sharpest repentance, is little enough in the court of conscience. So Pacianus:[e] "Hæc est Novi Testamenti tota conclusio; despectus in multis Spiritus Sanctus hæc nobis capitalis periculi conditione legavit. Reliqua peccata meliorum operum compensatione curantur: hæc verò tria crimina, ut basilisci alicujus afflatus, ut veneni calix, ut lethalis arundo, metuenda sunt: non enim vitiare animam, sed intercipere noverunt." Some sins do pollute, and some do kill the soul, that is, are very near approaches to death, next to the unpardonable state: and they are to be repented of, just as habits are,[f] even by a long and a laborious repentance, and by the piety and holiness of our whole ensuing life. "De peccato remisso noli esse securus," said the son of Sirach. "Be not secure, though your sin be pardoned;"—when therefore you are working out and suing your pardon, be not too confident.

53. XI. Those acts of sin, which can once be done and no more, as parricide, and such which destroy the subject or person against whom the sin is committed, are to be cured by prayer, and sorrow, and intercourses with God immediately: the effect of which, because it can never be told, and because the mischief can never be rescinded so much as by fiction of law, nor any supply be made to the injured

[e] Parænes. ad Pœnitentiam.

[f] See chap. 5.

person,—the guilty man must never think himself safe, but in the daily and nightly actions of a holy repentance.

54. XII. He that will repent well and truly of his single actual sins, must be infinitely careful that he do not sin after his repentance, and think he may venture upon another single sin, supposing that an act of contrition will take it off; and so interchange his days by sin and sorrow, doing to-morrow what he was ashamed of yesterday. For he that sins upon the confidence of repentance, does not repent at all, because he repents that he may sin: and these single acts so periodically returning, do unite and become a habit. He that resolves against a sin, and yet falls when he is tempted, is under the power of sin in some proportion, and his estate is very suspicious; though he always resolved against that sin, which he always commits. It is upon no other account that a single sin does not destroy a man, but because itself is speedily destroyed; if, therefore, it goes on upon its own strength, and returns in its proper period, it is not destroyed, but lives and endangers the man.

55. XIII. Be careful that you do not commit a single act of sin towards the latter end of your life: for it being uncertain what degrees of anger God will put on, and in what periods of time he will return to mercy, the nearer to our death such sins intervene, the more degrees of danger they have. For although the former discourse is agreeable to the analogy of the gospel, and the economy of the Divine mercy; yet there are sad words spoken against every single sin. "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offends in one instance, he shall be guilty of all," saith St. James;[g] plainly affirming that the admitting one sin, much more the abiding in any one sin, destroys all our present possession of God's favour. Concerning which, although it may seem strange that one prevarication in one instance should make a universal guilt, yet it will be certain and intelligible if we consider that it relates not to the formality, but to the event of things. He that commits an act of murder, is not therefore an adulterer, but yet, for being a murderer, he shall die. He is as if he were guilty of all; that is, his innocence in the other shall not procure him impunity in this. One crime is inconsistent with God's love and favour.

56. But there is something more in it than this. For every one that breaks a commandment, let the instance be what it will, is a transgressor of the same bond, by which he was bound to all. "Non quòd omnia legis præcepta violârit, sed quòd legis auctorem contempserit, eóque præmio meritò careat, quod legis cultoribus propositum est," saith Venerable Bede: "He did not violate all the commandments, but he offended him who is the giver of all the commandments."—It is like letting one bead fall from a rosary or coronet of bugles. This, or that, or a third, makes no difference, the string is as much broken if he lets one to slide, as if he dropped twenty. It was not an ill conceit of Menedemus the Eretrian, that "there was but one virtue, which had divers names."—Ariston Chius expressed the same conceit with a little difference; affirming "all virtues to be the same in reality and nature, but to have a certain diversification or rational difference by relation to their objects." As if one should call the sight when it looks upon a crow, μελανθέαν,—if upon a swan, λευκοθέαν; so is virtue. When it moderates the affections, it is temperance; when it balances contracts, it is justice; when it considers what is and what is not to be done, it is prudence. That which they call virtue, if we call it the grace of God, or obedience, it is very true which they say. For the same spirit, the same grace of obedience, is chastity, or temperance, or justice, according as is the subject-matter. The love of God, if it be in us, is productive of all worthiness: and this is it which St. John said; "This is love, that we keep his commandments; the love of God constraineth us; it worketh all the works of God in us; it is the fulfilling of the commandments." For this is a catholicon, a universal grace. Charity gives being to all virtues, it is the life and spirit of all holy actions. Abstinence from feasts and inordination, mingled with charity, is temperance. And justice is charity, and chastity is charity, and humility is still but an instance of charity. This is that transcendent that gives life and virtue to alms, to preaching, to faith, to miracles; it does all obedience to God, all good offices to our neighbours: which, in effect, is nothing but the sentence of Menedemus and Ariston, that "there is a universal virtue;" that is, "there is one soul and essence of all virtue:" they call it "virtue," St. Paul calls it "charity;" and this is that one thing which is necessary, that one thing which every man that sins does violate: he that is guilty of all, is but guilty of that one, and therefore he that is guilty of that one, of the breach of charity, is guilty of all. And upon this account it is, that no one sin can stand with the state of grace; because he that sins in one instance, sins against all goodness: not against all instances of duty, but against that which is the life of all, against charity and obedience.

[g] Jam. ii. 10.

A Prayer to be said in the Days of Repentance for the Commission of any great Crime.

I.

O most glorious God, I tremble to come into thy presence, so polluted and dishonoured as I am by my foul stain of sin which I have contracted, but I must come, or I perish. O my God, I cannot help it now; miserable man that I am, to reduce myself to so sad a state of things, that I neither am worthy to come unto thee, nor dare I stay from thee: miserable man that I am, who lost that portion of innocence, which, if I should pay my life in price, I cannot now recover. O dear God, I have offended thee my gracious Father, my Lord, my Patron, my Judge, my Advocate, and my Redeemer. Shame and sorrow are upon me, for so offending thee, my gracious Saviour. But glory be to thee, O Lord, who art such to me who have offended thee. It aggravates my sin, that I have sinned against thee,

who art so excellent in thyself, who art so good to me: but if thou wert not so good to me, though my sin would be less, yet my misery would be greater. The greatness of my crime brings me to my remedy; and now I humbly pray thee to be merciful to my sin, for it is very great.

II.

O my God, pity me, and relieve my sad condition, which is so extremely evil, that I have no comfort but from that which is indeed my misery: my baseness is increased by my hopes; for it is thy grace and thy goodness which I have so provoked. Thou, O God, didst give me thy grace, and assist me by thy Holy Spirit, and call me by thy word, and instruct me by thy wisdom, and didst work in me to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. I knew my sin, and I saw my danger, and I was not ignorant, and I was not surprised: but wilfully, knowingly, basely, and sensually, I gave thee away for the pleasure of a minute, for the purchase of vanity; nay, I exchanged thee for shame and sorrow, and having justly forfeited thy love, am placed I know not where, nor in what degree of thy anger, nor in what neighbourhood of damnation.

III.

O God, my God, what have I done? whither am I fallen? I was well and blessed, circled with thy graces, conducted by thy Spirit, sealed up to the day of redemption, in a hopeful way towards thee; and now I have listened to the whispers of a tempting spirit: and for that which hath in it no good, no reason, no satisfaction, for that which is not, I have forfeited those excellences, for the recovery of which my life is too cheap a price. I am ashamed, O God, I am ashamed. I put my mouth in the dust, and my face in darkness; and hate myself for my sin, which I am sure thou hatest. But give thy servant leave to hope, that I shall feel the gracious effluxes of thy love: I know thou art angry with me, I have deserved it. But if thou hadst not loved me, and pitied me, thou mightest have stricken me in the act of my shame; I know the design of thy mercy and loving-kindness is to bring me to repentance and pardon, to life and grace. I obey thee, O God, I humbly obey thy gracious purposes. Receive, O Lord, a returning sinner, a poor wounded person, smitten by my enemies, broken by my sin, weary and heavy laden; ease me of my burden, and strengthen me by a mighty grace, that hereafter I may watch more carefully, resist more pertinaciously, walk more circumspectly, and serve thee without the interruptions of duty by the intervening of a sin. O let me rather die than choose to sin against thee any more. Only try me this once, and bear me in thy arms, and fortify my holy purposes, and conduct me with thy grace, that thou mayest delight to pardon me, and to save me through Jesus Christ, my Lord and dearest Saviour. Amen.

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost:
O seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments.

CHAPTER V.

OF HABITUAL SINS, AND THEIR MANNER OF ERADICATION OR CURE, AND THEIR PROPER INSTRUMENTS OF PARDON.

SECTION I.

The State of the Question.

BOETHIUS the epicurean being asked, upon occasion of the fame of Strato's comedy, why, it being troublesome to us to see a man furious, angry, timorous, or sad, we do yet with so great pleasure behold all these passions acted with the highest, nearest, and most natural significations,—in answer to the question discoursed wittily concerning the powers of art and reason, and how much ourselves can add to our own natures by art and study. Children choose bread efformed in the image of a bird or man, rather than a loaf plucked rudely from the baker's lump; and a golden fish rather than an artless ingot; because reason and art being mingled with it, it entertains more faculties and pleasures on more sides.

2. Thus we are delighted, when upon a table we see Cleopatra dying with her aspicks, or Lucretia piercing her chaste breast. We give great prices for a picture of St. Sebastian shot through with a shower of arrows, or St. Lawrence roasting upon his gridiron, when the things themselves would have pierced our eyes with horror, and rent our very hearts with pity and compassion: and the countryfellows were so taken with Parmeno's imitating the noise of swine, that they preferred it before that of the Arcadian boar, being so deceived with fancy and prejudice, that they thought it more natural than that which indeed was so.

3. For, first, we are naturally pleased with imitation, and have secret desires to transcribe the copy of the creation, and then having weakly imitated the work of God in making some kind of production from our own perfections, such as it is, and such as they are, we are delighted in the imagery, as God is in the contemplation of the world. For we see a nature brought in upon us by art and imitation. But what in natural things we can but weakly

imitate, in moral things we can really effect. We can efform our nature over anew, and create ourselves again, and make ourselves bad when God hath made us good: and what was innocent in nature, we make to be vicious by custom and evil habit; or on the contrary, what was crooked in nature, we can make straight by philosophy, and wise notices, and severe customs; and there is nothing in nature so imperfect or vicious, but it can be made useful and regular by reason, and custom, and the grace of God; and even our brute parts are obedient to these. Homer observes it of the wise Ulysses, that though he was troubled to see his wife weep for him, yet

Ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὡσεὶ κέρα ἔστασαν, ἠὲ σίδηρος,
Ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφαροῖσι· δόλῳ δ' ὅγε δάκρυα κεῦθεν.
Ὀδυσσ. τ.

"He held the corners of his eyes as firmly as the horn of his bow, or the iron of his spear, and by his wit he kept his eyes from running over." Reason can make every member of the body obey; but use can make it obey willingly: that can command nature, but this can change it: that can make it do what it pleases, but this can make it be so.

4. For there being in man so much brutishness and inclination to forbidden actions and things, to sensual and weak fruitions, nature in many instances calls upon us to die. Ἔα μ' ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο γάρ μοι συμφέρει· "Let me perish, for it is for my advantage:" I desire to die because it is pleasant.

Γνώμην ἔχοντα μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται.

"Nature does seem to do violence to us, and constrain us by violent inclinations to things against reason:" but then when passion supervenes, and, like strong winds, blow vehemently and raise a storm, we should certainly perish, if God did not give us other principles which might be as effective of his purposes, as nature and passion are of death and folly. Passion can be commanded by reason, but nothing hath sufficient and final effort and strength against nature, but custom.

Ναῦς ὥς τις ἐκ μὲν γῆς ἀνήρτηται βρόχοις,
Πνεῖ δ' οὖρος, ἡμῖν δ' εἰσὶ τὰ πείσματα.

"For our ship is kept fast and firm in its station by cables, and when the winds blow, we have anchors and fastenings to secure it." Which verses Plutarch expounding, Πείσματα γὰρ λέγει τὰς ἀντεχούσας κρίσεις πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρὸν, εἶτα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος πολλοῦ ῥηγνυμένας, saith, that "the cables which are to secure our ship in tempests, are the firm and permanent judgments against that which is filthy." They secure us when the winds of passion are violent and dangerous. But then because the storm is renewed every day, and μένουσιν αἱ φύσεις, ὡς προῆλθον τὸ πρότερον, nature will revert, and for ever be longing after its own proportions, we must introduce a nature against a nature: and as passion sets nature on work, and is itself overcome by reason, so if this reason become constant, firm, and habitual, it makes nature an artless, jointless enemy.

5. But then on the other side, if we let our evil appetites prevail, and use them to satisfaction and empire, bringing in evil customs upon our vicious and ill-disposed nature, we are fallen into an evil state of things: for custom and vicious habits are like the locks and bars to hell-gates, a man cannot but do evil, and then his case is intolerable.

6. Now because this is a great state of danger, and consequently a great caution against continuing in sin, I shall put some strength to it, and rescue the whole doctrine concerning this article from the false glosses and imperfect notices of men, which hang upon the duty of repentance like shackles and fetters hindering it to begin betimes, and so to proceed to its measures by the many and just limits and steps of its progression. For the case is this:

If you ask, when every man is bound to repent,—I answer, as soon as ever he hath sinned. But how if he does not? then he adds more sin both against God and against his own soul, by delaying this duty, to that he did before in the single action of which he is tied to repent. For every man is bound to repent instantly of every known sin; he sins anew if he does not, though he add no more of the same actions to his heap. But it is much worse if he sins on; not only because he sins oftener, but because if he contracts a custom or habit of sin, he superadds a state of evil to himself, distinct from the guilt of all those single actions which made the habit. This I shall endeavour to prove against the doctrine of the Roman schools, who teach;

7. I. That no man is ordinarily bound to repent instantly of his sin; for the precept of repentance being affirmative, it does not oblige to its present or speedy performance.[a] For it is as in the case of baptism, or prayers; to the time of the performance of which duties, the commandment of God does not specifically bind us, now, or an hour hence, or when it is convenient, or when it becomes accidentally necessary, and determined by something else that intervenes: so it is in repentance; so it be done at all, it matters not when, as to the duty of it; when you come to die, or when you justly fear it; as in the days of the plague, or before a battle, or when the holy man comes to take his leave of his dying parishioner, then let him look to it.[b] But else he is not obliged. For the sin that was committed ten years since, grows no worse for abiding; and of that we committed yesterday we are as deeply guilty, as of the early sins of our youth; but no single sin can increase its guilt by the putting off our repentance and amendment.

8. II. The guilt of sin which we have committed, they call habitual sin; that is, a remaining obligation to punishment for an action that is past, a guiltiness: or as Johannes de Lugo[c] expresses it, "peccatum actuale moraliter perseverans;" "the

[a] Navarre Compend. Manual. c. 1. n. 31.

[b] Vide Infidelity Unmasked, page 601. "It is true, the best divines teach that a sinner is not bound to repent himself instantly of his sin," &c.

[c] De Pœnit. disp. 7. sect. 5. n. 48. Sic etiam Suarez. tom. 4. in 3. part. disp. 9. sect. 4. n. 23.

actual sin morally remaining," by which a man is justly hated by God. But "this habitual sin is not any real quality, or habit, but a kind of[d] moral denomination or ground thereof, which remains till it be retracted by repentance."—The person is still esteemed[e] "injurious, and obliged to satisfaction." That is all.

9. III. The frequent repetition of sinful acts will, in time, naturally produce a habit, a proper, physical, inherent, permanent quality: but this is so natural, that it is no way voluntary but in its cause, that is, in the actions which produced it, and therefore it can have in it no blame, no sinfulness, no obliquity, distinct from those actions that caused it, and requires no particular or distinct repentance;[f] for when the single acts of sin are repented of, the remaining habit is innocent, and the facility to sin which remains, is no sin at all.

10. IV. These habits of sin may be pardoned without the contrary habit of virtue, even by a single act of contrition, or attrition with the sacrament. And the event of all is this, it is not necessary that your repentance should be so early, or so holy, as to obtain by the grace of God the habits of virtue, or to root out the habit of sin; and, 2. It is not necessary that it should be at all before the hour of death, unless by accident it be inferred and commanded.

I do suppose these propositions not only to be false, but extremely dangerous and destructive of the duty of repentance, and all its consequent hopes, and therefore I shall oppose against them these conclusions.

1. Every man is bound to repent of his sin as soon as ever he hath committed it.
2. That a sinful habit hath in it proper evils, and a proper guiltiness of its own, besides all that which came directly by the single actions.
3. That sinful habits do require a distinct manner of repentance, and are not pardoned but by the introduction of the contrary.

The consequent of these propositions will be this. Our repentance must not be deferred at all, much less to our death-bed. 2. Our repentance must be so early, and so effective of a change, that it must root out the habits of sin, and introduce the habits of virtue; and in that degree in which this is done, in the same degree the repentance is perfect, more or less. For there is a latitude in this duty, as there are degrees of perfection.

SECTION II.

1. *Every Man is bound to repent of his Sin as soon as he hath committed it.*

1. That this doctrine is of great usefulness and advantage to the necessity and persuasions of holy life, is a good probable inducement to believe it true; especially since God is so essential an enemy to sin, since he hath used such rare arts of the Spirit for the extermination of it, since he sent his holy Son to destroy it; and he is perpetually destroying it, and will at last make that it shall be no more at all, but in the house of cursing, the horrible regions of damnation. But I will use this only as an argument to all pious and prudent persons, to take off all prejudices against the severity of this doctrine. For it is nothing so much against it if we say it is severe, as it makes for it, that we understand it to be necessary. For this doctrine which I am now reproving, although it be the doctrine properly of the Roman schools, yet it is their and our practice too. We sin with greediness, and repent at leisure.

> Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in quâ
> Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus———Juven.

"No man puts on his mourning-garment, till he be dead." This day we seldom think it fit to repent, but the day appointed for repentance is alway *to-morrow*. Against which dangerous folly I offer these considerations.

2. I. If the duty of repentance be indispensably required in the danger of death, and he that does not repent when he is arrested with the probability of so sad a change, is "felo de se," uncharitable to himself and a murderer of his own soul, then so is he in his proportion who puts if off one day: because every day of delay is a day of danger; and the same law of charity obliges him to repent to-day, if he sinned yesterday, lest he be dead before to-morrow. The necessity indeed is not so great, and the duty is not so urgent, and the refusal is not so great a sin in health, as in sickness and dangers imminent and visible: but there are degrees of necessity, as there are degrees of danger: and he that considers how many persons die suddenly, and how many more may, and no man knows that he shall not, cannot but confess that because there is danger, there is also an obligation of duty and charity to repent speedily, and that positively or carelessly to put it off, is a new fault, and increases God's enmity against him. He that is well, may die to-morrow. He that is very sick, may recover and live many years. If therefore a "periculum ne fiat," a danger lest repentance be never done, is a sufficient determination of the Divine commandment to do it then, it is certain that it is in every instant determinately necessary; because in every instant there is danger. In all great sicknesses there is not an equal danger; yet in all great sicknesses it is a particular sin not to repent, even by the confession of all sides; it is so therefore in all the periods of an uncertain life; a sin, but in differing degrees. And therefore this is not an argument of caution only, but of duty. For therefore it is of duty, because it is of caution. It could not be a caution unless there was a danger; and if there be a danger, then it is a duty. For he that is very sick must do it. But how if he escapes, was he obliged for all that? He was, because he knew not that he should escape. By the same reason is every one obliged, because whether he shall or shall not escape the next minute, he knows not. And certainly, it was none of the least reasons of God's concealing the day of our death, that we might ever stand ready. And this is plainly

[d] Granatens. in materiâ de peccatis, tract. 8. disp. 1. sect. 1.

[e] Infidelity Unmasked, pag. 605.

[f] Ibid. pag. 607.

enough taught us by our blessed Saviour, laboriously persuading and commanding us not to defer our repentance, by his parable of the rich man who promised to himself the pleasures of many years: he reproved that folly with a "Stulte, hac nocte;" and it may be any man's case; for

> Nemo tam felix ———
> Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri, SENEC.

But he adds a precept; "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights shining, and ye yourselves like men that wait for their Lord." And, "Blessed are those servants whom their Lord when he cometh, shall find watching."[g] And much more to the same purpose. Nay, that it was the reason why God concealed the time of his coming to us, that we might always expect him, he intimated in the following parable: "This know, that if the good man of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched. Be ye therefore ready also, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not." Nothing could better have improved this argument, than these words of our blessed Saviour; we must stand "in procinctu," "ready girded," ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντες, "ready for the service," always watching as uncertain of the time, but in perpetual expectation of the day of our Lord. I think nothing can be said fuller to this purpose. But I add the words of St. Austin;[h] "Verum quidem dicis, quòd Deus pœnitentiæ tuæ indulgentiam promisit; sed huic dilationi tuæ crastinum non promisit:" "To him that repents, God hath promised pardon, but to him that defers repentance, he hath not promised the respite of one day."—It is certain therefore, he intended thou shouldst speedily repent; and since he hath by words and deeds declared this to be his purpose, he that obeys not, is in this very delay, properly and specifically, "a transgressor."

3. II. I consider, that although the precept of repentance be affirmative, yet it is also limited, and the time sufficiently declared, even the present and none else. As soon as ever you need it, so soon you are obliged. "To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." That is, defer not to hear him this day; for every putting it off is a "hardening your hearts." For he that speaks to-day, is not pleased if you promise to hear him to-morrow. It was Felix's case to St. Paul, "Go away, I will hear thee some other time." He that calls every day, means every day that we should repent. For although to most men God gives time and leisure, and expects and perseveres to call, yet this is not because he gives them leave to defer it; but because he still forbears to strike, though their sin grows greater. Now I demand, when God calls us to repentance, is it indifferent to him whether we repent to-day or no? Why does he call so earnestly, if he desires it so coldly? Or if he be not indifferent, is he displeased if we repent speedily? This no man thinks. But is he not displeased if we do not? Does not every call, and every expectation, and every message, when it is rejected, provoke God's anger, and exasperate him? Does not he in the day of vengeance smite more sorely, by how much with the more patience he hath waited? This cannot be denied. But then it follows, that every delay did grieve him and displease him, and therefore it is of itself a provocation distinct from the first sin.

4. III. But further let it be considered: if we repent to-day, it is either a duty so to do, or only a counsel of perfection, a work of supererogation. If it be a duty, then to omit it is a sin. If it be a work of supererogation, then he that repents to-day, does not do it in obedience to a commandment: for this is such a work (by the confession of the Roman schools) which if a man omits, he is nevertheless in the state of grace and the Divine favour; as he that does not vow perpetual chastity, or poverty, is nevertheless the servant of God; but he that does not repent to-day of his yesterday's sin, is not God's servant, and therefore this cannot be of the nature of councils, but of precept and duty respectively. But to put it past all question: it is expressly commanded us by our blessed Saviour, "Agree with thine adversary ταχὺ quickly."—For as it is amongst men of merciful dispositions, he that yields quickly, obtains mercy; but he that stands out as he can, must expect the rigour of the law: so it is between God and us; a hasty repentance reconciles graciously, whilst the delay and putting it off provoke his severe anger. And this the Spirit of God was pleased to signify to the angel or bishop of the church of Ephesus; "Remember whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works; if thou doest not, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχὺ, I come unto thee quickly, and will remove the candlestick out of its place, unless thou do repent."[i] Christ did not mean to wait long, and be satisfied with their repentance be it when it would be; for he comes quickly, and yet our repentance must prevent his coming. His coming here is not by death or final judgment, but for scrutiny and inquiry; for the event of the delaying their repentance, would have been the removing of their candlestick. So that ἔρχομαι ταχὺ is, "I come speedily" to exact of thee a speedy repentance, or to punish thee for delaying; for so the antithesis is plain, ἔρχομαι ταχὺ and ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς, "I come quickly, unless thou dost repent," viz. quickly; εἰ μὴ παραχρῆμα μετάμελος εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, κατέγνω τῶν πεπραγμένων, (that I may use the words of Libanius,) God will condemn our actions, unless we appear before him with a speedy repentance.

5. IV. Add to this, that though God gives time and respite to some, yet to all he does not. God takes away some in their early sins, and gives them no respite, not a month, not a week, not a day; and let any man say, whether this be not a sufficient indication, not only that no man can be secure, but he alone that repents instantly, but that God does intend that every man should presently repent; for he that hath made it damnation to some for not repenting instantly, hath made it damnable to all, and therefore to repent speedily is certainly a duty. The earth does not open and swallow up all rebels in the day of their mutiny; but it did so once, and

[g] Luke xii. 35, &c.

[h] In Psal. cxiv.

[i] Rev. ii. 5.

by that God did sufficiently consign to all ages his displeasure against rebellion. So it is in the deferring repentance. That some have smarted for it eternally, is for ever enough to tell us, that God is displeased with every one that does defer it; and therefore commands us not to defer it. But this consideration is sufficiently heightened upon this account: for there is no sinner dies but he is taken away without one day's respite. For though God did many times forbear him, yet now he does not; and to his last sin, or his last refusal to hear God, either he afforded no time, or no grace of repentance.

6. St. Paul's discourse and treaty of the Corinthians[k] is sufficient to guide us here: he feared that at his coming again God "would humble him," that is, afflict him with grief and sorrow to see it, that himself should be forced "to bewail many," that is, to excommunicate, or deliver to Satan, "them that have sinned already, and have not repented." If they had repented before St. Paul's coming, they should escape that rod; but for deferring it, they were like to smart bitterly. Neither ought it to be supposed, that the not repenting of sins is no otherwise than as the being discovered of theft. The thief dies for his robbery, not for his being discovered; though if he were not discovered, he should have escaped for his theft. So, for their uncleanness, St. Paul would have delivered them over to Satan, not for their not repenting speedily. For the case is wholly differing here. A thief is not bound at all to discover himself to the criminal judge; but every man is bound to repent. If therefore his repenting speedily would prevent so great a calamity as his being delivered over to Satan, besides the procuring his eternal pardon, it is clear that to repent speedily was great charity, and great necessity; which is that which was to be proved. Satan should have power over him to afflict him for his sin, if he did not speedily repent; but if he did repent speedily, he should wholly escape; therefore to repent speedily is a duty which God expects of us, and will punish if it be omitted.

——— Hodiè, mihi credes, jam vivere serum est.
Ille sapit, quisquis, Posthume, vixit heri. Mart.

Think it not a hasty commandment that we are called upon to repent to-day. It was too much that yesterday passed by you, it is late enough if you do it to-day.

7. V. Not to repent instantly, is a great loss of our time, and it may, for aught we know, become the loss of all our hopes.

Nunc vivit sibi neuter, heu! bonosque
Soles effugere atque abire sentit;
Qui nobis pereunt, et imputantur. Mart. ep. 20. lib. 5.

And this, not only by the danger of sudden death, but for want of the just measures of repentance: because it is a secret which God hath kept to himself only, and he only knows what degrees of repentance himself will admit of; how much the sin provoked him, and by what measures of sorrow and carefulness himself will be appeased. For there is in this a very great difference. To Simon Magus it was almost a desperate case; "if, peradventure, the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven:" it was worse to Esau; "there was no place left for his repentance." It was so with Judas; he was not admitted to pardon; neither can any one tell, whether it was not resolved he should never be pardoned. However it be for the particulars, yet it is certain there is a great difference in the admitting penitents. "On some have compassion; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire."[l] Now since for all our sins we are bound to ask pardon every day, if we do so, who dares say it is too much, that it is more than needs? But if to repent every day be not too much, who can be sure, that if he puts it off one day it shall be sufficient? To some men, and at some times, God is implacably angry; some men, and at some times, God hath in his fury and sudden anger seized upon, with the apprehensions of death and saddest judgments, and broken them all in pieces: and as there is a reign and kingdom of mercy, so there are sudden irruptions of a fierce justice, of which God hath therefore given us examples, that we may not defer repentance one day. But this mischief goes further. For,

8. VI. So long as we lie in the guilt of one sin unrepented of, though we do not add heaps upon heaps, and multiply instances of the same or equal crimes, yet we are in so unthriving a condition and so evil a state, that all that while we lose all the benefit of any good thing that we can do upon the interest of any principle whatsoever. For so long as we are out of God's favour, under the seizure and arrest of eternal guilt, so long we are in a state of enmity with God, and all our actions are like the performances of heathens, nothing to eternal life, but mispendings of our powers, and prodigalities of reason and wise discourses; they are not perfective of our being, neither do they set us forward to heaven until our state be changing. Either then we are not by a certain law and commandment bound every day to serve God and please him, or else we are positively and strictly bound instantly to repent of all our sins: because so long as a known sin is unrepented of, we cannot serve God, we cannot do any thing that shall be acceptable to him in Jesus Christ.

9. VII. Every delaying of repentance is one step of progression towards final impenitence; which is not only then esteemed a sin against the Holy Ghost, when a man resolves never to repent, but if by carelessness he neglects, or out of tediousness and an irreligious spirit quite puts off, or for ever passes by, it is unpardonable;—it shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. —Now since final impenitence is the consummation and perfection of all sin, we are to remember, that it is nothing but a perseverance of neglecting or refusing to repent. A man is always dying, and that which we call death is but the finishing of death, the last act of it: so is final impenitence, nothing but the same sin told over so many days; it is a persevering carelessness or resolution, and therefore it cannot be the sin of one day, unless it

[k] 1 Cor. xii. 21.

[l] Jude 22, 23.

be by accident; it is a state of sin, begun as soon as ever the sin is acted, and grows in every day of thy negligence or forgetfulness. But if it should happen that a sinner that sinned yesterday, should die to-day, his deferring his repentance that one day would be esteemed so, and indeed really be a final impenitence. It follows therefore, that to put off our repentance one day, differs only accidentally and by chance from the worst of evils, from final impenitence; it is the beginning of it, it differs from it, as an infant from a man; it is materially the same sin, and may also have the same formality.

10. VIII. The putting off our repentance from day to day, must needs be a sin distinct from the guilt of the action whereof we are to repent; because the principle of it cannot be innocent, it must needs be distinctly criminal. It is a rebellion against God, or hardness of heart, or the spirit of apostasy, presumption, or despair; or at least such a carelessness, as being in the question of our souls, and in relation to God, is infinitely far from being excusable or innocent.

11. These considerations seem to me of very great moment, and to conclude the main proposition; and at least they ought to effect this persuasion upon us, that whoever hath committed a sin cannot honestly, nor prudently, nor safely, defer his repentance one hour. He that repents instantly, breaks his habit when it is "in ovo," "in the shell," and prevents God's anger, and his own debauchment and disimprovement:

> ——— Qui parvis obvius ibit,
> Is nunquam præceps scelera in graviora feretur.
> NAZIAN.

And let us consider, that if we defer our repentance one hour, we do to our souls worse than to our bodies.

> Quæ lædunt oculos, festinas demere; si quid
> Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
> HORAT. lib. 1. Ep.

If dirt fall into our eyes, we do not say unto the chirurgeon, Stay, sir, and let the grit or little stone abide there till next week; but, get it out presently. This similitude, if it proves nothing, yet will serve to upbraid our folly, to instruct and exhort us in the duty of this question. Remember this, that as in God's account ἀφιέναι and κρατεῖν to "remit" and to "retain" a sin are opposite, so it ought to be in ours. Our retaining and keeping of a sin, though but for a day, is contrary to the designs of mercy and holiness, it is against God, and against the interest of our souls.

SECTION III.

A sinful Habit hath in it proper Evils, and a proper Guiltiness of its own, besides all that which came directly by the single Actions.

1. BY a sinful habit, I mean the facility and easiness, the delight and custom, of sinning, contracted by the repetition of the acts of the same sin; as a habit of drunkenness, a habit of swearing, and the like; that is, a quality inherent in the soul, whereby we work with pleasure: for that Aristotle[m] calls the infallible and proper indication of habits, τὴν ἐπιγινομένην ἡδονὴν, ἢ λύπην τοῖς ἔργοις: and so long as any man sins willingly, readily, frequently, and upon every temptation, or most commonly; so long he is an habitual sinner: when he does his actions of religion with pain, and of his sin with pleasure, he is in the state of death, and enmity against God. And as by frequent playing upon an instrument a man gets a habit of playing; so he does in renewing the actions of the same sin, there is an evil quality produced, which affects and corrupts his soul. But concerning the nature of a vicious habit, this also is to be added.

2. That a vicious habit is not only contracted by the repetition of acts in the same kind, but by frequency of sinning in any variety of instances whatsoever. For there are many vicious persons, who have an ambulatory impiety, and sin in all or most of their opportunities; but their occasions are not uniform, and therefore their irregularities are irregular, and by chance for the instance, but regular and certain in the prevarication. Vetuleius Pavo would be sure to be drunk at the feasts of Saturn, and take a surfeit in the calends of January; he would be wanton at the Floralia, and bloody in the theatres; he would be prodigal upon his birth-day, and on the day of his marriage sacrifice hecatombs to his Pertunda Dea; and he would be sure to observe all the solemnities and festivals of vice in their own particulars and instances, and thought himself a good man enough, because he could not be called a drunkard or a glutton for one act; and by sinning singly, escaped the appellatives of scorn, which are usually fixed upon vain persons that are married to one sin. Naturally to contract the habit of any one sin, is like the entertaining of a concubine, and dwelling upon the folly of one miserable woman. But a wandering habit is like a "libido vaga," the vile adulteries of looser persons, that drink at every cistern that runs over, and stands open for them. For such persons have a supreme habit, a habit of disobedience, and may, for want of opportunity or abilities, for want of pleasure, or by the influence of an impertinent humour, be kept from acting always in one scene. But so long as they choose all that pleases them, and exterminate no vice, but entertain the instances of many, their malice is habitual, their state is a perfect aversation from God. For this is that which the apostle calls, "the body of sin,"[n] a compagination of many parts and members; just as among the lawyers, a flock, a people, a legion, are called bodies: and "corpus civitatis," we find in Livy; "corpus collegiorum," in Caius; "corpus regni," in Virgil; and so here, this union of several sins is "the body of sin," and that is, "the body of death." And not only he that feeds perpetually upon raw fruit, puts himself into an ill habit of body; but he also does the same thing, who to-day drinks too much, and to-morrow fills him-

[m] Ethic. Nicom. l. 2. c. 2

[n] Rom. vii.

self with cold fruits, and the next day with condited mushrooms, and by evil orders, and carelessness of diet, and accidental miscarriages, heaps up a multitude of causes, and unites them in the production and causality of his death. This general disorder is indeed longer doing, but it kills as fatally and infallibly as a violent surfeit. And if a man dwells in the kingdom of sin, it is all one whether he be sick in one, or in twenty places; they are all but several rooms of the same infirmatory, and ingredients of the same deadly poison. He that repeats his sin, whether it be in one or in several instances, strikes himself often to the heart, with the same or with several daggers.

3. Having thus premised what was necessary for the explication of the nature of vicious habits, we must consider that, of vicious habits, there is a threefold capacity. 1. A natural. 2. A moral. 3. A relative, as it denominates a man in relation to God.

1. *Of the natural Capacity of sinful Habits.*

4. The natural capacity of sinful habits is a facility or readiness of the faculty to do the like actions; and this is naturally consequent to the frequent repetition of sinful acts, not voluntary but in its cause, and therefore not criminal by a distinct obliquity. Οὐκ ὁμοίως δὲ αἱ πράξεις ἑκούσιοί εἰσι, καὶ αἱ ἕξεις· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πράξεων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους κύριοί ἐσμεν, εἰδότες τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα· τῶν ἕξεων δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς——ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν οὕτως, ἢ μὴ οὕτως χρήσασθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἑκούσιοι, said Aristotle.[o] Actions are otherwise voluntary than habits. We are masters of our actions all the way, but of habits only in the beginning. But because it was in our choice to do so or otherwise, therefore the habit which is consequent is called voluntary: not then chosen, because it cannot then be hindered; and therefore it is of itself indifferent; an evil indeed, as sickness or crookedness, thirst or famine, and as death itself to them that have repented them of that sin for which they die; but no sin, if we consider it in its mere natural capacity. Nay, so it may become the exercise of virtue, the scene of trouble indeed or danger, of temptation and sorrow, but a field of victory. For there are here two things very considerable.

5. I. That God for the glorification of his mercy can and does turn all evil into some good, so to defeat the devil's power, and to produce honour and magnification to his own goodness.

——Ταῦτα μέν τοι τοὺς Θεοὺς,
Ἅττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτῃτ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν.
ARISTOPH. *νεφέλαι.*

For so God uses to do; if we sin we shall smart for it, but he turns it into good, and St. Austin applies that promise, that "all things shall work together for good to them that fear God," even to this particular; "Etiam ipsa peccata, nimirum non ex naturâ suâ, sed ex Dei virtute et sapientiâ:" "If all things, then sins also, not by their proper efficacy, but by the overruling power and wisdom of God;" like that of Phocylides,

Πολλ' ἀπατηθῆναι διζήμενον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν·

"He that will be a good man, must be often deceived;" that is, buy his wit at a dear rate. And thus some have been cured of pride by the shames of lust, and of lukewarmness by a fall into sin, being awakened by their own noddings, and mending their pace by their fall. And so also the sense of our sad infirmities, introduced by our vicious living and daily prevarications, may become an accidental fortification to our spirits, a new spur by the sense of an infinite necessity and an infinite danger.

Αὖθις ἐστ' ἀρχαῖον ὑμῖν, ἔτι καξημάρτηται,
Ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει ξυνοίσεται.
ARISTOPH.

For whoever repents after such sad intervals of sorrow and sin, either must do more than other men or they do nothing to purpose. For besides, that an ordinary care cannot secure them, who have brought tempters home to themselves; a common industry cannot root out vicious customs; a trifling mortification cannot crucify and kill what hath so long been growing with us: besides this, (for this will not directly go into the account; for this difficulty the sinner must thank himself,) he must do more actions of piety to obtain his pardon and to secure it. But because they need much pardon, and an infinite care, and an assiduous watchfulness, or they perish infallibly, therefore all holy penitents are to arise to greater excellencies than if they had never sinned.

Major deceptæ fama est et gloria dextræ;
Si non errâsset, fecerat illa minus. MARTIAL.

"Scævola's hand grew famous for being deceived and it had been less reputation to have struck his enemy to the heart, than to do such honourable infliction upon it for missing."—And thus "there is in heaven more joy over one repenting sinner, than over ninety-nine just persons that need it not;" there is a greater deliverance, and a mightier miracle, a bigger grace, and a prodigy of chance; it being, as St. Austin affirms, "a greater thing that a sinner should be converted, than that being converted he should afterwards be saved;"[p] and this he learned from those words of St. Paul; "But God commended his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him."[q] But now the sinner is more busy in his recovery, more fearful of relapse, than before his fall; "sicut feræ decipulam erumpentes cautiores factæ," saith Lactantius; "like wild beasts breaking from their toils, they walk more cautiously for ever after." Thus it is impossible that sin should be exalted above grace, or that the devil's malice can be superior to the rare arts of the Divine mercy; for by his conduct, poison itself shall become medicinal and sin like the Persian apple,

——Pomis quæ barbara Persis
Miserat, ut fama est, patriis armata venenis;
At nunc, expositi parvo discrimine lethi,
Ambrosios præbent succos oblita nocendi;

transplanted from its native soil to the Athenian

[o] Ethic. lib. 3. c. 8.

[p] Vide St. Chrysost. epist. ad Theodor. [q] Rom. v. 8, 9.

gardens, loses its natural venom, and becomes pleasant as the rinds of citrons, and aromatic as the eastern spices.

6. II. Although sins in the state of penitence can by God's grace procure an accidental advantage, yet that difficulty of overcoming and fierceness of contention, which is necessary to them who had contracted evil habits, is not by that difficulty an augmentation of the reward. As he that willingly breaks his legs, is not more commended for creeping with pain, than if he went with pleasure and ease; and the taking away our own possibility, being a destroying the grace of God, a contradiction to the arts of the Divine mercy; whatsoever proper effect that infers, as it is impious in its cause, and miserable in the event, so it does nothing of advantage to the virtue, but causes great diminution of it. For it is a high mistake crudely to affirm, that every repugnancy to an act of virtue, and every temptation to a sin, if it be overcome, increases the reward. Indeed, if the temptation be wholly from without, unsought for, prayed against, inferred infallibly, superinduced by God, then the reward is greater, by how much it was the more difficult to obey. Thus for Jephthah to pay his daughter which he had vowed, and for Abraham to slay his son, were greater acts of obedience, because they were in despite of great temptations to the contrary, and there was nothing evil from within that did lessen the choice, or retard the virtue. But when our nature is spoiled, and our strengths diminished, when the grace of God, by which we stood, is despised and cancelled, when we have made it natural for us to sin, then this remaining inclination to sin and unwillingness to obey, is so far from increasing the reward, that it is not only a state of danger, but it is an unwillingness to good, an abatement of the choice, a state which is still to be mortified, and the strengths to be restored, and the affections made obedient, and the will determined by other objects.

7. But if the unwillingness to obey, even after the beginnings of repentance, were, as it is pretended by the Roman doctors, an increase of the merit or reward, then, I. It were not fit that we should go about to lessen these inclinations to sin, or to exterminate the remains of the old man, because if they go off, the difficulty being removed, the reward must be no more than ordinary.

II. It would also follow from hence, that the less men did delight in God's service, the more pleasing they should be to him; for if the reluctancy increases, then the perfect choice would lessen the reward. And then,

III. A habit of virtue were not so good as single actions with the remains of a habit of vice, upon the same account: and a state of imperfection were better than a state of perfection, and to grow in grace were great imprudence.

IV. It were not good to pray against entering into temptation; nay, it were good we did tempt ourselves, so we did not yield; to provoke our enemy, so he did not conquer us; to enter into danger, so we did not sink under it; because these increase the difficulty, and this increases the reward. All which being such strange and horrid consequences, it follows undeniably, that the remanent portion of a vicious habit after the man's conversion is not the occasion of a greater reward, is not good formally, is not good materially, but is a "fomes," a nest of concupiscence, a bed of vipers, and the spawn of toads.

8. Now although this is not a sin, if it be considered in its natural capacity, as it is the physical, unavoidable consequent of actions, (for an inherent quality may be considered without its appendant evil,) that is, though a philosopher may think and discourse of it as of a natural production, and so without sin, yet it does not follow from hence, that such a habit, or inherent quality, is without its proper sin, or that its nature is innocent. But this is nothing else but to say, that a natural philosopher does not consider things in their moral capacity. But just thus every sin is innocent, and an act of adultery, or the begetting of a child in fornication, is good: a natural philosopher looks on it as a natural action, applying proper actives to their proportioned passives, and operating regularly, and by the way of nature. Thus we say God concurs to every sin, that is, to the action in its natural capacity, but that is therefore innocent so far; that is, if you consider it without any relation to manners and laws, it is not unlawful. But then if you consider the whole action in its entire constitution, it is a sin. And so is a sinful habit, it is vicious and criminal in its whole nature; and when the question is, whether any thing be, in its own capacity, distinctly good or bad; the answer must not be made by separating the thing from all considerations of good and bad. However, it will suffice, that a habit of vice, in its natural capacity, is no otherwise innocent than an act of adultery or drunkenness.

2. *Of the Moral Capacity of sinful Habits.*

But then if we consider sinful habits in their moral capacity, we shall find them to be a "lerna malorum," and we shall open Pandora's box, a swarm of evils will issue thence. In the enumerating of which, I shall make a great progress to the demonstration of the main question.

9. I. A vicious habit adds many degrees of aversation from God, by inclining us to that which God hates. It makes us to love and to delight in sin, and easily to choose it; now by how much the more we approach to sin, by so much we are the further removed from God. And therefore this habitual iniquity the prophet[r] describing, calls it "magnitudinem iniquitatis,"—and the punishment designed for it is called, "thy lot, the portion of thy measures;" that is, "plenitudo pœnæ ad plenitudinem peccatorum," a great judgment to an habitual sin, a final judgment, an exterminating angel, when the sin is confirmed, and of a perfect habit.

10. For till habits supervene, we are of a middle constitution, like the city that Sophocles speaks of;

Πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν Συμφορᾶτων γέμει,
Ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων,

[r] Jer. xiii. 22, 25.

It is full of joy and sorrow; it sings and weeps together; it triumphs in mourning, and with tears wets the festival-chariot. We are divided between good and evil; and all our good or bad is but a disposition towards either: but then the sin is arrived to its state and manhood, when the joints are grown stiff and firm by the consolidation of a habit. So Plutarch defines a habit: Ἡ δὲ ἕξις ἰσχὺς καὶ κατασκευὴ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄλογον δυνάμεως ἐξ ἔθους γιγνομένη. "A habit is a strength and confirmation to the brute and unreasonable part of man gotten by custom:" Οὐκ εὐθὺς γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα πάθη μετεῖται, καὶ ῥυθμίζεται, καὶ ὑποτάττεται τῷ λόγῳ. "The brutish passions in a man are not quickly mastered and reduced to reason:" Τὰ δὲ ἔθη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα πλάσσει καὶ κηροχυτεῖ τὰν ψυχὰν, φυσίωσιν ἐμποιοῦντα διὰ τῆς συνέχεως ἐνεργιῆς: "Custom and studies efform the soul like wax, and by assuefaction introduce a nature;"—to this purpose Aristotle quotes the verses of Evenus.

Φημὶ πολυχρόνιον μελέτην ἔμεναι, φίλε, καὶ δὴ
Ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.[s]

For as experience is to novices, and tutors to children, so is custom to the manners of men: a fixing good or evil upon the spirit; that as it was said of Alexander, when he was a man he could not easily want the vices of his tutor Leonidas, which he sucked into his manners and was accustomed to in his youth; so we cannot without trouble do against our habit and common usages; "Usus magister," "Use is the greater teacher:"—and the words in Jeremy,[t] "Ye which are accustomed to do evil," are commonly read, "Ye which are taught to do evil;" and what we are so taught to do, we believe infinitely, and find it very hard to entertain principles of persuasion against those of our breeding and education.[u] For what the mind of man is accustomed to, and thoroughly acquainted with, it is highly reconciled to it; the strangeness is removed, the objections are considered or neglected, and the compliance and entertainment are set very forward towards pleasures and union. This habit therefore, when it is instanced in a vice, is the perfecting and improving of our enmity against God, for it strengthens the lust, as a good habit confirms reason and the grace of God.

11. II. This mischief ought to be further expressed, for it is bigger than is yet signified. Not only an aptness, but a necessity, is introduced by custom; because by a habit sin seizes upon the will and all the affections: and the very principles of motion towards virtue are almost broken in pieces. It is therefore called by the apostles, "the law of sin."—"Lex enim peccati est violentia consuetudinis, quâ trahitur et tenetur animus etiam invitus:" "The violence of custom is the law of sin, by which such a man is overruled against his will."

Nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
Consuetudo mali—et in ægro corde senescit. JUV.

You cannot leave it if you would. St. Austin[x] represents himself as a sad instance of this particular. "I was afraid lest God should hear me, when I prayed against my lust: As I feared death, so dreadful it was to me to change my custom." "Vellem meum tenebat inimicus, inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me. Quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo; et dum consuetudini non resistitur facta est necessitas:" "The devil had made a chain for him, and bound his will in fetters of darkness. His perverse will made his lust grow high, and while he served his lust, he superinduced a custom upon himself, and that in time brought upon him a necessity."—For as an old disease hath not only afflicted the part of its proper residence, and by its abode made continual diminution of his strength, but made a path also and a channel for the humour to run thither, which by continual defluxion have digged an open passage, and prevailed beyond all the natural powers of resistance: so is an habitual vice; it hath debauched the understanding, and made it to believe foolish things; it hath abused the will, and made it like a diseased appetite, in love with filthy things; it is like an evil stomach, that makes a man eat unwholesome meat against his reason:

Ἀὶ, ἀὶ, τὸδ' ἦδη θεῖον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν,
Ὅταν τὶς εἰδῇ τ' ἀγαθὸν, χρῆται δὲ μὴ. EURIP.

"That is a sad calamity, when a man sees what is good and yet cannot follow it," nay, that he should desire it, and yet cannot lay hold upon it; for his faculties are bound in fetters; the habit hath taken away all those strengths of reason and religion by which it was hindered, and all the objections by which it was disturbed, and all that tenderness by which it was uneasy, and now the sin is chosen, and believed, and loved; it is pleasant and easy, usual and necessary, and by these steps of progression enters within the iron gates of death, sealed up by fate and a sad decree.

12. And therefore Simplicius upon Epictetus speaking of Medea seeing and approving good things by her understanding, but yet without power to do them, says, Χρὴ οὐ μὴ δοξάζειν μόνον ὀρθῶς καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι, καὶ ἐκκλίνειν ἐπὶ πολλὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα σύμφωνα ταῖς ὀρθαῖς δόξαις ἀποδιδόναι. "It is to no purpose for us to think and to desire well, unless we add also deeds consonant to those right opinions and fair inclinations." But that is the misery of an evil habit; in such as have them, all may be well till you come to action. Their principles good, their discoursings right, their resolutions holy, their purposes strong, their great interest understood, their danger weighed, and the sin hated and declaimed against: for they are ἀρχόμενοι παιδεύεσθαι, they have begun well and are instructed, but because of the ἀκρασία καὶ μαλακία, "their intemperance and softness of spirit" produced by vile customs, there is, as Plutarch observes, θηριώδες

[s] Stobæus de Rep. serm. 41.
[t] Jer. xiii. 23.
[u] Λειπὴ πέφυκεν ἡ συνήθεια κόρον ἀπογεννῆσαι, καὶ φύσιν ἀλλήλου μεταποιῆσαι, Theoctist. apud Stobæum.—consuetudo poterit intelliges, si videris feras quoque convictu nostro mansuescere: nullique immani bestiæ vim suam permanere, si hominis contubernium diu passa est. Senec. de Irâ, lib. 3. c. 8.
[x] Lib. 8. Confess. c. 7. et 5.

καὶ ἄλογόν τι,[y] "a fatal bestiality" in the men, they sin, and can neither will nor choose. They are driven to death, and they see themselves crowned with garlands for the sacrifice, and yet go to their ruin merry as the minstrels, and the temptations that entertain and attend those horrid rites. "Sciebam, ut esse me deceret; facere non quibam miser," said he in the comedy:[z] "I knew it well enough how I should comport myself, but I was so wretched that I could not do it."

13. Now all this being the effect of a vicious habit, and not of sinful actions, it being the product and sad consequent of a quality introduced first by actions, so much evil cannot be caused and produced immediately by that which is innocent. As the fruit is, such is the tree. But let us try further.

14. III. A vicious habit makes our recovery infinitely difficult, our virtues troublesome, our restitution uncertain. In the beginnings of his return it is most visible. For even after we are entering into pardon and the favour of God, we are forced to fight for life, we cannot delight in God's service, or feel Christ's yoke so easy as of itself it is. For a vicious habit is a new concupiscence, and superinduces such contradictions to the supernatural contentions and designs of grace, it calls back nature from its remedy and purifications of baptism, and makes such new aptnesses, that the punishment remains even after the beginning of the sin's pardon: and that which is a natural punishment of the sinful actions is, or may be, morally a sin, as the lust which is produced by gluttony. And when a man hath entertained a holy sorrow for his sins, and made holy vows of obedience and a new life, he must be forced to contend for every act of duty, and he is daily tempted, and the temptation is strong, and his progression is slow; he marches upon sharp-pointed stones, where he was not used to go, and where he hath no pleasure.

He is forced to do his duty, as he takes physic, where reason and the grace of God make him consent against his inclination, and to be willing against his will. He is brought to that state of sorrow, that either he shall perish for ever, or he must do more for heaven than is needful to be done by a good man, whose body is chaste, and his spirit serene, whose will is obedient, and his understanding well informed, whose temptations are ineffective, and his strengths great, who loves God, and is reconciled to duty, who delights in religion, and is at rest when he is doing God service. But an habitual sinner, even when he begins to return, and in some measure loves God, hath yet too great fondnesses for his enemy, his repentances are imperfect, his hatred and his love mixed, nothing is pure, nothing is whole, nothing is easy: so that the bands of holiness are like a yoke shaken upon the neck, they fret the labouring ox, and make his work turn to a disease: and (as Isaac) he marches up the hill with the wood upon his shoulders, and yet, for aught he knows, himself may become the sacrifice. St. Austin complains that it was his own case. He was so accustomed to the apertures and free emissions of his lusts, so pleased with the entertainments, so frequent in the enployment, so satisfied in his mind, so hardened in his spirit, so ready in his choice, so peremptory in his foul determinations, that when he began to consider that death stood at the end of that life, he was amazed to see himself as he thought without remedy: and was not to be recovered, but by a long time, and a mighty grace, the perpetual, the daily, the nightly prayers, and violent importunities of his mother, the admirable precepts and wise deportments of St. Ambrose, the efficacy of truth, the horrible fears of damnation hourly beating upon his spirit with the wings of horror and affrightment; and after all, with a mighty uneasiness and a discomposed spirit, he was by the good hand of God dragged from his fatal ruin.

Ἀπάτα ὀ' ἀπάταις
Ἑτέραις ἑτέρα πασαβαλλομένα
Πόνον, οὐ χάριν, ἀντίδωσιν ἔχειν.[a]

Thus one folly added to another hath great labour and vexation, unquietness and difficulty, for its reward. But as when our blessed Saviour dispossessed the little demoniac in the gospel, when the devil went forth, he roared and foamed, he rent him with horrid spasms and convulsions, and left him half dead: so is every man that recovers from a vicious habit, he suffers violence like a bird shut up in a cage, or a sick person not to be restored but by caustics and scarifications, and all the torments of art, from the dangers of his nature.

15. IV. A vicious habit makes a great sin to be swallowed up as easily as a little one.

An dubitat, solitus totum conflare Tonantem,
Radet inaurati femur Herculis, et faciem ipsam
Neptuni; qui bracteolam de Castore ducet? JUVEN.

He that is used to it, makes nothing of sacrilege, who before started at the defrauding his neighbour of an uncertain right: but when he hath digested the first ἰῶτα, by step and step he ventures so far till he dares to steal the thunder-bolts from Jupiter; when sin is grown up to its height and station by all its firmest measures, a great sin is not felt; and let the sin be what it will, many of the instances pass so easily, that they are not observed: as the hands and feet sometimes obey the fancy, without the notice of the superior faculties; and as we say some parts of our prayers which we are used to, though we attend not; and as musicians strike many single strokes, upon which they do not at all consider; which indeed is the perfection of a habit. So we see many men swear when they know not that they do so; they lie, and know they lie, and yet believe themselves; they are drunk often, and at last believe it innocent, and themselves the wiser, and the action necessary, and the excess not intemperance. "Peccata, quamvis magna et horrenda, cùm in consuetudinem venerint, aut parva aut nulla esse creduntur, usque adeò ut non solùm non occultanda, verùm etiam jam prædicanda, ac diffamanda

[y] Ὀηριῶδες μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλογον, καὶ οἰκτρὸν, εἰδότα τὸ βέλτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος, ὑπ' ἀκρασίας καὶ μαλακίας, ἄγεσθαι. —Plutarch.

[z] Trinummus.

[a] Sophocles in Œdip.

videantur," said St. Austin.[b] At first we are ashamed of sin; but custom makes us bold and confident, apt to proclaim, not to conceal our shame. For though at first it seemed great, yet every day of use makes it less, and at last, all is well, it is a very nothing.

16. This is a sad state of sin, but directly the case of a vicious habit, and of use in the illustration of this question. For if we look upon the actions, and little or great instances of folly, and consider that they consider not, every such oath will pass for an indeliberate folly, and an issue of infirmity. But then if we remember that it is voluntary in its principle, that this easiness of sinning comes from an intolerable cause, from a custom of profaneness and impiety, that it was nourished by a base and a careless spirit, it grew up with a cursed inadvertency, and a caitiff disposition, that it could not be at all, but that the man is infinitely distant from God, it is to be reckoned like the pangs of death, which although they are not always felt, yet they are violent, and extreme, they are fatal in themselves, and full of horror to the standers-by.

17. But from hence; besides that it serves perfectly to reprove the folly of habitual swearing, it also proves the main question, viz. that in a vicious habit there are a venom and a malice beyond the guilt; and besides the sinfulness of the single actions that produce and nourish it, the quality itself is criminal. For unless it can be supposed that to swear frequently can at last bring its excuse with it, and that such a custom is only to be estimated according to the present notice and deliberation by which it is attended to; and that to swear often can be but a little thing, but to swear seldom shall be horrid and inexcusable; it must be certain, that the very habit itself is a state of sin, and enmity against God, besides the guilt of the many single actions; because this customary swearing cannot be accounted so bad as it is by the value and baseness of the single actions, which are scarce considered, very often not known, not noted at all, not attended to; but therefore they have their load by being effects of a cursed habit and custom. Here the habit is worse than the action, and hath an evil of its own.

18. V. A vicious habit hath in it this evil appendage, that in every instant of its abode it keeps us out of God's favour; we are in perpetual danger, and under the eternal arrest of death, even without the actions of sin, without pleasure, or possessing any of its baser interests. It was a horrible foolery which Appianus tells of Lentulus Spinther and Dolabella, that when Cæsar was killed in the senate, they drew their swords and ran about the streets, as if they had done the fact, supposing it to be great and glorious: "quibus gloriâ quidem frui non contigit, sed pœnas dederunt easdem cum sontibus:" "they lost their hopes of fame, but yet they were punished for the fact."—So useless and yet so pernicious a thing is a vicious habit; a man may pay the price of his lust when he thinks not of it, and perish for all that he was willing to enjoy, though he did not what he would. This is that by which divines use to reconcile the justice of God with the infliction of eternal pains upon temporal and transitory actions. There is in unrepenting or habitual sinners an eternal spring or principle of evil, and they were ready for ever to have sinned; and for this preparation of mind to have sinned for ever, it is by them affirmed to be just to punish them for ever. Now this is not true in the single actions and interruptions of grace by sin, but in the habitual sinner it is more reasonable. Such are they of whom the apostle speaks; "They were past feeling, and yet were given up unto uncleanness;" τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ,—which properly signifies the beginnings or little images of lust; which as they are first in the introduction of lust, so in such persons, they are the only remains of the old man. He cannot sin as he used to do, not by his action, but he sins by his habit.

19. The sum is this. If to love God, to delight in him, to frequent holy offices, to love his service, to dwell in God, to have our conversation in heaven, to lay up our treasure, and our hopes, and our heart there, to have no thoughts, no designs, no employment, but for God and for religion, be more acceptble to God than to do single actions of a prosperous piety upon so many sudden resolutions, and the stock of an alternate and returning duty: then by the same reason it is infinitely more displeasing to God to be a servant under God's enemy and our own, to be in slavery to sin, subordinate to passion, ruled by chance and company, to be weary of well-doing, to delight in sin according to the inner man; this, I say, must be an infinite aberration and aversion from God, a contradiction to all our hopes, and that in theology signifies the same effect as a vicious habit does in nature. For they are the same thing, and have only different conceptions and formal notices; as the patience of Job differs from the patience of St. Lawrence, as natural virtue from the same grace in a christian; so does a natural habit of vice in its moral capacity differ from our aversion from God; I mean in the active sense, which if it be not a distinct state of sinfulness, distinct from the guilt of sinful actions, yet it is at least a further degree of the same guiltiness and being criminal; and either of them both does sufficiently evince the main question. As the charity and devotion of Cornelius were increased by passing into a habit of these graces; and as the piety of him, a Jewish proselyte, the habitual piety was mended by his being a christian, so the single actions of vice pass a great guilt; but there is more contracted by the habitual vileness, and that habit is made worse by being an opposition to, and an alienation from, God. But of this I am now to give more special account.

3. *Of the relative Capacity of sinful Habits, in Reference to God.*

20. I. This is it that contains the strictness of the main question: for a sinful habit is a state of ungraciousness with God, and sin is possessed of our love and choice. Therefore in vain it is to think a habit innocent, because it is a natural product of many single actions. Every proper action of the will is a natural production of the will; but it is

[b] Enchirid. c. 8.

nevertheless voluntary. When the understanding hath practically determined the will, it is natural for the will to choose; but yet such a choice is imputable to the will, and if it be not good, is reckoned as a sin. So it is in vicious habits: they are natural effects of many single actions; but then it is also to be remembered that their seat is the will, and whatsoever is naturally there, is voluntary still. A habit of sinning cannot remain at all, but by consent and by delight, by love and adhesion. The habit is radicated no where but in the will, except it be by subordination, and in the way of ministries. It follows therefore, that every vicious habit is the prolongation of a sin, a continuing to love that which to love but once is death. For every one that hath a vicious habit, chooses his sin cheerfully, acts it frequently, is ready to do it in every opportunity, and at the call of every temptation; and according as these things are in every one, so is the degree of his habit. Now since every one of these which are the constituent parts of a habit, implies a readiness and apt choice of the will to sin, it follows evidently, that the capacity of a vicious habit by which it relates to God, consisting of so much evil, and all of it voluntary upon the stock of its own nature and constitution, is highly, and chiefly, and distinctly sinful. Although the natural facility is naturally and unavoidably consequent to frequent sinful actions, yet it is also voluntary; for the habit is not contracted, nor can it remain, but by our being willing to sin, and delighting in the ways of error.

21. II. Now if we look into the fountains of Scripture, which are admirable in the description of virtue and vice, we shall find, that habitual sin is all that evil which is to be avoided by all men, that have in them the hopes of life. It is the prevailing of sin, it is that by which sins come to their height, it is the debauching of the will and understanding; it is all that which can be signified by those great expressions, by which Holy Scripture describes those great evils which God hates. It is *ῥίζα πικρίας*, "a root of bitterness,"[c] such as was in Esau when he undid himself and repented too late: "an evil heart in turning from the living Lord:" "a seared conscience:" "a walking according to the prince of this world:"[d] "enemies of the cross of Christ:" *ἀκαταπαύστους τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, "such as cannot cease from sin;" "enemies that will not have Christ," but the devil, "to reign over them;" for this is the true state and constitution of vicious habits. This is more than an *ἐμπόδιον* or "hinderance" of doing our duty; it is a direct *ἀκαταστασία καὶ ἀταξία*, "disorder" and corruption inherent in all our faculties.

22. This is signally described by St. Paul, who calls it "a concupiscence wrought by sin:" "for sin (saith he[e]) wrought in me all manner of concupiscence:" it is called by him, "a law in the members fighting against the law in my mind;" and the man he calls "carnal, sold under sin, dead, killed;" and the sin itself, "inhabitans peccatum," sin dwelling in me," and "flesh in which dwelleth no good:" *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, "the carnal mind." These things (as is evident) cannot be spoken of the single actions of sin, but of "the law, the power, the dominion, the reign, the habit of sin." It is that which was wrought by sin, viz. by the single actions of sin; and therefore he does not mean single actions, neither can he mean the remanent guilt of the past action; but he speaks of a direct state of sinfulness, which is prolifical and productive of sin. For "sin wrought this concupiscence and carnal-mindedness;" and this carnal-mindedness is such a propensity and desire to sin, and hath in it such easiness to act, that it bringeth forth many sins, and they "bring forth death;" and therefore the apostle says expressly, *φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος καὶ ἔχθρα εἰς Θεὸν*, "this carnal-mindedness is death, and enmity against God;" this is that state in which whosoever abides, cannot please God. To the same purpose are those other expressions of Scripture, calling this state, "vias Balaam," "the ways of Balaam"[f] the son of Bosor, "a walking perversely with God," "a being sold under sin;" and *καρδίας γεγυμνασμένας πλεονεξίαις*, "hearts exercised or employed and used to covetousness;"[g] and it follows, *κατάρας τέκνα*, "sons of cursing;" the fault or charge is more than that of single actions, and the curse is greater than ordinary; as the sin is, so is the curse; the one is apportioned to the other, and appropriate.

23. III. But I consider further. A single act of sin does not in all cases denominate a man vicious. A man is not called a drunkard for having been once drunk, but for being often, for repeating the act, or continuing the affection. Every single act provokes God to anger, but that anger can be as soon rescinded as the act is past if it remains not by something that is habitual. Indeed he is called a thief or an adulterer, that does one action of those crimes; because his consent in such things is great enough to equal a habit in lesser things. The effect is notorious, the prohibition severe, the dangers infinite, the reasons of them evident; they are "peccata vastantia conscientiam, et quæ uno actu perimunt," as St. Austin says; "they kill with one blow;" and therefore God exacts them highly, and men call the criminal by the name of the vice: but the action gives denomination but in some cases, but the habit in all. No man lives without sin; and in the state of regeneration, our infirmities still press upon us, and make our hands shake, and our foot to stumble, and sometimes the enemy makes an inroad, and is presently beaten out again, and though the good man resolves against all, and contends against all,

Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis, VIRG.

there will be something for him to be humbled at, something to contest against, to keep him watchful and upon his guard. But if he be "ebriosus" or "petulans," if he be a "drunkard," or "wanton," an extortioner, or covetous; that is, if he have a habit of any sin whatsoever, then he is not the son of God, but an heir of death and hell. That therefore which in all cases denominates a man such, both before God and before men, when the actions do not,

[c] Heb. x [d] Ephes. ii. 2. [e] Rom. vii. 8, 11, 14.
[f] Numb. xv. 30. Jud. 11. [g] 2 Pet. ii. 14.

—that must needs have in it a proper malignity of its own; and that is the habit.

24. IV. This we may also see evidently in the matter of smaller sins, and the trifles of our life; which though they be often repeated, yet if they be kept asunder by the intercision of the actions of repentance, do not discompose our state of grace, but if they be habitual, they do; though, it may be, the single instances, by some accident being hindered, do not so often return: and this is confessed on all hands. But then the consequent of this is, that the very being habitual is a special irregularity.

25. V. This also appears by the nature and malignity of the greater sins. A vicious habit is a principle of evil naturally and directly. And therefore as the capital sins are worse than others, because they are an impure root, and apt to produce accursed fruits; as covetousness is the root of all evil, and pride, and envy, and idolatry: so is every habit the mother of evil, not accidentally, and by chance, but by its proper efficacy, and natural germination, and therefore is worse than single actions.

26. VI. If natural concupiscence hath in it the nature of sin, and needs a laver of regeneration, and the blood of Christ to wash it off, much more shall our habitual and acquired concupiscence. For this is much worse, procured by our own act, introduced by our consent, brought upon us by the wrath of God which we have deserved; springing from the baseness of our own manners, the consequent of our voluntary disobedience. So that if it were unreasonable that our natural concupiscence should be charged upon us as criminal, as being involuntary; yet for the same reason, it is most reasonable that our habitual sins, our superinduced concupiscence, should be imputed to us as criminal, because it is voluntary in its cause which is in us, and is voluntary in the effect, that is, it is delighted in, and seated in the will. But, however, this argument ought to prevail upon all that admit the article of original sin, as it is usually taught in schools and churches. For upon the denial of it, Pelagius also introduced this opinion, against which I am now disputing. And lest concupiscence might be reckoned a sin, he affirmed that no habitude, no disposition, nothing but an act, could be a sin. But on the other side, lest concupiscence should be accounted no sin, St. Austin[h] disputes earnestly, largely affirming and proving, that a sinful habit is a special sinfulness distinct from that of evil actions: "malus thesaurus cordis," "the evil treasure of the heart," out of which proceed all mischief, and a continual defluxion of impurities.

27. VII. And therefore as God severely forbids every single action of sin, so with greater caution he provides, that we be not guilty of a sinful habit. "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies;"[i] we must not be servants of sin, not sold under sin, that sin have no dominion over us. That is, not only that we do not repeat the actions of sin, but that we be not enslaved to it, under the power of it, of such a lost liberty that we cannot resist the temptation. For he that is so, is guilty before God, although no temptation comes. Such are they whom St. Peter notes, "that cannot cease from sin." And indeed we cannot but confess the reasonableness of this. For all men hate such persons whose minds are habitually averse from them, who watch for opportunities to do them evil offices, who lose none that are offered, who seek for more, who delight in our displeasure, who oftentimes effect what they maliciously will. Saul was David's enemy, even when he was asleep. For the evil will, and the contradicting mind, and the spiteful heart, are worse than the crooked or injurious hand. And as grace is a principle of good, so is this of evil; and therefore as the one denominates the subject gracious, so the other, sinful; both of them inherent, that given by God, this introduced by our own unworthiness. He that sins in a single act, does an injury to God; but he that does it habitually, he that cannot do otherwise, is his essential enemy. The first is like an offending servant, who deserves to be thrown away; but in a vicious habit there is an antipathy: the man is God's enemy, as a wolf to the lamb, as the hyena to the dog. He that commits a single sin, hath stained his skin, and thrown dirt upon it; but an habitual sinner is an Ethiop,[k] and must be flayed alive before his blackness will disappear.

28. VIII. A man is called just or unjust by reason of his disposition to, and preparation for, an act: and therefore much more for the habit. "Paratum est cor meum, Deus:" "O God, my heart is ready, my heart is ready:" and St. John had the reward of martyrdom, because he was ready to die for his Lord, though he was not permitted; and St. Austin[l] affirms, that the continency of Abraham was as certainly crowned as the continence of John, it being as acceptable to God to have a chaste spirit as a virgin body, that is, habitual continence being as pleasing as actual. Thus a man may be a persecutor, or a murderer, if he have a heart ready to do it: and if a lustful soul be an adulteress, because the desire is a sin, it follows that the habit is a particular state of sin, distinct from the act, because it is a state of vicious desires. And as a body may be said to be lustful though it be asleep, or eating, without the sense of actual urtications and violence, by reason of its constitution: so may the soul by the reason of its habit, that is, its vicious principle and base effect of sin, be hated by God, and condemned upon that account.

29. So that a habit is not only distinct from its acts in the manner of being, as rhetoric from logic in Zeno, as a fist from a palm, as a bird from the egg, and the flower from the gem: but a habit differs from its acts, as an effect from the cause, as a distinct principle from another, as a pregnant daughter from a teeming mother, as a conclusion from its premises, as a state of aversation from God, from a single act of provocation.

30. IX. If the habit had not an irregularity in it distinct from the sin, then it were not necessary to persevere in holiness by a constant regular course, but we were to be judged by the number of single actions; and he only who did more bad than good

[h] Lib. de Peccat. Orig. cap. 6. et 13. [i] Rom. vi. 13, 20. [k] Jer. xiii. 23. [l] De Bono Conjugat. c. 21.

actions, should perish, which was affirmed by the Pharisees of old: and then we were to live or die by chance and opportunity, by actions, and not by the will,—by the outward, and not by the inward man; then there could be no such thing necessary as the kingdom of grace, Christ's empire and dominion in the soul; then we can belong to God without belonging to his kingdom; and we might be in God, though the kingdom of God were not in us. For without this we might do many single actions of virtue, and it might happen that these might be more than the single actions of sin, even though the habit, and affection, and state of sin remain. Now if the case may be so, (as in the particular instance,) that the man's final condition shall not be determined by single actions, it must be by habits, and states, and principles of actions: and, therefore, these must have in them a proper good and bad respectively, by which the man shall be judged, distinct from the actions by which he shall not, in the present case, be judged. All which considerations being put together, do unanswerably put us upon this conclusion; that a habit of sin is that state of evil, by which we are enemies to God, and slaves of Satan, by which we are strangers from the covenant of grace, and consigned to the portion of devils: and therefore, as a corollary of all, we are bound, under pain of a new sin, to rise up instantly after every fall, to repent speedily for every sin, not to let the sun go down upon our wrath, nor rise upon our lust, nor run his course upon our covetousness or ambition. For not only every period of impenitence is a period of danger, and eternal death may enter; but it is an aggravation of our folly, a continuing to provoke God, a further aberration from the rule, a departure from life, it is a growing in sin, a progression towards final impenitence, to obduration and apostasy, it is a tempting God, and a despising of his grace, it is all the way presumption, and a dwelling in sin by delight and obedience; that is, it is a conjugation of new evils and new degrees of evil. As pertinacy makes error to be heresy, and impenitence makes little sins unite and become deadly, and perseverance causes good to be crowned, and evil to be unpardonable; so is the habit of viciousness the confirmation of our danger, and solemnities of death the investiture and security of our horrible inheritance.

31. The sum is this. Every single sin is a high calamity; it is a shame and it is a danger; in one instant it makes us liable to God's severe anger. But a vicious habit is a conjugation of many actions, every one of which is highly damnable: and besides that union which is formally an aggravation of evils, there is superinduced upon the will and all its ministering faculties, a viciousness and pravity, which make evil to be beloved and chosen, and God to be hated and despised. A vicious habit hath in it all the physical, metaphysical, and moral degrees of which it can be capable. For there is not only a not repenting, a not rescinding of the past act by a contrary nolition; but there is a continuance in it, and a repetition of the same cause of death, as if a man should marry death, the same death so many times over; it is an improving of our shame, a taking it upon us, an owning and a securing our destruction, and before a man can arrive thither, he must have broken all the instruments of his restitution in pieces, and for his recovery nothing is left unless a palladium fall from heaven; the man cannot live again, unless God shall do more for him than he did for Lazarus, when he raised him from the dead.

SECTION IV.

Sinful Habits do require a distinct Manner of Repentance, and have no Promise to be pardoned but by the Introduction of the contrary.

32. THIS is the most material and practical difficulty of the question; for upon this depends the most mysterious article of repentance, and the interest of dying penitents. For if a habit is not to be pardoned without the extirpation of that which is vicious, and the superinducing its contrary; this being a work of time, requires a particular grace of God, and much industry, caution, watchfulness, frequent prayers, many advices and consultations, constancy, severe application; and is of so great difficulty and such slow progression, that all men who have had experience of this employment, and have heartily gone about to cure a vicious habit, know it is not a thing to be done upon our deathbed. That therefore which I intend to prove, I express in this proposition.

> A vicious habit is not to be pardoned without the introduction of the contrary, either in kind, or in perfect affection, and in all those instances in which the man hath opportunities to work.

33. The church of Rome, whose chairs and pulpits are dangerous guides in the article of repentance, affirms that any sin, or any habit of sin, may be pardoned by any single act of contrition; the continued sin of forty years may be washed off in less than forty minutes, nay, by an act of attrition with the priestly absolution; which proposition, if it be false, does destroy the interest of souls; and it cannot be true, because it destroys the interest of piety, and the necessities of a good life. The reproof of this depends upon many propositions, of which I shall give as plain accounts as the thing will bear.

34. I. Every habit of vice may be expelled by a habit of virtue naturally, as injustice by justice, gluttony by temperance, lust by chastity: but by these it is not meritoriously remitted and forgiven; because nothing in nature can remit sins, or be the immediate natural disposition to pardon. All this is the gift of God, a grace obtained by our holy Redeemer, the price of his blood; but in this, the case is all one as it is in the greatest innocence of the best of men, which, if it be not allowed by incorporation into Christ, and sanctified by faith, wants its proper title to heaven: and so it is with repent-

ance. For nature cannot teach us this lesson, much less make it acceptable. For it depending wholly upon God's graciousness and free forgiveness, can be taught only by him, by whom it is effectual, and this is conveyed to us by our blessed Lord, according to that saying, "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

35. II. Although a habit cannot be the meritorious cause of pardoning the contrary habit, yet to him that hath contracted a vicious habit, it is necessary, in order to his pardon, that he root out that habit and obtain the contrary in some degrees of prevalency, so that the scales be turned on that side where is the interest of virtue: and this depends upon the evidence of the former proposition. If to be an habitual sinner be more than to be guilty of those actual sins by which the habit was contracted; then as it is necessary to rescind the act of sin by an act of contrition and repentance; so also it is as necessary that the habit be retracted by a habit, that every wound may have its balsam, and every broken bone be bound up and redintegrate.

36. III. But in the case of habitual sins the argument is more pressing. For if the act which is past and remains not, yet must be reversed by its contrary, much rather must that be taken off which does remain, which actually tempts us, by which we are in a state exactly contrary to the state of grace. For some seldom acts of sin, and in trifling instances, may stand with a state of holiness, and be incident to a good man: but no vicious habit can, neither in a small matter, nor in a great; this is an ἀπολλύων, "a destroyer;" and therefore, as it hath a particular obliquity, so it must have a special repentance, a repentance proper to it, that is, as an act rescinds an act, so must a habit be opposed to a habit, a single act of contrition to a single sin, and therefore it must be more, no less than a lasting and an habitual contrition to obtain pardon for the habit. And although a habit can meritoriously remit a habit, no more than an act can do an act, they being both equal as to that particular; yet they are also dispositions equally (at least on this hand) necessary for the obtaining pardon of their respective contraries.

37. IV. It is confessed on all sides, that every single sin which we remember, must be repented of by an act of repentance, that must particularly touch that sin; if we distinctly remember it, it must distinctly be revoked by a nolition, a sorrow, and moral revocation of it. Since therefore every habit is contracted by many single actions, every one of which, if they were sinful, must some way or other be rescinded by its contrary, the rescission of those will also introduce a contrary habit, and so the question will be evinced upon that account. For if we shall think one act of sorrow can abolish many foul acts of sin, we but deceive ourselves: we must have many for one, as I have already made to appear, a multitude of sighs and prayers against every foul action that we remember: and then the consequent is plain, that upon this reckoning when a habit is contracted, the actions which were in its principle, cannot be rescinded but by such repentances, which will extinguish not only the formality, but the material and natural effect, of that cursed production, at least in very many degrees.

38. V. A habit opposed to a habit hath greater effect than an act opposed to an act, and therefore is not only equally requisite, but the more proper remedy and instance of repentance. For an act of itself cannot naturally extinguish the guilt, nor meritoriously obtain its pardon: but neither can it destroy its natural being, which was not permanent, and therefore not to be wrought upon by an after-act. But to oppose a habit to a habit, can equally, in the merits of Christ, be the disposition to a pardon, as an act can for an act; and is certainly much better than any one act can be, because it includes many single acts of the same nature, and it is all them, and their permanent effect and change wrought by them besides. So that it is certainly the better and the surer way. But now the question is not, whether it be the better way, but whether it be necessary; and will not the lesser way suffice? To this therefore I answer, that since no man can be acceptable to God as long as sin reigns in his mortal body, and since either sin must reign, or the Spirit of Christ must reign; for a man cannot be a neuter in this war; it is necessary that sin's kingdom be destroyed and broken, and that Christ rule in our hearts; that is, it is necessary that the first and the old habits be taken off, and new ones introduced. For although the moral revocation of a single act may be a sufficient disposition to its pardon, because the act was transient, and unless there be a habit or something of it, nothing remains: yet the moral revocation of a sinful habit cannot be sufficient, because there is impressed upon the soul a viciousness and contrariety to God, which must be taken off, or there can be no reconciliation. For let it be but considered, that a vicious habit is a remanent aversation from God, "an evil heart," the "evil treasure of the heart," "a carnal-mindedness," a union and principle of sins; and then let it be answered, whether a man who is in this state can be a friend of God, or reconciled to him in his Son, who lives in a state so contrary to his Holy Spirit of grace. The guilt cannot be taken off without destroying its nature, since the nature itself is a viciousness and corruption.

39. VI. Either it is necessary to extirpate and break the habit, or else a man may be pardoned while he is in love with sin. For every vicious habit being radicated in the will, and being a strong love, inclination, and adhesion to sin, unless the natural being of this habit be taken off, the enmity against God remains. For it being a quality permanent and inherent, and its nature being an aptness and easiness, a desire to sin and longing after it, to retract this by a moral retractation, and not by a natural also, is but hypocrisy: for no man can say truly, I hate the sin I have committed, so long as the love to sin is inherent in his will; and then if God should pardon such a person, it would be to justify a sinner remaining such, which God equally hates as to condemn the innocent: "He will by no means acquit the guilty." It was part of his name

which he caused to be proclaimed in the camp of Israel. And if this could be otherwise, a man might be in the state of sin and the state of grace at the same time; which hitherto all theology hath believed to be impossible.

40. VII. This whole question is cleared by a large discourse of St. Paul.[m] For having, under the person of an unregenerate man, complained of the habitual state of prevailing sin, of one who is a slave to sin, sold under sin, captive under a law of sin, that is, under vile inclinations, and high pronenesses and necessities of sinning, so that when he is convinced that he ought not to do it, yet he cannot help it; though he fain would have it helped, yet he cannot obey his own will, but his accursed superinduced necessities; and his sin within him was the ruler, that, and not his own better choice, was the principle of his actions, which is the perfect character of an habitual sinner;—he inquires after a remedy for all this, which remedy he calls a being delivered ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου, "from the body of this death."—The remedy is χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the grace of God" through Jesus Christ; for by Christ alone we can be delivered. But what is to be done? the extermination of this dominion and empire of concupiscence, the breaking of the kingdom of sin. That being the evil he complains of, and of which he seeks remedy, that is to be removed. But that we may well understand to what sense, and in what degree, this is to be done; in the next periods he describes the contrary state of deliverance, by the parts and characters of a habit or state of holiness; which he calls, "a walking after the Spirit,"[n] opposed to a walking after the flesh. "It was a law in his members; a law of sin" and death. Now he is to be "made free by" a contrary law, "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus:" that is, as sin before gave him law, so now must the Spirit of God; whereas before he minded the things of the flesh, now he minds the things of the Spirit; that is, "the carnal-mindedness" is gone, and a "spiritual-mindedness" is the principle and ruler of his actions. This is the deliverance from habitual sins, even no other than by habitual graces wrought in us by the Spirit of life, by the grace of our Lord Jesus. And this whole affair is rarely well summed up by the same apostle; "As ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness."[o] If ye were servants before, so ye must be now; it is but justice and reason, that at least as much be done for God as for the devil; it is not enough morally to revoke what is past, by a wishing it had not been done, but you must oppose a state to a state, a habit to a habit. And the author of the book of Baruch presses it further yet; "As it was your mind to go astray from God, so being returned seek him ten times more."[p] It ought not to be less; it must be as St. Chrysostom expresses it, A custom against a custom, a habit opposed to a habit, that the evil may be driven out by the good, as one nail is by another.[q] Οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἥμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν εἰσαεὶ φέρονται, said Procopius;[r] "In those things where you have sinned, to profit, and to increase and improve to their contraries, that is the more comely way to pardon."

41. VIII. Either a habit of virtue is a necessary disposition to the pardon of a habit of vice, or else the doctrine of mortification of the lusts of the flesh, of all the lusts, of all the members of the old man, is nothing but a counsel, and a caution of prudence, but it contains no essential and indispensable duty. For mortification is a long contention, and a course of difficulty; it is to be done by many arts, and much caution, and a long patience, and a diligent observation, by watchfulness and labour, the work of every day, and the employment of all the prudence, and all the advices of good men, and the whole grace of God. It is like the curing of a hectic fever, which one potion will not do. Origen does excellently describe it: Ὁ λόγος, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἰσχυροποιηθεὶς καὶ τραφεὶς τῇ μελετῇ καὶ βεβαιωθεὶς τοῖς δόγμασι πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ἢ ἐγγύς γε τοῦ βεβαιωθῆναι γεγενημένος, ἀνακρούει τοὺς ἐρεθισμοὺς καὶ ὑπεκλύει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. "When a word is strengthened and nourished by care and assiduity, and confirmed by opinions and wise sentences, or near to confirmation, it masters all oppositions, and breaks in pieces the concupiscence." This is the manner of mortification, there must be resolutions and discourses, assiduity and diligence, auxiliaries from reason and wise sentences, and advices of the prudent; and all these must operate πρὸς τὴν βεβαίωσιν, "unto a confirmation," or near it, and by these the concupiscence can be mastered. But this must be a work of time.

Ἔργόν ἐστι, Πανία μακρὰν
Συνήθειαν ἐν βραχεῖ, λύσαι χρόνῳ

said Menander. To dissolve a long custom in a short time, is a work indeed, but very hard, if not impossible, to be done by any man. A man did not suddenly come to the state of evil, from whence he is to arise.[s] "Nemo repentè fuit turpissimus." But as a man coming into a pestilential air, does not suck in death at every motion of his lungs, but by little and little the spirits are poisoned, and at last enter into their portion of death; so it is in a vicious custom. Πρόδηλον ὡς αἰεὶ τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐθνων ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ μικρῶν· ἀμελούμενα δὲ ἰσχὺν μείζω λαμβάνει.[t] The evil is not felt instantly, it begins from little things, and is the production of time and frequent actions. And therefore much less can it be supposed, that we can overcome our filthy habits, and master our fortified corruptions, by a sudden dash of piety and the "ex tempore" gleams of repentance. Concerning this, St. Basil[u] discourses excellently. "Sicut enim morbi corporis inveterati," &c. "For as the old diseases of the body are not healed without a long and painful attendance; so must old sins be cured by a long patience, a daily prayer, and the sharpest contention of the spirit. That which is dyed with many dip-

[m] Rom. vii. 14, 19. [n] Rom. viii. 1, &c. [o] Rom. vi. 19.
[p] Baruch iv. 28. [q] In Act. 4. hom. 10. [r] Vandalic. 11.
[s] S. Basil. homil. 9.
[t] Stob. [u] In regul. fusiùs disput. q. 6. et 55.

pings, is in grain, and can very hardly be washed out: 'Sic anima, sanie peccatorum suppurata et in habitu constituta malitiæ, vix ac multo negotio elui potest.' 'So is the soul when it is corrupted with the poison of sin, and hath contracted a malicious habit, it can scarce, but not without much labour, be made clean.'"

42. Now since we say our nature is inclined to sin, and we feel it to be so in many instances, and yet that it needs time and progression to get a habit of that whither we too naturally tend; we have reason to apprehend that we need time, and fierce contentions, and the long-suffering of violences, to take the kingdom of heaven by force, by a state of contradiction and hostility against the tempting enemy. It is much harder to get a habit against our nature, and a prepossessing habit, than to confirm nature, and to actuate our inclinations.

43. And this does not only relate to habits in their natural capacity, but in their moral, and consequently their relative capacity, as appertaining to God, in the matter of his valuation of them. Because in habits as it is in acts, although metaphysically we can distinguish the action from the irregularity, yet because they are subjected in the same person, and the irregularity is inherent in the action, in the whole composition the action is sinful; so it is in habits. For the sin adheres to the natural facility, and follows it in all its capacities. And as the natural facility of doing viciously is cured by time, and a successive continued diligence; so is the sinfulness, because that facility is vicious and sinful. And as heat is distinguished from fire, but you cannot lessen the heat, but by decreasing the natural being of fire; so does the sin of a vicious habit pass away as the habit naturally lessens; that is, the moral capacity changes as does the natural, this being the subject of that, and it could not have been this habit, if it had not in it this sinfulness.

44. Now if the parts of this argument be put together, their intention is this. A habit of sin is not gotten but by time and progression; and yet it cannot be lost so soon as it was gotten; but it is a long time before its natural being is overcome by its contrary. But the sinfulness of it does pass away with the natural being; and no otherwise; therefore the sinfulness of it cannot be removed suddenly. And therefore if mortification be a duty, and we be commanded to do it, we are commanded to do a long work and a difficult, a thing that is more than the moral retractation of it by a single act of sorrow or contrition, a duty that contains in it so much work as is proportioned to the necessity, even to the breaking the habit of sin, and setting up the habit of virtue over it. Now then, all the question will be, whether mortification be a precept, or a counsel. Concerning which, I only appeal to the words of St. Paul, Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, "Mortify therefore your earthly members;"[x] and, "If ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."[y] Mortification is the condition of life, it is expressly commanded by the apostle that we make "the deeds of the body to be dead;" that is, the evil habits and concupiscence of the body; for that which St. Paul here calls πράξεις or "deeds," in the same precept written to the Galatians,[z] he calls παθήματα καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, "lusts and concupiscences."—And of what great necessity and effect this mortification and crucifying of our sinful customs is, we may understand best by those other words of the same apostle; "He that is dead is justified from sins;"[a] not till then, not till his habit was dead; not as soon as he morally retracts it by an act of displeasure and contrition, but when the sin is dead, when the habit is crucified, when the concupiscence does not reign, but is overcome in all its former prevalences, then he is pardoned, and not before.

45. IX. Unless it be necessary to oppose a habit against a habit, a state of virtue against a state of vice; that is, if a vicious habit may be pardoned upon one act of contrition, then it may so happen that a man shall not be obliged to do good, but only to abstain from evil; to cease from sin, but not to proceed and grow in grace: which is against the perpetual design and analogy of the gospel, and the nature of evangelical righteousness, which differs from the righteousness of the law, as doing good from not doing evil. The law forbade murder, but the gospel superadds charity. The law forbade uncleanness, but the gospel superadds purity and mortification. The law forbade us to do wrong, but the gospel commands us to do offices of kindness. Injustice was prohibited by the law, but revenge also of real injuries is forbidden by the gospel, and we are commanded to do good to them that injure us; and therefore the writers of the New Testament do frequently join these,[b] "to be dead unto sin, and to live unto righteousness." This is that which was opposed to the "righteousness of the law,"[c] and is called "the righteousness of God:" and a mistake in this affair was the ruin of the Jews. For "being ignorant of the righteousness of God, they thought to be justified by their own righteousness which is of the law:" that is, they thought it enough to leave off to sin, without doing the contrary good, and so hoped for the promises. This was the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, to be no adulterers, no defrauders of the rights of the temple, no publicans or exactors of tribute. But our blessed Saviour assured us that there is no hope of heaven for us, "unless our righteousness exceed this of theirs."

46. Now then, to apply this to the present argument. Suppose a vicious person who hath lived an impious life, placed upon his death-bed, exhorted to repentance, made sensible of his danger, invited by the sermons of his priest to dress his soul with duty and sorrow; if he obeys, and is sorry for his sin; supposing that this sorrow does really begin that part of his duty which consists in not sinning,

[x] Colos. iii. 5.
[y] Rom. vii. 13.
[z] Gal. v. 24.
[a] Rom. vi. 7.
[b] Rom. vi. 18. Ephes. iv. 22. Col. i. 13. iii. 5, 10, 12. Titus ii. 12–14. Heb. x. 22, 24. 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2. iii. 11. 2 Pet. i. 4–8.
[c] Rom. iii. 21. ix. 30, 31. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 8. Phil. iii. 6, 7.

nay, suppose he will never sin again, (which is the righteousness of the law,) yet how can he in that case do that good which is required by the gospel? "Seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof." The gospel hath a peculiar righteousness of its own, proper to itself, without which there is no entrance into heaven. But "the righteousness of the law" is called "our own righteousness;" that is, such a righteousness which men by nature know; for we all, by the innate law of nature, know, that we ought to abstain from doing injury to man, from impiety to God: but we only know by revelation the righteousness of the kingdom which consists in holiness and purity, chastity and patience, humility and self-denial. He that rests in the first, and thinks he may be saved by it, (as St. Paul's expression is,) "he establisheth his own righteousness," that is, "the righteousness of the law;" and this he does, whosoever thinks that his evil habits are pardoned without doing that good, and acquiring those graces, which constitute the righteousness of the gospel, that is, faith and holiness, which are the significations and the vital parts of the new creature.

47. X. But because this doctrine is highly necessary, and the very soul of christianity, I consider further, that without the superinducing a contrary state of good to the former state of evil, we cannot return, or go off from that evil condition that God hates, I mean the middle state, or the state of lukewarmness. For though all the old philosophy consented that virtue and vice had no medium between them, but whatsoever was not evil was good, and he that did not do evil was a good man, said the old Jews, yet this they therefore did irreprovably teach, because they knew not this secret of the righteousness of God. For in the evangelical justice, between the natural, or legal good or evil, there is a medium or a third, which of itself, and by the accounts of the law, was not evil, but in the accounts of the evangelical righteousness is a very great one; that is, lukewarmness, or a cold, tame, indifferent, inactive religion. Not that lukewarmness is by name forbidden by any of the laws of the gospel, but that it is against the analogy and design of it. A lukewarm person does not do evil, but he is hated by God, because he does not vigorously proceed in godliness. No law condemns him, but the gospel approves him not, because he does not from the heart obey this form of doctrine, which commands a course, a habit, a state, and life of holiness. It is not enough that we abstain from evil, we shall not be crowned unless we be "partakers of a Divine nature." For to this St. Peter[d] enjoins us carefully. Now then we "partake of a Divine nature," when "the Spirit dwells in us," and rules all our faculties, when we are united unto God, when we imitate the Lord Jesus, when we are perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect. Now whether this can be done by an act of contrition, needs no further inquiry, but to observe the nature of evangelical righteousness, the hatred God bears to lukewarmness, the perfection he requires of a christian, the design and great example of our blessed Lord, the glories of that inheritance whither we are designed, and of the obtaining of which, obedience to God in the faith of Jesus Christ is made the only, indispensable, necessary condition.

48. For let it be considered. Suppose a man that is righteous according to the letter of the law of the ten commandments, all of which (two excepted) were negative; this man hath lived innocently and harmlessly all his days, but yet uselessly, unprofitably, in rest and inactive circumstances; is not this person an unprofitable servant? The servant in the parable was just such: he spent not his master's talent with riotous living, like the prodigal, but laid it up in a napkin, he did neither good nor harm; but because he did no good, he received none, but was thrown into outer darkness.

> "Nec furtum feci, nec fugi" si mihi dicat
> Servus, "habes pretium, loris non ureris," ajo.
> "Non hominem occidi;"—non pasces in cruce corvos.
> HORAT.

An innocent servant amongst the Romans might escape the "furca," or the mill, or the wheel: but unless he was useful, he was not made much of. So it is in christianity. For that which according to Moses was called "righteousness," according to Christ is "poverty and nakedness, misery and blindness," as appears in the reproof which the Spirit of God sent to the bishop and church of Laodicea.[e] He thought himself rich when he was nothing; that is, he was harmless, but not profitable, innocent according to the measures of the law, but not rich in good works. So the Pharisees also thought themselves just by the justice of the law, that is, by their abstinence from condemned evils, and therefore they refused to buy of Christ the Lord, gold purified in the fire, whereby they might become rich; that is, they would not accept of the righteousness of God, the justice evangelical, and therefore they were rejected. And thus to this very day do we. Even many that have the fairest reputation for good persons and honest men, reckon their hopes upon their innocence and legal freedoms, and outward compliances: that they are no liars nor swearers, no drunkards nor gluttons, no extortioners nor injurious, no thieves nor murderers; but in the mean time they are unprofitable servants, not "instructed, not thoroughly prepared to every good works;" not "abounding in the work of the Lord," but "blind, and poor, and naked;" just, but as the Pharisees; innocent, but as heathens; in the mean time they are only in that state, to which Christ never made the promises of eternal life and joys hereafter.

49. Now if this be true in one period, it is true in all the periods of our life. If he that hath always lived thus innocently and no more, that is, a heathen and a Pharisee, could not by their innocence and proper righteousness obtain heaven, much less shall he who lived viciously, and contracted filthy habits, be accepted by all that amends he can make by such single acts of contrition, by which nothing can be effected but that he hates sin and leaves it. For if the most innocent by the legal righteousness is still but unprofitable, much more is

[d] 2 Pet. i. 4. [e] Rev. iii. 15.

he such who hath prevaricated that and lived vilely, and now in his amendment begins to enter that state, which if it goes no further, is still unprofitable. They were severe words which our blessed Saviour said, "When ye have done all things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants;"[f] that is, when ye have done all things which are commanded (in the law); he says not "all things which *I shall command* you;" for then we are not unprofitable servants in the evangelical sense. For he that obeys this form of doctrine is a good servant. He is "the friend of God."—"If ye do whatsoever I command you, ye are my friends;" and that is more than profitable servants: for "I will not call you servants, but friends," saith our blessed Lord;[g] and for you, "a crown of righteousness is laid up against the day of recompenses." These therefore cannot be called unprofitable servants, but friends, sons, and heirs; for he "that is an unprofitable servant, shall be cast into outer darkness." To live therefore in innocence only, and according to the righteousness of the law, is to be a servant, but yet unprofitable; and that in effect is to be no heir of the promises; for to these, piety, or evangelical righteousness, is the only title. "Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of this life, and of that which is to come." For upon this account, the "works of the law cannot justify us:" for the works of the law at the best were but innocence and ceremonial performances: but we are justified by the works of the gospel, that is, faith and obedience. For these are the righteousness of God, they are his works, revealed by his Spirit, effected by his grace, promoted by his gifts, encouraged by special promises, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and accepted through Jesus Christ to all the great purposes of glory and immortality.

50. Since therefore a constant innocence could not justify us, unless we have the righteousness of God, that is, unless we superadd holiness and purity in the faith of Jesus Christ: much less can it be imagined that he who hath transgressed the righteousness of the law, and broken the negative precepts, and the natural human rectitude, and hath superinduced vices contrary to the righteousness of God, can ever hope to be justified by those little arrests of his sin, and his beginnings to leave it upon his death-bed, and his sorrow for it, then when he cannot obtain the righteousness of God, or the holiness of the gospel. It was good counsel that was given by a wise heathen.

> Dimidium facti, qui cœpit, habet; sapere aude;
> Incipe: qui rectè vivendi prorogat horam,
> Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
> Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum. HOR.

"It is good for a man to begin: the clown that stands by a river-side expecting till all the water be run away, may stay long enough before he gets to the other side."—He that will not begin to live well till he hath answered all objections, and hath no lusts to serve, and more appetites to please,—shall never arrive at happiness in the other world. Be wise, and begin betimes.

[f] Luke xvii. 10. [g] John xv. 14, 15.

SECTION V.

Consideration of the Objections against the former Doctrine.

51. I. BUT why may not all this be done in an instant by the grace of God? Cannot he infuse into us the habits of all the graces evangelical? Faith cannot be obtained by natural means, and if it be procured by supernatural, the Spirit of God is not retarded by the measures of an enemy, and the dull methods of natural opposition. "Nescit tarda molimina Spiritûs Sancti gratia." Without the Divine grace we cannot work any thing of the righteousness of God; but if he gives us his grace, does not he make us chaste and patient, humble and devout, and all in an instant? For thus the main question seems to be confessed and granted, that a habit is not remitted but by the introduction of the contrary: but when you consider what you handle, it is a cloud and nothing else; for this admission of the necessity of a habit, enjoins no more labour nor care, it requires no more time, it introduces no active fears, and infers no particular caution, and implies the doing of no more than to the remission of a single act of one sin.

52. To this I answer, that the grace of God is a supernatural principle, and gives new aptnesses and inclinations, powers and possibilities, it invites and teaches, it supplies us with arguments and answers objections, it brings us into artificial necessities, and inclines us sweetly: and this is the "semen Dei," spoken of by St. John, "the seed of God," thrown into the furrows of our hearts, springing up (unless we choke it) to life eternal. By these assistances we being helped can do our duty, and we can expel the habits of vice, and get the habits of virtue: but as we cannot do God's work without God's grace; so God's grace does not do our work without us. For grace being but the beginnings of a new nature in us, gives nothing but powers and inclinations. "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities;"[h] so St. Paul explicates this mystery. And therefore when he had said, "By the grace of God I am what I am;" that is, all is owing to his grace: he also adds, "I have laboured more than they all, yet not I;" that is, not I alone; "sed gratia Dei mecum;" "the grace of God that is with me."—For the grace of God "stands at the door and knocks; but we must attend to his voice, and open the door, and then he will enter and sup with us, and we shall be with him." The grace of God is like a graff put into a stock of another nature; it makes use of the faculties and juice of the stock and natural root, but converts all into its own nature. But,

53. II. We may as well say there can be a habit born with us, as infused into us. For as a natural habit supposes a frequency of action by him who hath natural abilities; so does an infused habit (if there were any such); it is a result and consequent of a frequent doing the works of the Spirit. So that to say, that God, in an instant, infuses into us

[h] Rom. viii. 26.

a habit, [of chastity, &c.] is to say that he hath in an instant infused into us to have done the acts of that grace frequently. For it is certain by experience, that the frequent doing the actions of any grace, increases the grace, and yet the grace or aids of God's Spirit are as necessary for the growth, as for the beginnings of grace. We cannot either will or do without his help; he worketh both in us, that is, we by his help alone are enabled to do things above our nature. But then we are the persons enabled; and therefore we do these works as we do others, not by the same powers, but in the same manner.

54. When God raises a cripple from his couch, and gives him strength to move, though the aid be supernatural, yet the motion is after the manner of nature. And it is evident in the matter of faith, which though it be the gift of God, yet it is seated in the understanding, which operates by way of discourse, and not by intuition: the believer understands as a man, not as an angel; and when Christ by miracle restored a blind eye, still that eye did see by reception, or else by emission of species, just so as eyes that did see naturally. So it is in habits. For it is a contradiction to say, that a perfect habit is infused in an instant: for if a habit were infused, it must be infused as a habit is acquired; for else it is not a habit.[i] As if a motion should be infused, it must still be successive as well as if it were natural.

55. But this device of infused habits, is a fancy without ground and without sense, without authority, or any just grounds or confidence, and it hath in it very bad effects. For it destroys all necessity of our care and labour in the ways of godliness, all cautions of a holy life; it is apt to minister pretences and excuses for a perpetually wicked life till the last of our days, making men to trust to a late repentance; it puts men upon vain confidences, and makes them rely for salvation upon dreams and empty notions; it destroys all the duty of man, and cuts off all intercourse of obedience and reward. But it is sufficient, that there is no ground for it in Scripture, nor in antiquity, nor in right reason: but it is infinitely destructive of all that wise conduct of souls, by which God would glorify himself by the means of a free obedience; and it is infinitely confuted by all those scriptures, which require our cooperation with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit. For all the helps that the Spirit of grace ministers to us, is far from doing our work for us, that it only enables us to do it for ourselves, and makes it reasonable that God should therefore exact it of us, because we have no excuse, and cannot plead disability. To which purpose that discourse of St. Paul is highly convincing and demonstrative; "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure,"[k] ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας, "*according to our desire:*" so it is better read; that is, fear not at all, but κατεργάζεσθε, "thoroughly do your duty;"[l] for according as you desire and pray, God will be present to you with his grace, to bear you through all your labours and temptations. And therefore our conversion, and "the working our salvation," are sometimes ascribed to God, sometimes to men;[m] to God as the prime and indeficient cause, to man ὡς συνέργῳ, as to the "fellow-worker with God;" it is the expression of St. Paul. The Scripture mentions no other effect of God's grace, but such as I have now described. But that grace should do all our work alone, and in an instant, that which costs the saints so much labour and fierce contentions, so much sorrow and trouble, so many prayers and tears, so much watchfulness and caution, so much fear and trembling, so much patience and long-suffering, so much toleration and contradiction, and all this under the conduct of the Spirit, in the midst of all the greatest helps of grace, and the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit of God; that all this labour and danger should be spared to a vile person, who hath grieved and extinguished God's Holy Spirit, and a way contrived for him that he should enjoy the pleasures of this world, and the glories of the next, is such a device, as, if it had any ground or colourable pretence for it, would, without the miracles of another grace, destroy all piety from the face of the earth. And in earnest, it seems to me a strange thing, that the doctors of the church of Rome should be so loose and remiss in this article, when they are so fierce in another that takes from such persons all manner of excuse. It is, I say, very strange, that it should be so possible, and yet withal so unnecessary, to keep the commandments.

56. Obj. 2. But if a single act of contrition cannot procure pardon of sins that are habitual, then a wicked man, that returns not till it be too late to root out vicious habits, must despair of salvation. I answer, that such a man should do well to ask his physician, whether it be possible for him to escape that sickness? If his physician say it is, then the man need not despair; for if he return to life and health, it will not be too late for him by the grace of God to recover in his soul. But if his physician say he cannot recover; first let the physician be reproved for making his patient to despair. I am sure he hath less reason to say he cannot live, than there is to say, such a person hath no promise that he shall be saved without performing the condition. But the physician, if he be a wise man, will say, so far as he understands by the rules of his art, this man cannot recover; but some secret causes of things there are, or may be, by which the event may be better than the most reasonable predictions of his art. The same answer I desire may be taken in the question of his soul. Concerning which the curate is to preach the rules and measures of God, but not to give a resolution concerning the secret and final sentence. 2. The case of the five foolish virgins, if we may construe it as it is expressed, gives a sad account to such

[i] Habitus infusi infunduntur per modum acquisitorum. Regul. Scholast.

[k] Phil. ii. 12, 13.

[l] Magis operamini. Syrus. Augescite in opere. Arabs.

[m] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8. 2 Tim. ii. 21. James iv. 8. Eph. iv. 22—24. Col. iii. 9, 10.

persons: and unless that part of the parable be insignificant, which expresses their sorrow, their diligence, their desire, their begging of oil, their going out to buy oil before the Bridegroom came, but after it was noised that he was coming, and the insufficiency of all this, we may too certainly conclude, that much more than a single act of contrition, and a moral revocation, that is, a sorrow and a nolition of the past sins, may be done upon our death-bed without effect, without a being accepted to pardon and salvation. 3. When things are come to that sad state, let the man hope as much as he can; God forbid that I should be author to him to despair. The purpose of this discourse is, that men in health should not put things to that desperate condition, or make their hopes so little and afflicted, that it may be disputed whether they be alive or no. 4. But this objection is nothing but a temptation and a snare; a device to make me confess that the former arguments (for fear men should despair) ought to be answered, and are not perfectly convincing. I intended them only for institution and instruction, not to confute any person or any thing, but to condemn sin, and to rescue men from danger. But truly, I do think they are rightly concluding (as moral propositions are capable); and if the consequent of them be, that dying persons after a vicious life cannot hope, ordinarily, for pardon, I am truly sorrowful that any man should fall into that sad state of things; as I am really afflicted and sorrowful that any man should live vilely, or perish miserably; but then it ought not to be imputed to this doctrine, that it makes men despair, for the purpose and proper consequent of it is, that men are warned to live so, that they may be secured in their hopes, that is, that men "give diligence to make their calling and election sure," that they may take no desperate courses, and fall into no desperate condition. And certainly, if any man preach the necessity of a good life, and of actual obedience, he may as well be charged to drive men to despair; for the sum of the foregoing doctrine is nothing else, but that it is necessary we should walk before God in all holy conversation, and godliness. But of this I shall give a large account in the fifth section.

Obj. 3. But if things be thus, it is not good or safe to be a criminal judge, and all the discipline of war will be unlawful and highly displeasing to God. For if any one be taken in an act of a great sin, and as it happens in war, be put to death suddenly, without leisure and space of repentance, by the measures of this doctrine, the man shall perish, and consequently the power by which he falls is uncharitable.

I answer; that in an act of sin the case is otherwise than in a habit, as I have already demonstrated in its proper place: it must be a habit that must extirpate a habit; but an act is rescinded by a less violence and abode of duty; and it is possible for an act of duty to be so heroical, or the repentance of an hour to be so pungent and dolorous, and the fruits of that repentance putting forth by the sudden warmths and fervour of the spirit, be so goodly and fair, as, through the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, to obtain pardon of that single sin, if that be all.

II. But it is to be considered, whether the man be otherwise a vicious person, or was he a good man, but by misfortune and carelessness overtaken in a fault? If he was a good man, his spirit is so accustomed to good, that he is soon brought to an excellent sorrow, and to his former state, especially being awakened by the sad arrest of a hasty death; and if he accepts that death willingly, making that which is necessarily enforced upon him, to become voluntary by his acceptation of it, changing the judgment into penance, I make no question but he shall find mercy. But if the man thus taken in a fault was otherwise a vicious person, it is another consideration. It is not safe for him to go to war; but the officers may as charitably and justly put such a person to death for a fault, as send him upon a hard service. The doing of his duty may as well ruin him, as the doing of a fault; and if he be reprieved a week, he will find difficulty in the doing what he should, and danger enough besides.

III. The discipline of war, if it be only administered where it is necessary, not only in the general rule, but also in the particular instance, cannot be reproved upon this account. Because by the laws of war, sufficiently published, every man is sufficiently warned of his danger; which if he either accept, or be bound to accept, he perishes by his own fault, if he perishes at all. For as by the hazard of his employment he is sufficiently called upon to repent worthily of all his evil life past, so is he by the same hazardous employment, and the known laws of war, cautioned to beware of committing any great sin: and if his own danger will not become his security, then his confidence may be his ruin, and then nothing is to be blamed but himself.

IV. But yet it were highly to be wished, that when such cases do happen, and that it can be permitted in the particular without the dissolution of discipline, such persons should be pitied in order to their eternal interest. But when it cannot, the minister of justice is the minister of God, and dispenses his power by the rules of his justice, at which we cannot quarrel, though he cuts off sinners in their acts of sin, of which he hath given them sufficient warning, and hath a long time expected their amendment; to whom that of Seneca may be applied; "Unum bonum tibi superest, repræsentabimus mortem." Nothing but death will make some men cease to sin; and therefore, "quo uno modo possunt, desinant mali esse." God puts a period to the increase of their ruin and calamity, by making that wickedness shorter, which, if it could, would have been eternal. When men are incorrigible, they may be cut off in charity as well as justice; and therefore, as it is always just, so it is sometimes pity, though a sad one, to take a sinner away with his sins upon his head. Ἐπειδὰν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄλλως καὶ τούτῳ γε οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ ἐνταῦθα δεσμοῦ τῆς κακίας πορίσωνται φυγήν. When it is impossible to have it otherwise, this is

the only good that he is capable of,[n] to be sent speedily to a lesser punishment than he should inherit, if he should live longer. But when it can be otherwise, it were very well it were so very often. And therefore the customs of Spain are in this highly to be commended, who to condemned criminals give so much respite till the confessor gives them a "benè discessit," and supposes them competently prepared. But if the lawgivers were truly convinced of this doctrine here taught, it is to be hoped they would more readily practise this charity.

57. Obj. 4. But hath not God promised pardon to him that is contrite? "A contrite and broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."[o] And, "I said, I will confess my sins unto the Lord: and so thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin."[p] And the prodigal was pardoned immediately upon his confession and return. "Cœperat dicere, et mox illum pater complectitur," said St. Basil;[q] "his father embraces him when he began to speak."—And St. Chrysostom; "In that moment," says he, "he wipes away all the sins of his life."—And St. Austin upon that of David before quoted; "My confession came not so far as my mouth, and God heard the voice of my heart."

58. To this I answer, first concerning the words of David: then concerning the examples. I. Concerning contrition, that it is a good beginning of repentance, is certain, and in its measure acceptable to God, and effective of all its proper purposes. But contrition can have but the reward of contrition, but not of other graces, which are not parts but effects of it. God will not "despise the broken and contrite heart;" no, for he will receive it graciously, and bind up the wounds of it, and lead it on in the paths of righteousness, and by the waters of comfort.

59. II. But a man is not of a contrite heart as soon as he hath exercised one act of contrition. He that goes to break a rock, does something towards it by every blow, but every blow does not break it. A man's heart is not so easily broken; I mean broken from the love of sin, and its adherence to it. Every act of temperance does not make a man temperate; and so, I fear, will it be judged concerning contrition.

60. III. But suppose the heart be broken, and that the man is contrite, there is more to be done than so. God indeed does not despise this, but he requires more. God did not despise Ahab's repentance, but it did not do all his work for him. He does not despise patience, nor meekness, nor resignation, nor hope, nor confession, nor any thing that himself commands. But he that commands all, will not be content with one alone; every grace shall have its reward, but it shall not be crowned alone. Faith alone shall not justify, and repentance alone, taken in its specifical, distinctive sense, shall not suffice; but faith, and repentance, and charity, and patience, and the whole circle and rosary of graces and duties, must adorn our heads.

61. IV. Those graces and duties which are commanded us, and to which God hath promised glorious rewards, must not be single or transient acts, but continual and permanent graces. "He that drinks of the water which I shall give him, shall never thirst again."[r]—"He that eats of this bread, shall live for ever."[s]—"He that believes in me, rivers of living water shall flow from his belly."[t]—"He that confesseth his sins and forsaketh them, shall have mercy."—"Repent and believe, and wash away your sins."—Now these words of *πίνων, τρώγων, πιστεύων, μετανοῶν*, are of extended and produced signification, as divines observe, and signify a state of duty, such as includes patience and perseverance. Such also are these. "He that doth the will of my Father, abideth for ever."[u]—"If we confess our sins, he is just and faithful to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity;"[x]—and "they that do such things, shall possess the kingdom of heaven."[y] And, "I will deliver him, because he hath put his trust in me."—And, "If ye love him, he also will love us." And, "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven."—These and many more do not intend that any one grace alone is sufficient, much less any one act of one grace, proceeding from the Spirit of God, can be sufficient to wipe off our leprosies. But these signify states of duty and integrity; not transient actions, or separate graces. And besides the infinite reasonableness of the thing, this truth is consigned to us plainly in Scripture: God "will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life."[z] And if men had pleased, they might as well have fallen upon this proposition, that an act of humility would have procured our pardon, as well as that an act of contrition will do it: because of the words of David, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart; and will save such as be of an humble spirit."[a] Salvation is as much promised to humility alone, as to contrition alone; that is, to neither separately, but in the conjunction with other parts of duty.

62. V. Contrition is either taken in its proper specific signification, and so it is but a part of repentance; and then who can say that it shall be sufficient to a full and final pardon? Repentance alone is not sufficient; there must be faith, and hope, and charity; therefore much less shall a part be sufficient, when the whole is not. But if contrition be taken in a sense comprehending more than itself, then I demand how much shall it involve? That it does include in it an act of the Divine love, and a purpose to confess, and a resolution to amend, is affirmed. So far is well. But why thus far and no further? Why shall not contrition, when it is taken for a sufficient disposition to pardon and salvation, signify as much as repentance does; and repentance signify the whole duty of a converted sinner? Unless it does, repentance itself, that is, as

[n] Ingeniis talibus vitæ exitus remedium est: optimumque est abire ei, qui ad se nunquam rediturus est.—SENEC. de Benef. 7. 10.

[o] Psal. li. 17. [p] Psal. xxxii. 6. [q] Homil. de Pœnit. [r] John iv. 14. [s] John vi. 68. [t] vii. 38. [u] 1 John ii. 17. [x] 1 John i. ix. [y] Gal. v. 21. [z] Rom. ii. 6, 7. [a] Psal. xxxiv. 17.

it is one single grace, cannot suffice, as I proved but now: and therefore how shall contrition alone, much less an act of contrition alone, do it? For my part, I should be very glad it were so, if God so pleased; for I have as much need of mercy as any man, and have as little reason to be confident of the perfection of my repentance, as any returning sinner in the world. But I would not willingly deceive myself, nor others, and therefore I must take the surest course, and follow his measures who hath described the lines and limits of his own mercy. But it is remarkable that the manner of the Scripture is to include the consequents in the antecedents. "He that is of God, heareth God's word;" [b] that is, not only hears, but keeps it. For, "not the hearer, but the doer, is blessed." So St. John in the Revelation; "Blessed are they that are called to the marriage of the Lamb." [c] They which are called are blessed; that is, they which being called, come, and come worthily, having on the wedding-garment. For without this, the meaning of the Spirit is not full. For "many are called, but few are chosen." And thus also it is in the present instance: "God will not despise the contrite heart;" that is, the heart which, being bruised with sorrow, returns to duty, and lives in holiness; for in order to holiness, contrition was accepted.

But one thing I shall remark before I leave this. In the definition of contrition, all the schools of theology in the world that I know of, put "the love of God." Contrition is not only sorrow, but a love of God too. Now this doctrine, if they themselves would give men leave rightly to understand it, is not only an excellent doctrine, but will also do the whole business of this great question. Without contrition our sins cannot be pardoned. It is not contrition, unless the love of God be in it. Add then but these—Our love to God does not consist in an act of intuition or contemplation, nor yet directly and merely of passion; but it consists in obedience. "If ye love me, keep my commandments:"—that is our love of God. So that contrition is a detestation of our past sin, and a consequent obedience to the Divine commandments: only as the aversion hath been, so must be the conversion; it was not one act of disobedience only which the habitual sinner is to be contrite for, but many; and therefore so must his contrition be, a lasting hatred against sin, and an habitual love, that is, an habitual obedience to the Divine commandment.

63. VI. But now to the instances of David and the prodigal, and the sudden pronunciation of their pardon, there is something particular to be said. The parable of the prodigal can prove nothing but God's readiness to receive every returning sinner; but neither the measures nor the times of pardon are there described. As for David, his pardon was pronounced suddenly, but it was but a piece of pardon; the sentence of death, which by Moses's law he incurred, that only was remitted: but after this pardon, David repented bitterly in sackcloth and ashes, he fasted and prayed, he lived holily and wisely, he made amends as he could; and yet the child died that was born to him, his son and subjects rebelled, his concubines were dishonoured in the face of the sun, and the sword never departed from his house. 2. But to both these and all other instances that are or can be of the like nature, I answer, that there is no doubt but God's pardon is as early and speedy as the beginnings of our repentance; but then it is such a pardon as is proportionable to the repentance, a beginning pardon to a beginning repentance. It is one degree of pardon to be admitted to repentance: to have more grace given, to have hopes of final absolution, to be continued in the work of the Lord, to be helped in the mortification of our sins, to be invited forwards, and comforted, and defended, and blessed, still are further progressions of it, and answer to the several parts and perseverance of repentance. And in this sense those sayings of the old doctors are true, but in no other that I know of. To this purpose they are excellent words which were spoken by St. Austin; "Nunquam Deus spernit pœnitentiam, si ei sincerè et simplicitèr offeratur; suscipit, libentèr accipit, amplectitur omnia, quatenus eum ad priorem statum revocet:" "God never does despise repentance that is sincerely offered to him; he takes all, he embraces all, that he may bring the man to his former state!" [d]

64. Obj. 5. But against this doctrine are pretended some sentences of the fathers, expressly affirming, that a sinner, returning to God, in any instant, may be pardoned; even in the last moment of his life, when it is certain nothing can be done, but single acts of contrition or something like it. Thus the author of the book "De Cœnâ Domini," attributed to St. Cyprian; "Sed et in eodem articulo temporis cum jam anima festinat ad exitum, et egrediens ad labia exspirantis emerserit, pœnitentiam clementissimi Dei benignitas non aspernatur: nec serum est quod verum, nec irremissibile quod voluntarium, et quæcunque necessitas cogat ad pœnitudinem, nec quantitas criminis, nec brevitas temporis, nec horæ extremitas, nec vitæ enormitas, si vera contritio, si pura fuerit voluptatum mutatio, excludit à veniâ, sed in amplitudine sinus sui mater caritas prodigos suscipit revertentes, et velit nolit Novatus hæreticus, omni tempore Dei gratia recipit pœnitentes." Truly this is expressly against the severity of the former doctrine: and if St. Cyprian had been the author of this book, I should have confessed him to be an adversary in this question. For this author affirms, that then when "the soul is expiring, God rejects not the contrition of him who but then returns: though the man be compelled to repentance, though the time be short and the iniquity was long and great, yet in the last hour, if he be truly contrite, God will not refuse him." To this I say, that he that said these words, was one that lived not very long since;[e] then when discipline was broken, and piety was lost, and charity was waxen cold; and since the man's authority is nothing, I need say no more, but that I have been reproving this opinion all this while. But there are words in St. Cyprian's book to Demetrianus, which are confessedly his,

[b] John viii. 47. [c] Apoc. xix. 9. [d] Serm. 181. de Tempore, c. 16. [e] Arnoldus Abbas.

and yet seem to promise pardon to dying penitents. "Nec quisquam aut peccatis retardetur aut annis, quo minus veniat ad consequendam salutem. In isto adhuc mundo manenti pœnitentia nulla sera est. Patet ad indulgentiam Dei aditus, et quærentibus atque intelligentibus veritatem facilis accessus est. Tu sub ipso licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu pro delictis roges: et Deum qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis ejus implores. Venia confitenti datur, et credenti indulgentia salutaris de Divinâ pietate conceditur, et ad immortalitatem sub ipsâ morte transitur." These words are indeed very expressly affirmative of the efficacy of a very late, even of a death-bed repentance, if it should so happen. But the consideration of the person wholly alters the case, and makes it inapplicable to the case of dying christians. For Demetrianus was then a pagan, and a cruel persecutor of christians. "Nec saltem contentus es dolorum nostrorum compendio, et simplici ac veloci brevitate pœnarum: admoves laniandis corporibus longa tormenta. Innoxios, justos, Deo caros domo privas, patrimonio spolias, catenis premis, carcere includis, bestiis, gladio, ignibus punis." This man St. Cyprian, according to the christian charity, which teaches to pray for our persecutors, and to love our enemies, exhorts passionately to believe in Christ, to become a christian, and though he was very old, yet to repent even then would not be too late. "Hujus sacramento et signo censeamur; Hunc (si fieri potest) sequamur omnes:" "Let us all follow Christ; let us all be consigned with his sign and his sacrament."—Now there is no peradventure, but new-converted persons, heathens newly giving up their names to Christ and being baptized, if they die in an hour, and were baptized half an hour after they believe in Christ, are heirs of salvation. And it was impossible to be otherwise; for when the heathen world was to be converted, and the gospel preached to all persons, old men, and dying men, it must either be effective to them also of all the promises, or by nothing could they be called to the religion. They who were not christians, were not to be judged by the laws of Christ. But yet christians are; and that is a full account of this particular, since the laws of our religion require of us a holy life; but the religion could demand of strangers nothing but to believe, and at first to promise to obey, and then to do it accordingly, if they shall live. Now to do this was never too late; and this is all which is affirmed by St. Cyprian.

65. St. Jerome[f] affirmed, "Nunquam sera est conversio; latro de cruce transiit ad Paradisum." And St. Austin;[g] "De nullo desperandum est, quamdiu patientia Dei ad pœnitentiam adducit:" —and again; "De quocunque pessimo in hâc vitâ constituto utique non est desperandum. Nec pro illo imprudentèr oratur, de quo non desperatur." Concerning the words of St. Jerome, the same answer will serve which I gave to the words of St. Cyprian; because his instance is of the thief upon the cross, who then came first to Christ: and his case was as if a heathen were new converted to christianity. "Baptizatus ad horam securus hinc exit," was the rule of the church.[h] But God requires more holiness of christians than he did of strangers; and therefore he also expects a longer and more laborious repentance. But of this I have given account in the case of Demetrianus. St. Austin's words press not at all: all that he says is this, "We must despair of no man, so long as the mercy of God leadeth him to repentance." It is true, we must not absolutely despair; but neither must we presume without a warrant: nay, hope as long as God calls effectually. But when the severity of God cuts him off from repentance, by allowing him no time, or not time enough, to finish what is required, the case is wholly differing.

But St. Chrysostom speaks words which are not easy to be reconciled to the former doctrine. The words of St. Chrysostom are these:[i] "Take heed of saying, that there is a place of pardon only for them that have sinned but little. For if you please suppose any one abounding with all maliciousness, and that hath done all things which shut men from the kingdom; let this man be not a heathen, but a christian and accepted of God, but afterwards a whoremonger, an adulterer, an effeminate person, unnaturally lustful, a thief, a drunkard, a slanderer, and one that hath diligently committed such crimes, truly I will not be to him an author of despairing, although he had persevered in these wickednesses to an extreme old age."—Truly neither would I. But neither could he nor any man else be forward to warrant his particular. But if the remaining portion of his old age be well employed, according as the time is, and the spending of that time, and the earnestness of the repentance, and the greatness of the grief, and the heartiness of the return, and the fulness of the restitution, and the zeal of amends, and the abundance of charity, and the largeness of the devotion, so we approach to very many degrees of hope. But there is difference between the case of an extreme old age, and a death-bed. That may have more time, and better faculties, and fitted opportunities, and a clearer choice, and a more perfect resistance between temptation and grace. But for the state of death-bed, although there is in that also some variety, yet the best is very bad, and the worst is stark nought; but concerning the event of both, God only is the judge. Only it is of great use that Chrysostom says in the same letters to Theodorus, "Quodque est majoris facilitatis argumentum, etiamsi non omnem præ se fert pœnitentiam, brevem illam et exiguo tempore factam non abnuit, sed magnâ mercede compensat:" "Even a dying person ought not to despair, and leave off to do those little things of which only there is then left to him a possibility; because even that imperfect repentance, done in that little time, God rejects not, but will give to it a great reward." —So he did to Ahab. And whatsoever is good, shall have a good, some way or other it shall find a recompence: but every recompence is not eternal glory, and every good thing shall not be recom-

[f] Epist. ad Letam, et ad Paulum et Sabinianum.
[g] Serm. 11. de Verb. Dom. et serm. 58. de Tempore.
[h] Vide Hist. of the Life of the Holy Jesus, part 2. disc. 9.
[i] Ad Theodorum Lapsum.

pensed with heaven. To the same purpose is that of Cœlestinus, reproving them that denied repentance to persons, "qui obitûs sui tempore hoc animæ suæ cupiunt remedio subveniri," "who at the time of their death desired to be admitted to it." "Horremus, fateor, tantæ impietatis aliquem reperiri, ut de Dei pietate desperet; quasi non posset ad se quovis tempore concurrenti succurrere, et periclitantem sub onere peccatorum hominem, pondere quo se expedire desiderat, liberare." "I confess," saith he, "we abhor that any one should be found to be of so great impiety as to despair of God's mercy; as if he could not at any time relieve him that comes to him, and ease him that runs to be eased of the burden of his sins." "Quid hoc rogo aliud est," &c. "What else is this but to add death to the dying man, and to kill his soul with cruelty, by denying that he can be absolved, since God is most ready to help, and inviting to repentance, thus promises, saying, "In what day soever the sinner shall be converted, his sins shall not be imputed to him;" and again, "I would not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live?" He therefore takes salvation from a man, who denies him his hoped-for repentance in the time of his death; and he despairs of the clemency of God, who does not believe it sufficient to help the dying man in a moment of time. The thief on the cross hanging on Christ's right hand had lost his reward, if the repentance of one hour had not helped him. When he was in pain, he repented and obtained paradise by one discourse. Therefore the true conversion to God of dying persons, is to be accounted of by the mind rather than by time." Thus far St. Cœlestine. —The sum of which is this: that dying persons must not be thrust into despair; because God's mercy is infinite, and his power is infinite. He can do what he please, and he may do more than we know of, even more than he hath promised; and therefore they that are spiritual must not refuse to do all that they can to such miserable persons. And in all this there is nothing to be reproved, but that the good man by incompetent arguments goes about to prove what he had a mind to. If the hindering such persons to despair be all that he intends, it is well; if more be intended, his arguments will not do it.

66. Afterwards, in the descending ages of the church, things grew worse, and it began to be good doctrine even in the days of St. Isidore: "Nullus desperare debet veniam, etiamsi circa finem vitæ ad pœnitentiam convertatur. Unumquemque enim Deus de suo fine, non de vitâ præteritâ judicat:"[k] God judges a man by his end, not by his past life; and therefore no man must despair of pardon, though he be not converted till about the end of his life." But in these words there is a lenitive, "circa finem vitæ;" if he be converted "about the end of his life;" that is, in his last or declining years: which may contain a fair portion of time, like those who were called in the eleventh hour, that is, "circa finem vitæ," but not "in fine;" "*about*" not "*in* the end of their life." But St. Austin, or Gennadius, or whoever is author of the book "De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus," speaks home to the question, but against the former doctrine.[l] "Pœnitentiâ aboleri peccata indubitantèr credimus, etiamsi in ultimo vitæ spiritu admissorum pœniteat, et publicâ lamentatione peccata prodantur, quia propositum Dei, quo decrevit salvare quod perierat, stat immobile: et ideo quia voluntas ejus non mutatur, sive emendatione vitæ si tempus conceditur, sive supplici confessione, si continuò vitâ exceditur, venia peccatorum fidelitèr præsumatur ab illo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur à perditione pœnitendo, et salvatus miseratione Domini vivat. Si quis alitèr de justissimâ Dei pietate sentit, non christianus sed Novatianus est:" "That sins are taken off by repentance, though it be but in the last breath of our life, we believe without doubting. He that thinks otherwise is not a christian but a Novatian. If we have time, our sins are taken away by amendment of life; but if we die presently, they are taken off by humble confession."—This is his doctrine. And if he were infallible, there were nothing to be said against it. But to balance this, we have a more sober discourse of St. Austin in these words:[m] "If any man placed in the last extremity of sickness, would be admitted to repentance, and is presently reconciled, and so departs, I confess to you, we do not deny to him what he asks, but we do not presume that he goes hence well. I do not presume, I deceive you not, I do not presume. A faithful man living well, goes hence securely. He that is baptized but an hour before, goes hence securely. He that repents and afterwards lives well, goes hence securely. He that repents at last and is reconciled, whether he goes hence securely I am not secure. Where I am secure, I tell you, and give security; where I am not secure, I can admit to repentance, but I cannot give security."—And a little after. "Attend to what I say. I ought to explain clearly what I say, lest any one should misunderstand me. Do I say he shall be damned? I do not say it. Do I say he shall be pardoned? I do not say it. And what say you to me? I know not. I presume not, I promise not, I know not. Will you free yourself from doubt? Will you avoid that which is uncertain? Repent while thou art in health. For if you do penance while you are well, and sickness find you so doing, run to be reconciled; and if you do so, you are secure. Why are you secure? Because you repented at that time when you could have sinned. But if you repent then when you cannot sin, thy sins have left thee, thou hast not left them. But how know you that God will not forgive him? You say true. How? I know not. I know that, I know not this. For therefore I give repentance to you, because I know not. For if I knew it would profit you nothing, I would not give it you. And if I did know that it would profit you, I would not affright you. There are but these two things. Either thou shalt be pardoned, or thou shalt not. Which of these shall be in thy portion I know not. Therefore keep that which is certain, and let go that which is uncertain." Some suppose these to have been the words

[k] Lib. 2. c. 14. de Summo Bono. [l] C. 80.

[m] Lib. 50. hom. 41.

of St. Ambrose, not of St. Austin. But St. Austin hath in his sermons "de Tempore"[n] something more decretory than the former discourse. "He that is polluted with the filth of sins, let him be cleansed 'exomologesis satisfactione,' 'with the satisfactions of repentance.' Neither let him put it off, that he do not require it till his death-bed, where he cannot perform it. For that persuasion is unprofitable. It is nothing for a sinner to repent, unless he finish his repentance. For the voice of the penitent alone is not sufficient for the amendment of his faults: for in the satisfaction for great crimes, not words, but works, are looked after. Truly repentance is given in the last, because it cannot be denied; but we cannot affirm, that they who so ask ought to be absolved. For how can the lapsed man do penance? How shall the dying man do it? How can he repent, who cannot do works of satisfaction or amendment of life? And therefore that repentance which is required by sick men, is itself weak; that which is required of dying men, I fear lest that also die. And therefore whosoever will find mercy of God, let him do his repentance in this world, that he may be saved in the world to come." —Higher yet are the words of Paulinus, bishop of Nola, to Faustus of Rhegium, inquiring what is to be done to death-bed penitents: "Inimicâ persuasione mentitur, qui maculas longâ ætate contractas subitis et inutilibus abolendas gemitibus arbitratur: quo tempore confessio esse potest, satisfactio esse non potest."[o] "He lies with the persuasion of an enemy, who thinks that those stains which have been long contracting, can be suddenly washed off with a few unprofitable sighings, at that time when he can confess, but never make amends."—And a little after; "Circa exequendam interioris hominis sanitatem, non solùm accipiendi voluntas, sed agendi expectatur utilitas:" and again, "Hujusmodi medicina sicut ore poscenda, ita opere consummanda est." "Then a man repents truly, when what he affirms with his mouth, he can finish with his hand;"—that is, not only declaim against sin, but also mortify it. To which I add the words of Asterius, bishop of Amasea.[p] "At cum debitum tempus adveniet, et indeprecabile decretum corporis et animæ nexum dissolvet, reputatio subibit eorum quæ in vitâ patrata sunt, et pœnitentia sera et nihil profutura. Tunc enim demum pœnitentia prodest, cum pœnitens emendandi facultatem habet; sublatâ verò copiâ rectè faciendi, inutilis est dolor, et irrita pœnitentia:" "When the set time shall come, when the irrevocable decree shall dissolve the union of soul and body, then shall the memory of those things return which were done in our lifetime, and a late repentance that shall profit nothing. For then repentance is profitable, when the penitent can amend his fault: but when the power of doing well is taken away, grief is unprofitable, and the repentance vain." Now to the words of Gennadius before quoted, I answer, that they are a fierce reproof of the Novatian doctrine, and too great an earnestness of going so far from them, that he left also the severity, which wise and good men did at that time teach, and ought always to press. He went to cure one error by another, never thinking any contradictory sufficient, unless it were against every thing that the Novatians did say, though also it was said and believed by the orthodox. But I shall resume this discourse in the following chapters, where upon another occasion I shall give account of the severity of the primitive church in this article; which at first was at least as strict as the severest part of this discourse, till by degrees it lessened and shrunk into the licentiousness and dissolution of the present age.

67. Obj. 6. But if it be necessary to extirpate the habits of sin, and to acquire (being helped by God's grace) the contrary habits of virtue; how can it fare with old and decayed men, or with men that have a lingering, tedious, protracted sickness, (for I suppose their case is very near the same,) who were intemperate or unchaste all their lifetime, and until they could be so no longer; but how can they obtain the habit of chastity who cannot do any acts of chastity; or of temperance, who have lost their stomach, and have not any inclination or temptation to the contrary? And every virtue must be "cum potentiâ ad oppositum;" if it be not chosen, it is not virtue, nor rewardable. And the case is almost the same to all persons, young or old, who have not opportunity of acting those graces, in the matter of which they have formerly prevaricated.

68. To this I answer many things, and they are of use in the explication of this material question. I. Old men may exercise many acts of chastity both internal and external. For if they may be unchaste, they may also be chaste: but St. Paul speaks of the ἀσελγηκότες, "men that being past feeling, yet were given to lasciviousness;" ἀνδρόπαιδες ἄνδρες, "half men, half boys," "prurientes in sepulchro." For it is not the body but the soul that is wanton; and an evil man may sin with ineffective lusts; as he that lusts after a woman whom he cannot have, sins with his soul. Now wherever these unlawful desires can be, there also they can be mortified; and an old man can love to talk of his past vanities, or not rescind them by repentance, or desire that he were young and active in wickedness; and therefore if he chooses not to do so, and therefore avoids these and the like, out of hatred of his old impurities, he does the proper works of that grace, which he also may do the easier, because then his temptations to the contrary are not so strong: but this advantage is not worth staying for so long. They that do so, venture damnation a long time together, and may also have an evil proper to that state, greater than this little advantage I instance.

II. If there were no other act of chastity to be exercised by old persons, by reason of their disability; yet the very accepting from the hands of God that disability, and the delighting in that circumstance of things, in which it is impossible to sin as formerly, must needs be pleasing to God, because it is a nolition of the former sins, and a desire of pleasing him.

III. Every act of sorrow for unchastity is an act of chastity; and if this sorrow be great and lasting,

[n] Serm. 57

[o] Epist. 1. Bibl SS PP. tom. 3.

[p] Homil. de Divit. et Lazaro.

permanent and habitual, it will be productive of much good. And if to these the penitent adds penal actions and detestations of his crimes, revenge and apt expressions of his holy anger against his sin, these do produce a quality in the soul contrary to that which made him formerly consent to lust.

IV. When a vicious habit is to be extirpated, and the contrary introduced, it is not necessary that the contrary be acted by the body, but be radicated in the soul; it is necessary that the body do not sin in that instance; but it is not always required, that contrary acts be done by the body. Suppose Origen had been a lustful person before his castration, yet he might have been habitually chaste afterward, by doing spiritual acts of a corporal chastity. And there are many sins whose scene lies in the body, to which the body afterwards cannot oppose a bodily act in the same instance; as he that by intemperate drinking once or oftener, falls into a loathing of wine; he that dismembers himself; and many others; for which a repentance is possible and necessary, but yet a contrary specific act cannot be opposed. In these cases it is sufficient that the habit be placed in the soul, and a perfect contrary quality superinduced, which is to be done by a frequent repetition of the acts of repentance proper to the sin.

V. There are some sins for which amends is to be made in the way of commutation, when it cannot be in the proper instance. "Redime peccata tua eleemosynis," said Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar;[q] "Redeem thy sins with alms, and thy iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." Our English Bibles read this, "Break off thy sins *by alms*;" as if alms were directly contrary to pride, or lust, or gluttony, or tyranny; and the showing mercy to the poor a direct intercision and interruption of the sin. He that gives alms that he may keep his lust, loses his soul and his money too. But he that leaves his lust, or is driven from it, and gives alms to obtain God's favour for his pardon, by doing something that is gracious in his eyes, this man is a good penitent: if his alms be great and proportionable, given freely and without constraint, when he can keep them, and receive and retain the temporal advantage, and be assisted by all those other acts and habits, of which his present state is capable. It cannot be said, that to give alms can in all such cases be sufficient; as it will be hard to say that so many acts of the contrary grace will suffice to get a habit, or obtain a pardon; but it is true, that to give alms is a proper action of repentance in such cases, and is in order to pardon. For,

VI. As there is a supreme habit of vice, a transcendent vileness, that is, a custom and readiness to do every sin as it is presented in its proper temptation, and this is worse than the habit of any one sin; so there is a transcendent habit of grace, by which a man is so holy and just and good, that he is ready to obey God in every instance. That is malice, and that is charity. When a man hath this grace habitually, although it may be so that he cannot produce the proper specific habit opposite to his sin for which he specially repents, yet his supreme habit does contain in it the specific habit virtually and transcendently. An act of this charity will not do this, but the habit will. For he that does a single act of charity, may also do a single act of malice; and he that denies this, knows not what he says, nor ever had experience of himself or any man else. For if he that does an act of charity, that is, he who, by a good motion from God's Spirit, does any thing because God hath commanded, to say that this man will do every thing which is so commanded, is to say, that a good man can never fall into a great sin: which is evidently untrue. But if he that does one act in obedience to God, or in love to him, (for obedience is love,) will also do more, then every man that does one act to please his senses, may as well be supposed that he will do more; and then no man's life should have in it any variety, but be all of a piece, entirely good or entirely evil. I see no difference in the instances, neither can there be, so long as a man in both states hath a power to choose. But then it will follow, that a single act of contrition, or of charity, cannot put a man into the state of the Divine favour, it must be the grace or habit of charity; and that is a magazine of habits by equivalency, and is formally the state of grace. And upon these accounts, if old men will repent, and do what they can do, and are enabled in that state, they have no cause to be afflicted with too great fears concerning the instances of their habits, or the sins of their youth. Concerning persons that are seized upon by a lingering sickness, I have nothing peculiar to say, save this only, that their case is in some things better than that of old men, in some things worse. It is better, because they have, in many periods of their sickness, more hopes of returning to health and long life, than old men have of returning to strength and youth, and a protracted age: and therefore their repentance, if it be hearty, hath in it also more degrees of being voluntary, and relative to a good life. But in this their case is worse. An old man that is healthful, is better seated in the station of penitents, and because he can choose contraries, is the more acceptable if he chooses well. But the sick man, though living long in that disadvantage, cannot be indifferent in so many instances as the other may: and in this case, it is remarkable what St. Austin said; "Si autem vis agere pœnitentiam, quando jam peccare non potes, peccata te dimiserunt, non tu illa."—"To abstain from sin when a man cannot sin, is to be forsaken by sin, not to forsake it."—At the best it is bad enough: but I doubt not but if they do what they can do, there is mercy for them, which they shall find in the day of recompences.

69. Obj. 7. But how shall any man know, whether he have performed his repentance as he ought? For if it be necessary that he get the habits of virtue, and extirpate the habits of vice; that is, if by habits God do, and we are to make judgments of our repentance, who can be certain that his sins are pardoned, and himself reconciled to God, and that he shall be saved? The reasons of his doubts and

[q] Dan. iv. 27.

fears are these. 1. Because it is a long time before a habit can be lost, and the contrary obtained. 2. Because while one habit lessens, another may undiscernibly increase, and it may be a degree of covetousness may expel a degree of prodigality. 3. Because a habit may be lurking secretly, and for want of opportunity of acting in that instance, not betray itself, or be discovered, or attempted to be cured. For he that was not tempted in that kind where he sinned formerly, may, for ought he knows, say that he hath not sinned, only because he was not tempted; but if that be all, the habit may be resident, and kill him secretly. These things must be accounted for.

70. I. But to him that inquires whether it be light or darkness, in what regions his inheritance is designed, and whether his repentance is sufficient, I must give rather a reproof than an answer; or at least such an answer as will tell there is no need of an answer. For indeed it is not good inquiring into measures and little portions of grace. "Love God with all thy heart and all thy strength;" do it heartily, and do it always. If the thing be brought to pass clearly, and discernibly, the pardon is certain, and notorious: but if it be in a middle state, between ebb and flood, so is our pardon too; and if in that undiscerned state it be in the thing certain that thou art on the winning and prevailing side, if really thou dost belong unto God, he will take care both of thy intermedial comfort and final interest. But when people are too inquisitive after comfort, it is a sign their duty is imperfect. In the same proportion also, it is not well when we inquire after a sign for our state of grace and holiness. If the habit be complete and entire, it is as discernible as light, and we may as well inquire for a sign to know when we are hungry and thirsty, when you can walk, or play on the lute. The thing itself is its best indication.

71. II. But if men will quarrel at any truth, because it supposes some men to be in such case, that they do not know certainly what will become of them in the event of things, I know not how it can be helped; I am sure they that complain here, that is, the Roman doctors, are very fierce preachers of the certainty of salvation, or of our knowledge of it. But be they who they will, since all this uncertainty proceeds not from the doctrine, but from the evil state of things into which habitual sinners have put themselves, there will be the less care taken for an answer. But certainly it seems strange that men who have lived basely and viciously all their days, who are respited from an eternal hell by the miracles of mercy, concerning whom it is a wonderful thing that they had not really perished long before, that these men returning at the last, should complain of hard usage, because it cannot be told to them as confidently as to new-baptized innocents, that they are certain of their salvation as St. Peter and St. Paul. But however, both they, and better men than they, must be content with those glorious measures of the Divine mercy which are described, and upon any terms be glad to be pardoned, and to hope and fear, to mourn and to be afflicted, to be humbled and to tremble, and then to "work out their salvation with fear and trembling."

72. III. But then, to advance one step further, there may be a certainty where is no evidence; that is, the thing may be certain in itself, though not known to the man; and there are degrees of hope concerning the final event of our souls; for suppose it cannot be told to the habitual sinner, that his habits of sin are overcome, and that the Spirit rules in all the regions of his soul; yet is he sure that his vicious habits do prevail? is he sure that sin does reign in his mortal body? If he be, then let him not be angry with this doctrine; for it is as bad with him, as any doctrine can affirm. But if he be not sure that sin reigns, then can he not hope that the Spirit does rule? and if so, then also he may hope that his sins are pardoned, and that he shall be saved. And if he look for greater certainty than that of a holy and humble hope, he must stay till he have a revelation; it cannot be had from the certainty of any proposition in Scripture applicable to his case and person.

73. IV. If a habit be long before it be mastered, if a part of it may consist with its contrary, if a habit may lurk secretly and undiscernibly, all these things are aggravations of the danger of an habitual sinner, and are very true, and great engagements of his watchfulness and fear, his caution and observance. But then not these nor any thing else can evacuate the former truths; nor yet ought to make the returning sinner to despair; only this; if he fears that there may be a secret habit unmortified, let him go about his remedy. 2. If he still fears, let him put himself to the trial. 3. If either that does not satisfy him, or he wants opportunity, let him endeavour to increase his supreme habit, the habit of charity, or that universal grace of the love of God, which will secure his spirit against all secret undiscernible vicious affections.

74. V. This only is certain: no man needs to despair that is alive, and hath begun to leave his sins, and to whom God hath given time, and power, and holy desires. If all these be spent, and nothing remain besides the desires, that is another consideration, and must receive its sentence by the measures of the former doctrine. But for the present, a man ought not to conclude against his hopes, because he finds propensities and inclinations to the former courses remaining in him, even after his conversion. For so it will be always, more or less, and this is not only the remains of a vicious habit, but even of natural inclination in some instances.

75. VI. Then the habit hath lost its killing quality, and the man is freed from his state of ungraciousness, when the habit of virtue prevails, when he obeys frequently, willingly, cheerfully. But if he sins frequently, and obeys his temptations readily; if he delights in sin, and chooses that; that is, if his sins be more than sins of infirmity, (as they are described under their proper title,) then the habit remains, and the man is in the state of death. But when sentence is given for God, when virtue is the greater ingredient, when all sin is hated, and laboured and prayed against, the remaining evils

and strugglings of the serpent are signs of the Spirit's victory, but also engagements of a persevering care and watchfulness, lest they return, and prevail anew. He that is converted, and is in his contentions for heaven, is in a good state of being; let him go forward. "He that is justified, let him be justified still;" but whether just now if he dies he shall be saved or not, we cannot answer, or give accounts of every period of his new life. In what minute or degree of repentance his sins are perfectly pardoned, no man can tell; and it is unreasonable to reprove a doctrine that infers a man to be uncertain, where God hath given no certain notices or measures. If a man will be certain, he must die as soon as he is worthily baptized, or live according to his promises then made. If he breaks them, he is certain of nothing but that he may be saved if he returns speedily, and effectively does his duty. But concerning the particulars, there can no rules be given sufficient to answer every man's case beforehand. If he be uncertain how God's judgment will be of him, let him be the more afraid, and the more humble, and the more cautious, and the more penitent. For in this case, all our security is not to be derived from signs, but from duty. Duty is the best signification, and God's infinite boundless mercy is the best ground of our confidence.

SECTION VI.

The former Doctrine reduced to Practice.

It now remains that we account concerning the effect of this doctrine; and first, concerning them that are well and vigorous. 2. Them that are old. 3. Them that are dying. All which are to have several usages and receptions, proper entertainments and exercises of repentance.

The Manner of Repentance and Usage of habitual Sinners, who convert in their timely and vigorous Years.

1. I. Let every man that thinks of his return, be infinitely careful to avoid every new sin; for it is like a blow to a broken leg, or a burden to a crushed arm. Every little thing disorders the new health and unfinished recovery. So that every new sin to such a person is a double damage, it pulls him back from all his hopes, and makes his labours vain, and he is as far to seek, and as much to begin again, as ever, and more. For so may you see one climbing of a rock, with a great contention and labour and danger, if when he hath got from the foot to the shoulder, he then lets his hold go, he falls lower than where he first set his foot, and sinks deeper by the weight of his own fall. So is the new-converted man who is labouring to overcome the rocks and mountains of his habitual sins; every sin throws him down further, and bruises his very bones in the fall. To this purpose therefore is the wise advice of the son of Sirach; "Hast thou sinned? do so no more, but ask pardon for thy former fault: add not sin to sin, for in one a man shall not be unpunished."

> Ergo, ne pietas sit victa cupidine ventris,
> Parcite, vaticinor, cognatas cæde nefandâ
> Exturbare animas; ne sanguine sanguis alatur.
> Metamorph. 15.

Let not blood touch blood, nor sin touch sin; for we destroy our souls with impious hands, when a crime follows a habit, like funeral processions in the pomps and solemnities of death.

2. II. At the beginning of his recovery, let the penitent be armed by special cautions against the labours and difficulties of the restitution: and consider, that if sin be so pleasant, it is the habit that hath made it so; it is become easy and natural by the custom. And therefore so may virtue. And complain not that nature helps and corroborates the habits of sin: for besides that nature doth this mischief but in some instances, not in all; the grace of God will as much assist the customs and labours of virtue, as nature doth the habits of vice. And choose whether you will. Take any institution or course of life, let it at first be never so violent, use will make it pleasant. And therefore we may make virtue as certain as vice is, as pleasing to the spirit, as hard to be removed, as perfective of our nature as the other is destructive; and make it by assuefaction as impossible to be vicious, as we now think it difficult and impossible to overcome flesh and blood. But let him remember this also, that it will be a strange shame, that he can be in a state of sin and death, from which it will be very hard to remove, and to confess our natures so caitiff and base, that we cannot as easily be united unto virtue; that he can become a devil, and cannot be like an angel; that he can decline to the brutishness of beasts, and yet never arise up to a participation of the excellent beauties of the intellectual world.

3. III. He that undertakes the repentance of his vicious habits, when he hath strength and time enough for the work, must do it in kind; that is, he must oppose a habit to a habit, every contrary to its contrary; as chastity to his wantonness, temperance to his gluttony or drunkenness: the reason is, because if he had contracted the habit of a sin, especially of youthful sins, unless the habit of virtue be opposed to the instance of his sin, he cannot be safe, nor penitent. For while the temptation and fierce inclinations remain, it cannot be a cure to this to do acts of charity; he must do acts of chastity, or else he will fall or continue in his uncleanness; which in old persons will not be. Here the sin still tempts by natural inclination, and commands by the habit; and therefore as there can be no repentance while the affections remain, so neither can there be safety as long as the habit hath a natural being. The first begins with a moral revocation of the sin; and the same hath also its progression, perfection, and security, by the extinction of the inherent quality.

4. IV. Let the penitent seek to obstruct or divert the proper principles of evil habits; for by the same by which they begin, commonly by the same they are nursed up to their ugly bulk. There are many of them that attend upon the prince of darkness, and

minister to the filthy production. Evil examples, natural inclinations, false propositions, evil prejudices, indulgence to our own infirmities, and many more: but especially, a cohabitation with the temptation, by which we fell and did enter into death, and by which we use to fall. There are some men more in love with the temptation than with the sin; and because this rushes against the conscience rudely, and they see death stand at the end of the progression, therefore they only love to stand upon mount Ebal and view it. They resolve they will not commit the sin, they will not be overcome, but they would fain be tempted. If these men will but observe the contingencies of their own state, they shall find that when they have set the house on fire, they cannot prescribe its measures of burning. But there is a secret iniquity in it.—For he that loves to stand and stare upon the fire that burnt him formerly, is pleased with the warmth and splendour, and the temptation itself hath some little correspondences to the appetite.—The man dares not fornicate, but loves to look upon the beauties of a woman, or sit with her at the wine, till his heart is ready to drop asleep. He will not enter into the house, because it is infected with the plague, but he loves to stand at the door, and fain would enter if he durst;—it is impossible that any man should love to abide by a temptation for a good end.—There is some little sensuality in being tempted:—and the very consideration concerning it, sometimes strikes the fancy too unluckily, and pleases some faculty or other, as much as the man dares admit. I do not say, that to be tempted is always criminal, or in the neighbourhood of it; but it is the best indication of our love to God, for his sake to deny its importunity, and to overcome it: but that is only when it is unavoidable and from without, against our wills, or at least besides our purposes. For in the declination of sin, and overcoming temptation, there can be but these two things by which we can signify our love to God. 1. To stand in a temptation when we could not avoid it. 2. And to run from it when we can. This hath in it more of prudence, and the other of force and spiritual strength: and we can best signify the sense of our weakness, and our carefulness by avoiding the occasions; but then we declare the excellency of our purposes, and pertinacious love to God, when we serve him in hard battles, when we are tempted as before, but fall not now as we did then. Indeed this is the greatest trial; and when God suffers us so to be tried, we are accepted if we stand in that day, and in such circumstances. But he that will choose that state, and dwell near his danger, loves not to be safe; and either he is a vain person in the confidences of his own strength, or else he loves that which is like a sin, and comes as near it as he dare; and very often, the event of it is, that at last he dies like a fly about a candle. But he that hath fallen by such a neighbourhood, and still continues the cause, may as well hope to cure his fever by full draughts of the new vintage, as return to life upon that account.—A vicious habit is maintained at an easy rate, but not cured without a mighty labour and expense: any thing can feed it, but nothing can destroy it, if there be any thing near it, whereby it can be kept alive.—If therefore you will cure a vicious habit, dwell far from danger, and tempt not death, with which you have been so long in love.

5. V. A vicious habit never could have come to that state and period but by impunity. If God had smitten the sinner graciously in the beginning of his evil journey, it is likely that, as Balaam did, he also would have offered to go back. Now when God does not punish a sinner early, though it hath in it more of danger and less of safety, yet we may in some measure supply the want of Divine mercy smiting and hindering a sinner, by considering that impunity is no mark of innocence, but very often it is an indication of God's extremest and final anger. Therefore be sure ever to suspect a prosperous sin. For of itself prosperity is a temptation, and it is granted but to few persons to be prosperous and pious. The poor and the despised, the humble and necessitous; he that daily needs God with a sharpness of apprehension, that feeds upon necessity, and lives in hardships, that is never flattered, and is never cheated out of virtue for bread, those persons are likely to be wise and wary; and if they be not, nothing can make them so: for he that is impatient in want, is impotent in plenty; for impatience is pride, and he that is proud when he is poor, if he were rich he would be intolerable; and therefore it is easier to bear poverty temperately than riches.

> Securo nihil est te, Nævole, pejus; eodem
> Sollicito nihil est, Nævole, te melius.
> Epigr. l. 4. ep. 84.

And Passienus said of Caligula, "Nemo fuit servus melior, nemo dominus deterior:" "He was the best servant, and the worst master, that ever was." Poverty is like a girdle about our loins, it binds hard, but it is modest and useful. But a heap of riches is a heap of temptations, and few men will escape, if it be always in their hand what can be offered to their heart. And therefore to be prosperous hath in itself enough of danger. But when a sin is prosperous and unpunished, there are left but few possibilities and arguments of resistance, and therefore it will become or remain habitual respectively. St. Paul taught us this secret, that sins are properly made habitual upon the stock of impunity. "Sin taking occasion by the law wrought in me all concupiscence,"[r] ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα, "apprehending impunity," διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς, "by occasion of the commandment," viz. so expressed and established as it was. Because in the commandment forbidding to lust or covet, there was no penalty annexed or threatened in the sanction or in the explication. Murder was death, and so was adultery, and rebellion. Theft was punished severely too; and so other things in their proportion; but the desires God left under a bare restraint, and affixed no penalty in the law. Now sin, that is, men that had a mind to sin, taking occasion hence, that is, taking this impunity for a sufficient warrant, prevailed by frequent actions up to an evil custom and a habit, and so ruled them who were not renewed

[r] Rom. vii. 8.

and overruled by the Holy Spirit of grace. Ἀφορμὴ signifies "a caution in law," or a security; so Suidas and Phavorinus. It is used also for "impunity" in Demosthenes, though the grammarians note it not. But as to the thing. Whenever you see a sin thrive, start back suddenly and with a trembling fear: for it does nurse the sin from a single action to a filthy habit, and that always dwells in the suburbs of the horrible regions. No man is so much to be pitied, as he that thrives and is let alone in his sin: there is evil towards that man. But then God is kind to a sinner, when he makes his sin to be uneasy and troublesome.

6. VI. But in prosecution of the former observation, it is of very great use that the vigorous and healthful penitent do use corporal mortifications and austerities, by way of penance and affliction for every single act of that sin he commits, whose habit he intends to mortify. If he makes himself smart, and never spare his sin but still punish it, besides that it is a good act of indignation and revenge which St. Paul commends in all holy penitents, it is also a way to take off the pleasure of the sin, by which it would fain make abode and seizure upon the will. A man will not so soon delight or love to abide with that which brings him affliction in present, and makes his life miserable. This advice I learn from Maimonides:[s] "Ab inolitâ peccandi consuetudine non posse hominem avelli nisi gravibus pœnis:" "Nothing so good to cure an evil custom of sinning, as the inflicting great smart upon the offender."—He that is going to cure his habitual drunkenness: if ever he be overtaken again, let him for the first offence fast two days with bread and water; and the next time double his smart: and let the man load himself till he groans under it, and he will be glad to take heed.

7. VII. He that hath sinned often, and is now returning, let him watch if ever his sin be offered to him by a temptation, and that temptation dressed as formerly; that he be sure not to neglect that opportunity of beginning to break his evil habit: he that hath committed fornication, and repents, if ever he be tempted again, not to seek for it, but to act it, and may enter upon the sin with ease and readiness, then let him refuse his sin so dressed, so ready, so fitted for action, and the event will be this, that besides it is a great indication and sign of an excellent repentance, it discountenances the habit, and breaks the combination of its parts, and disturbs its dwelling; but besides it is so signal an action of repentance, and so pleasing to the Spirit of God, and of a good man, that it is apt to make him do so again, and proceed to crucify that habit, upon which he hath had so lucky a day, and so great a victory and success. It is like giving to a person, and obliging him by some very great favour. He that does so, is for ever after ready and apt to do that obliged person still more kindness, lest the first should perish. When a man hath gotten an estate together, he is apt, saith Plutarch, to save little things, and be provident even of the smallest sum, because that now, if it be saved, will come to something, it will be seen and preserved in his heap. But he that is poor, cannot become rich with those little arts of providence; and therefore he lets them go for his pleasure, since he cannot keep them with hopes to improve his bank: so is such an earnest and entry into piety; it is such a stock of holiness, that it is worth preserving; and to have resisted once so bravely, does add confidence to the spirit that it can overcome, and makes it probable that he may get a crown. However it falls out, it is an excellent act and signification of a hearty repentance and conversion.

[s] Moreh Nevoch. 3ii.

Ἀνὴρ δίκαίος ἐστιν, οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἀδικῶν,
Ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀδικεῖν δυνάμενος μὴ βούλεται. Philemon.

"He is a just man, not whosoever does no wrong, but he that can and will not." Maimonides saith excellently to the same purpose. For to the question, "Quænam tandem est pœnitentia perfecta?" he answers, This is the true and perfect repentance, "cum quis ad manum habet, quo priùs peccavit, et jam penes ipsum est, idem perpetrare, recedens tamen illud non committit pœnitentiæ causâ, neque timore cohibitus neque defectu virium,"[t] "when the power and opportunity are present, and the temptation, it may be, ready and urging, when it is in a man's hand to do the same thing, yet retiring he commits it not, only for piety or repentance' sake, not being restrained by fear or want of powers."

8. VIII. If such opportunities of his sin be not presented, it is never the worse: the penitent need not be fond of them, for they are dangers which prove death, if they be not triumphed over: and if they be, yet the man hath escaped a danger, and may both prove and act his repentance without it. But therefore he that is not so tried and put to it, must do all that which he is put to, and execute his fierce anger against the sin, and by proper instances of mortification endeavour the destruction of it; and although every man hath not so glorious a trial and indication of his repentance as in the former instance, yet he that denies himself in any instance of his sin, and so in all that he can or is tempted in, does the same thing; all the same duty, and with less danger, and with less gloriousness. But if it happen that his sin urge him not at all as formerly, or the occasion is gone, and the matter is subtracted, he is to follow the measures of old men described in the next section.

9. IX. Let the penitent be infinitely careful that he does not mortify one vicious habit by a contrary vice, but by a contrary virtue. For to what purpose is it that you are cured of prodigality, and then die by covetousness?

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus una?

It is not this or that alone that is contrary to God. Every vicious habit is equally his enemy; and he that exterminates one vice and entertains another, hath destroyed the vice, but not the viciousness; he hath quitted the instance, but not the irregularity; he hath served the interest of his fortune or his pleasure, his fame or his quiet, his passion or his humour, but not his virtue and relations to God. By

[t] Canon Pœnit. cap. 2. 1.

changing his vice for another, he is convinced of his first danger, but enters not into safety; he is only weary of his fever, and changes it into the ease of a dead palsy; and it is in them as in all sharp sicknesses, that is always worst that is actually upon him; and the man dies by his imaginary cure, but real sickness.

10. X. When the mortification of a vicious habit is attempted, and is found difficult and pertinacious, not flexible or malleable, by the strokes of contrition and its proper remedies, it is a safe way if the penitent will take some course to disable the sin, and make it impossible to return in the former instance, provided it be done by a lawful instrument. Origen took an ill course to do it, but resolved he would mortify his lust, and make himself a eunuch. But a solemn vow were an excellent instrument to restrain the violences of a frequent temptation, if the person were to be trusted with it; that is, if he were a constant person, not giddy nor easy to revolt, but of a pertinacious nature, or of so tender conscience, that he durst not for the world break his vow. But this remedy is dangerous where the temptations return strongly. But there are some others which are safer. Cut off the occasion wholly. Defy the concubine publicly, and disgrace her, make it impossible for her to consent to thee if thou shouldest ask her. If thy lord or master tempts thee to drunkenness, quit his service, or openly deny him. Make thy face unpleasant, and tear off the charms from thy beauty, that thou mayest not be courted any more. This is a fierceness and zeal of repentance, but very fit to be used when milder courses will not cure thee.

——Scelerum si benè pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa; et teneræ nimis
Mentes asperioribus
Formandæ studiis—— HORAT.

If thou repentest truly, pluck up sin by the roots, take away its principle, strangle its nurse, and destroy every thing that can foment it.

11. XI. It was not well with thee when thou didst first enter into the suburbs of hell by single actions of sin; but they were transient, and passed off sooner than the habit: but when this did supervene, a man's acts of malice were enlarged and made continual to each other; that is, joined by a common term of affection and delight in sin, and perfect subjection to its accursed empire. But now in thy return consider proportionably concerning thy actions of repentance and piety, whether they be transient or permanent. Good men often say their prayers, and choose good forms and offices, the best they can, and they use them with an earnest and an actual devotion; but he that hath prayed long, and well, yet when he rises, it may be, he cannot tell all the particulars which he begged of God. I doubt not but those prayers which contain matter in them agreeable to his usual and constant desires, and are actually attended to in the time of their use, are recorded in heaven, and there will abide to procure the blessing, and towards the accounts of eternity. But then it is to be observed, that those transient acts of devotion, or other volatile and fugitive instances of repentance, are not the proper and proportioned remedy to the evil of vicious habits. There must be something more permanent. Therefore let the penitent make no sudden resolutions, but first consider them well, and imprint them upon his spirit, and renew them often, and call them to mind constantly and at certain periods; let him use much meditation upon the matter of his repentance and remedy; and let his prayers be the same, passionate, material, alike expressed, and made the business of much of our time. For our spirit by use must be made holy, and by assiduity of reading, of praying, of meditating, and acts of self-denial, be accustomed to the yoke of Jesus: for let the habit be firm as a rock, united and hard as a stone, it will be broken and made soft by a continual dropping.

The proper Repentance and Usage of Sinners, who return not till their Old Age.

12. I. Let all such penitents be reminded, that their sins will not so easily be pardoned as the sins of younger persons, whose passions are greater, and their reason less, and their observations loose, and their experience trifling. But now God hath long expected the effects of wise and sober counsels. The old man in the comedy did so to his son.

Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi, animum ut expleret suum;
Nunc, hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat;
Dehinc postulo, sive æquum est, te oro, Dave, ut redeat jam in viam.[u]

And God does so to us. And therefore follies of old age are upbraidings of a man, and confusions to his spirit.

——— Lateranus ad illos
Thermarum calices, inscriptaque lintea vadit,
Maturus bello ——— JUVEN.

To have a grave wise man wrangle for nutshells and a judge scramble for apples, is an indecency bigger than the sin, and dishonours him by the disproportion.

Quædam cum primâ resecentur crimina barbâ.—JUVEN.

Lateranus should have gone to the Armenian wars, or been charging a Parthian horseman, when he went to the baths, and hired an unfortunate woman standing under the titles: and every old man should have been grey with sorrow and carefulness, and have passed many stages of his repentance long before he now begins; and therefore he is not only straitened for want of time, but hath a greater work to do by how much the longer he hath stayed, and yet is the more unable to do it. The greatness of his need hath diminished his power; and the more need he hath of grace, the less he shall have. But however, with such helps as they have, they must instantly set upon their work.

———Breve sit quod turpiter audes.

But they have abode in their sin too long; let them

[u] Andria. Act. I. scen. 2.

now therefore use such abbreviatures and hastenings of return as can be in their power.

13. II. Let every old man that repents of the sins of his evil life, be very diligent in the search of the particulars; that by drawing them into a heap, and spreading them before his eyes, he may be mightily ashamed at their number and burden. For even a good man will have cause to be ashamed of himself, if the single sins respersed over his whole life were drawn into a body of articles, and united in the accusation; but then for a man who is grown old in iniquity, to see in one entire view the scheme of his impiety, the horrible heaps of damnation amassed together, will probably have this event, it will make him extremely ashamed, it will make himself most ready to judge and condemn himself, it will humble him to the earth, and make him cry mightily for pardon, and these are good dispositions towards it.

14. III. Let the penitent make some vigorous opposition to every kind of sin of which he hath been particularly guilty by frequent actions; as to adultery, or any kind of uncleanness, let him oppose all the actions of purity which he can in that state, which may best be done, by detestation of his former follies, by praying for pardon, by punishing himself, by sorrow, and all its instruments and apt expressions. But in those instances where the material part remains, and the powers of sinning in the same kind, let him be sure to repent in kind. As if he were habitually intemperate, let him now correct and rule his appetite; for—God will not take any thing in exchange for that duty which may be paid in kind.

15. IV. Although this is to be done to the kinds of sin, yet it cannot be so particularly done to the numbers of the actions; not only because it will be impossible for such persons to know their numbers, but because there is not time left to make little minute proportions: if he had fewer, all his time and all his powers would be little enough for the repentance; and therefore having many, it is well if upon any terms, if upon the expense of all his faculties and labour, he can obtain pardon. Only this: the greater the numbers are, the more firm the habit is supposed: and therefore there ought in general to be made the more vigorous opposition; and let the acts of repentance be more frequently exercised in the proper matter of that virtue which is repugnant to that proper state of evil. And let the very number be an argument to thee of a particular humiliation; let it be inserted into thy confessions, and become an aggravation of thy own misery, and of God's loving-kindness if he shall please to pardon thee.

16. V. Every old man that but then begins to repent, is tied to do more in the remaining proportions of time, than the more early penitents in so much time, because they have a greater account to make, more evil to mourn for, more pertinacious habits to rescind, fewer temptations upon the accounts of nature, but more upon their own superinduced account: that is, they have less excuse and a greater necessity to make haste.

> Cogimur à suetis animum suspendere rebus,
> Atque ut vivamus, vivere desinimus. Cornel. Gal.

He must unlearn what he had learned before, and break all his evil customs, doing violence to his own and to his superinduced nature. But therefore this man must not go moderately in his return, but earnestly,—vigorously,—zealously;—and can have no other measure but to do all that he can do. For in his case every slow progression is a sign of the apprehension of his danger and necessity: but it is also a sign that he hath no affection to the business, that he leaves his sins as a merchant does his goods in a storm, or a wounded man endures his arm to be cut off; when there is no help for it, the thing must be done, but he is not pleased with the employment.

17. VI. Let every old man entering into the state of repentance, use all the earnestness he can to heighten his affections, to fix his will and desires upon the things of God; to have no gust, no relish, for the things of the world, but that all his earnestness, his whole inner man, be entirely taken up with his new employment. For since it is certain there will be a great poverty of external acts of many virtues, which are necessary in his case, unless they be supplied with internal actions, and the earnestness of the spirit, the man will go poor and blind and naked to his grave. It is the heart which in all things makes the outward act to be acceptable: and if the heart be right, it makes amends for the unavoidable omission of the outward expression. But therefore by how much the more old men are disabled from doing the outward and material actions to extirpate the natural quality and inherent mischief of vicious habits; by so much the more must they be supplied, and the grace acted and signified by the actions of the Spirit.

18. VII. Let old men in their state of repentance be much in alms and prayers, according to their ability, that by doing good to others, and glory to God, they may obtain the favour of God, who delights in the communications of goodness and in such sacrifices. This the apostle[x] expresses thus: "To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices," εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ Θεὸς, "God is well pleased;" it is like a propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore proper for this man's necessities. The proper arguments to endear this, are reckoned in their own place; but the reason why this is most apposite to the state of an old man's repentance, is because they are excellent suppletories to their other defects, and by way of impetration obtain of God to pardon those habits of vice, which in the natural way they have now no external instrument to extinguish.

19. VIII. But because every state hath some temptation proper to itself, let old men be infinitely careful to suppress their own lusts, and present inclinations to evil. If an old man out of hatred of sin does mortify his covetous desires, ἔχει καλὸν βαθμὸν, "he hath purchased a good degree" in the station of penitents, and hath given an excellent indication of a true repentance, and conversion from sin to God. Let old men, if there be need, be apt to learn, and so mortify that pride and morosity that usually do attend their age; who think their

[x] Heb. xiii. 16.

grey hairs title enough to wisdom, and sufficient notices of things. Let them be gentle to others, patient of the evil accidents of their state, bountiful and liberal, as full of good example as they can; and it is more than probable, that if they yield not to that by which they can then be tempted, they have quit all their affections to sin, and it is enough that they are found faithful in that in which they are now tried.

20. IX. Let old men be very careful that they never tell the story of their sins with any pleasure or delight; but as they must "recolligere annos in amaritudine," "call to mind their past years in the bitterness of their soul," so when they speak of any thing of it, they must not tell it as a merry story, lest they be found to laugh at their own damnation.

——Mutatus
Dices, Heu! quoties te in speculo videris alterum,
Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?
HORAT. lib. 4. Od. 10.

Trouble and sorrow will better become the spirit of an old sinner, because he was a fool when he was young, and weak when he is wise; that his strengths must be spent in sin, and that, for God and wise courses, nothing remains but weak hands, and dim eyes, and trembling knees.

21. X. Let not an old sinner and young penitent ever think that there can be a period to his repentance, or that it can ever be said by himself that he hath done enough. No sorrow, no alms, no affliction, no patience, no sacraments, can be said to have finished his work, so that he may say with St. Paul, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course;" nothing can bring consummation to his work till the day of his death, because it is all the way an imperfect state, having in it nothing that is excellent or laudable, but only upon the account of a great necessity and misery on one side, and a great mercy on the other. It is like a man condemned to perpetual banishment; he is always in his passive obedience, but is a debtor to the law, until he be dead. So is this penitent; he hath not finished his work, or done a repentance in any measure proportionable to his sins, but only because he can do no more; and yet he did something, even before it was too late.

22. XI. Let an old man, in the mortification of his vicious habits, be curious to distinguish nature from grace, his own disability from the strengths of the Spirit; and not think that he hath extirpated the vice of uncleanness, when himself is disabled to act it any longer; or that he is grown a sober person, because he is sick in his stomach, and cannot drink intemperately, or dares not for fear of being sick. His measures must be taken by the account of his actions and oppositions to his former sins, and so reckon his comfort.

23. XII. But upon whatever account it come, he is not so much to account concerning his hopes, or the performance of his duty, by abstaining from sin, as by doing of good. For besides that such a not committing of evil may be owing to weak or insufficient principles, this not committing evil in so little a time, cannot make amends for the doing it so long together, according to the usual accounts of repentance, unless that abstaining be upon the stock of virtue and labour, of mortification and resistance; and then every abstinence is also a doing good, for it is a crucifying of the old man with the affections and lusts. But all the good that by the grace of God he superadds, is matter of choice, and the proper actions of a new life.

24. XIII. After all this, done vigorously, holily, with fear and caution, with zeal and prudence, with diligence and an uninterrupted observation, the old man that lived a vile life, but repents in time, though he stayed as long as he could, and much longer than he should, yet may live in hope, and die in peace and charity. To this purpose they are excellent words which St. Austin[y] said: "Peradventure some will think that he hath committed such grievous faults, that he cannot now obtain the favour of God. Let this be far from the conceits of all sinners. O man, whosoever thou art, that attendest that multitude of thy sins, wherefore dost thou not attend to the omnipotency of the heavenly Physician? For since God will have mercy because he is good, and can because he is almighty, he shuts the gate of the Divine goodness against himself, who thinks that God cannot or will not have mercy upon him, and therefore distrusts either his goodness or his almightiness."

The proper Repentance and Usage of Sinners, who repent not until their Death-bed.

The inquiry after this article consists in these particulars.

1. What hopes are left to a vicious ill-lived man, that repents on his death-bed, and not before?
2. What advices are best, or can bring him most advantage?

25. That a good life is necessary; that it is required by God; that it was designed in the whole purpose of the gospel; that it is a most reasonable demand, and infinitely recompensed by the very smallest portions of eternity. That it was called for all our life, and was exacted by the continual voice of Scripture, of mercies, of judgment, of prophets. That to this very purpose God offered the assistance of his Holy Spirit; and to this ministry we were supplied with preventing, with accompanying, and persevering grace, that is, powers and assistances to begin, and to continue in well-doing. That there is no distinct covenant made with dying men, differing from what God hath admitted between himself and living healthful persons. That it is not reasonable to think God will deal more gently with persons who live viciously all their lives, and that at an easier rate they may expect salvation at the hands of God whom they have so provoked, than they who have served him faithfully according to the measures of a man; or that a long impiety should be sooner expiated than a short one. That the easiness of such as promise heaven to dying

[y] Serm. 28. de Temp.

penitents after a vicious life, is dangerous to the very being and constitution of piety, and scandalous to the honour, and reputation, and sanctity of the christian religion, that the grace of God does leave those that use it not. That therefore the necessity of dying men increases, and their aids are lessened and almost extinguished, that they have more to do than they have either time or strength to finish. That all their vows and holy purposes are useless, and ineffective as to their natural production, and that in their case they cannot be the beginnings of a succeeding duty and piety, because for want of time it never can succeed. That there are some conditions and states of life, which God hath determined never to pardon. That there is a sin unto death, for which because we have no encouragement to pray, it is certain there is no hope; for it is impossible but it must be very fit to pray for all them, to whom the hope of pardon is not precluded. That there is in Scripture mention made of an ineffective repentance, and of a repentance to be repented of, and that the repentance of no state is so likely to be it as this. That what is begun and produced wholly by affrightment is not esteemed matter of choice, nor a pleasing sacrifice to God. That "they who sow to the flesh, shall reap in the flesh," and the final judgment shall be made of "every man according to his works." That the full and perfect descriptions of repentance in Scripture, are heaps and conjugations of duties, which have in them difficulty, and require time, and ask labour. That those insinuations of duty in Scripture, of the need of patience, and diligence, and watchfulness, and the express precepts of perseverance, do imply that the office and duty of a christian are of a long time, and business, and a race. That repentance being the renewing of a holy life, it should seem that on our deathbed the day for repentance is past, since no man can renew his life when his life is done, no man can live well when he cannot live at all; and therefore to place our hopes upon a death-bed repentance only, is such a religion as satisfies all our appetites, and contradicts none, and yet promises heaven at last. These things, I say, are all either notorious and evident, or expressly affirmed in Scripture; and therefore that, in the ordinary way of things, in the common expectation of events, such persons are in a very sad condition.

26. So that it remains, that in this sad condition there must be some extraordinary way found out, or else this whole inquiry is at an end. Concerning which, all that I can say is this: 1. God hath an almighty power, and his mercy is as great as his power. He can do miracles of mercy, as well as miracles of mightiness. And this St. Austin brings in open pretence against desperation. "O homo, quicunque illam multitudinem peccatorum attendis, cur et omnipotentiam cœlestis medici non attendis?" Thy sins are great, but God's mercies are greater. But this does represent the man's condition at the best to be such, that God may, if he will, have mercy upon him; but whether he will or no, there is as yet no other certainty or probability, but that he can if he please: which proposition to an amazed, timorous person that fears a hell the next hour, is so dry a story, so hopeless a proposition, that all that can be said of this, is, that it is very fit that no man should ever put it to the venture. For upon this argument, we may as well comfort ourselves upon him that died without repenting at all. But the inquiry must be further.

27. II. All mankind, all the doctors of the church for very many ages at least, some few of the most ancient and of the modern excepted, have been apt to give hopes to such persons, and no man bids them absolutely despair. Let such persons make use of this easiness of men, thereby to retain so much hope as to make them call upon God, and not to neglect what can then be done.

Spem retine, spes una hominem nec morte relinquit.

As long as there is life there is hope, and when a man dies let him not despair; for there is a life after this, and a hope proper to that; and amidst all the evils that the ancients did fabulously report to be in Pandora's box, they wittily placed hope on the utmost lip of it, and extremity.

Vivere spe vidi qui moriturus erat.

And St. Cyprian exhorts old Demetrianus to turn christian in his old age, and promises him salvation in the name of Christ: and though his case, and that of a christian who entered into promises and covenants of obedience, be very different; yet "ad immortalitatem sub ipsâ morte transitur," a passing from such a repentance to immortality, although it cannot be hoped for upon the just accounts of express promise, yet it is not too great to hope from God's mercy: and until that which is infinite hath a limit, a repenting man's hopes in this world cannot be wholly at an end.

28. III. We find that in the battles which were fought by the Maccabees, some persons who fought on the Lord's side, and were slain in the fight, were found having on their breast ἱερώματα, or "pendants" consecrate to the idols of the Jamnenses, and yet the good people of their party made oblation for them, hoping that they might be partakers of a blessed resurrection. They that repent heartily but one hour, are in a better condition than the other that died in their sin, though with the advantage of fighting in a good cause: and if good people will not leave hoping for such persons, it is not fit that themselves should.

29. IV. He that considers God's great love to mankind, the infinite love that God hath to his holy Son Jesus, and yet that he sent him to die for every man, and that the holy Jesus does now, and hath for very many ages, prayed for the pardon of our sins, that he knows how horrible those pains are which are provided for perishing souls, and therefore that he is exceeding pitiful, and desirous that we should escape them, and that God did give one extraordinary example of saving a dying penitent, the thief upon the cross, and though that had something in it extraordinary and miraculous, yet that is it which is now expected, a favour extraordinary, a miraculous mercy. And that Christ was pleased to

speak a parable of comfort, and the master of the vineyard did pay salary to him that began to work at the eleventh hour: and though that was some portion of his life, the twelfth part of it, and the man was not called sooner, yet there may be something in it of comfort to the dying penitent, since it looks something like it, it certainly relates to old men, and can do them comfort, and possibly the merciful intention of it is yet larger; and that since God is so well pleased with repentance, it may be, he will abate the circumstance of time, "nec ad rem pertinet ubi inciperet, quod placuerat ut fieret," and he will not consider when that begins, which he loves should be done. And that he is our Father, and "paulum supplicii satis est patri," a father will chastise, but will not kill his son. And that it is therefore seasonable to hope because it is a duty, and the very hope itself God delights to reward; for so said the apostle; "Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward."[z] And the church of God, imitating the mercies of our gracious God and Father, hath denied to give the sacrament of peace and mercy to none that seek it: "Viaticum omnibus in morte positis non est negandum."[a] And in the saddest consideration of things that can be, suppose it be with him as with Simon Magus, suppose that he is "in the gall of bitterness," in the state of damnation, in the guilt of a sin which we know not whether God will pardon or not, yet still it is wise and pious counsel, that he should "pray, if peradventure he may be forgiven." He, I say, that considers these things, will have cause to be very earnest and very busy, to lose no time, to remit no labour, to quit no hope, but humbly, passionately, diligently, set upon that duty of repentance, which should have long ago come to some perfection. Now because I have, as I suppose, said enough to make men afraid to put off their repentance to their death-bed, yet in behalf of those who have been unfortunately lost in their lives, or less instructed, or violently tempted, or unhappily betrayed, and are upon their death-beds, because though nothing can be ascertained to them, yet it is not to be suffered that they should utterly despair, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the writings of the ancient doctors, such exhortations as may both instruct and comfort, promote duty, and give some little door of hope, but not add boldness in defiance of all the laws of holiness.

30. In an epistle of Celestine, bishop of Rome in St. Austin's time, we find these words; "Vera ad Deum conversio in ultimis positorum, mente potiùs æstimanda est quàm tempore. Quum ergo Dominus sit cordis inspector, quovis tempore non est deneganda pœnitentia postulanti, quum ille se obliget Judici, cui occulta omnia noverit revelari:" "True conversion is to be accounted of by the mind, rather than by time. Therefore repentance is not to be denied to him who at any time asks it." And he despairs of the clemency of God, who thinks it not sufficient, or that it cannot relieve the sinner in an instant. "Donec sumus in hâc vitâ, quantacunque nobis acciderint peccata, possibile est omnia ablui per pœnitentiam," said St. Austin.[b] "As long as we are alive, so long it is possible that the vilest sins that are may be washed off by repentance." "Si vulneratus es, adhibe tibi curam dum vivis, dum spiras, etiam in ipso lecto positus, etiam si dici potest animam efflans, ut jam de hoc mundo exeas. Non impeditur temporis angustiâ misericordia Dei. Quid enim est peccatum ad Dei misericordiam? tela araneæ, quæ, vento flante, nusquam comparet." So St. Chrysostom:[c] "If thou art wounded in thy soul, take care of it while thou livest, even so long as thou canst breathe, though thou beest now breathing thy last, yet take care still. The mercy of God cannot be hindered by time. For what is thy sin to God's mercy? even as a spider's web, when the wind blows, it is gone in an instant."—Many more there are to the same purpose, who all speaking of the mightiness of the Divine mercy, do insinuate their meaning to be concerning a miraculous or extraordinary mercy. And therefore I shall oppose nothing against this; only say, that it is very sad when men put their hopes of being saved upon a miracle, and that without a miracle they must perish. But yet then to despair is entering into hell before their time, and even a course of the greatest imprudence in the world, next to that they are already guilty of, that is, a putting things to that extremity. "Dandum interstitium pœnitentiæ," said Tacitus.—And, "Inter vitæ negotia et diem mortis oportere aliquid spatium intercedere," said Charles, the emperor.—For, "nemo mortem venientem hilaris excepit, nisi qui se ad eam diu composuerat," said Seneca.—Repentance must have a space of time; and from the affairs of the world to rush into the arms of death, is too quick a change for him that would fain be saved. If he can, in the midst of all these disadvantages, it is well; but "he cannot with cheerfulness and joy receive his death, unless he bestowed much time and care in preparations against that sad solemnity."

Now concerning these instruments of hope, I am yet to give another account, lest this either seem to be an easiness and flattery of souls, and not warrantable from any revelation from God; or if it be, that it is also a perfect destruction of all the former doctrine. For if it be inquired thus; hath God declared that death-bed penitents shall not be saved, or that they may be saved, or hath he said nothing at all of it? If he hath said they cannot be saved, why then do I bid them hope, and so abuse them with a false persuasion? If he hath said that they may be saved, why do I dispute against it, and make them fear, where God by a just promise hath given them reason to be confident, and hath obliged them to believe they shall be saved? If he hath said nothing of it, why are not they to be comprehended within the general rules of all returning penitents? especially, since there was one case specially made for their interest, the example of the thief upon the cross? To this I shall give a clear and plain answer.

That God hath required such conditions of par-

[z] Heb. x. 35.
[a] Concil. Nicen. can. 13. Concil. Agath. c. 11.

[b] Serm. 181. de Temp. c. 16.
[c] In Psal. l. hom. 2.

don, and that the duty of repentance is of such extent and burden, that it cannot be finished and performed by dying persons after a vicious life, is evident from all the former arguments: and therefore if we make dying men's accounts upon the stock of God's usual dealing, and open revelation, their case is desperate for the preceding reasons. But why then do I bid them hope, if their case be desperate; either God threatening death to all impenitent persons, means not to exact death of all, but of some only; or else when his Holy Spirit describes repentance in severe characters, he secretly means to take less than he says. For if it be such a work that cannot possibly be done on a death-bed, how then can dying persons be called upon to repent? for it is vain to repent, if it be impossible to hope: but if it be possible to do the work of repentance on our death-bed, but only that it is very difficult, there is in this affirmative no great matter: every one confesses that, and all evil men put it to the venture.

For the first part of the dilemma, I affirm nothing of it; God threatening death to all the impenitent, excepts none; "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." Neither does God, exacting or describing repentance in several lines, use any respect of persons, but with the same measures he will deal with all. For when there is a difference in the Divine mercy, it is in giving time and grace to repent, not in sparing one and condemning another, who die equally criminal and impenitent. Those little lines of hopes are not upon either of these foundations. For whatsoever is known or revealed, is against these persons, and does certainly condemn them. Why then are they bidden to hope and repent? I answer, once for all; it is upon something that we know not. And if they be not saved we know not how, they cannot expect to be saved by any thing that is revealed in their particular. When St. Peter had declared to Simon Magus, that he was "in the gall of bitterness;" and yet made him "pray if, peradventure, the thought of his heart might be forgiven him;" he did not by any thing that was revealed, know that he should be pardoned; but by something that he did not know, there might be hope. It is at no hand to be dissembled out of tenderness and pity to such persons, but to be affirmed openly; there is not revealed any thing to them that may bid them be in any degree confident. But he that hath a deadly wound, whom the chirurgeons affirm to be hopeless, yet is willing to receive cordials, and to be dressed.

2. If in the measures of life and death which are described in large characters, there be any lines so indefinite and comprehensive, that they who preach and declare the doctrines, do not fully take in all that God intends, upon the account of our weakness and ignorance, there may be some little rushes and twigs to support their sinking hopes. For although the matters of duty, and the conditions of life and death, are so plain and legible, that we can all understand our obligation, yet things are seldom so described, that we can give the final sentence concerning others. There is a secret in these things, which nothing shall open but the day of judgment. No man may judge his brother; that is, no man can or ought to say, this man is damned; and yet we know that he that dies an impenitent traitor, or rebel, or adulterer, is damned. But yet, that adulterous Natta, or the rebel Cinna, or the traitor Catiline, is actually damned, that we know not. The reason is, because our duty is described for us to guide and walk ourselves by, not to judge and sentence others. And even the judgment of the church, who hath authority to judge and sentence, yet it is only for amendment; it is universal, it is declarative, it is conditional: not personal, final, decretory, and eternal. For otherwise does man judge, otherwise does God.

II. There is some variety in the case, and in the person, and in the degrees of repentance. There is a period beyond which God will not admit a man to pardon; but when it is, we know not. There is a "minimum religionis," "the least measure of religion," the lowest degree of acceptability; but what it is we cannot tell. There is also a proper measure for every one, but no man can fathom it. And the duties and parts of repentance consist in the terms of a great distance and latitude; and we cannot tell when a man first begins to be safe, and when he is newly escaped from the regions of sin, and when he begins his state of grace. "Now as God abates great measures of his wrath, and forgives all that is past if we return betimes, and live twenty years in piety and repentance; so he does if the man do so nineteen years, and eighteen, and still shortening till you come to a year, or any the least time that can do the work of repentance, and exterminate his vicious habit. Now because Abraham begged for the pardon of Sodom, if there should be found fifty righteous there, and then abated five, and then five more, and then ten more, till he came to ten alone, and it is supposed that Abraham first gave out, and that God would have pardoned the city for one righteous man's sake, if Abraham had still persevered to ask: if any man will suppose that it may be done so in the abatements of time to be made to a returning sinner; though I say it is a strange diminution to come from years to one day, yet I will say nothing against it; but that length or shortness of time makes nothing to the mercies of God, but it makes very much to the duty of man, because every action requires some time, and every habit much more; now we have reason to say, that the condition of a dying penitent, after a whole wicked life, is desperate, because so far as we understand things, habits are not to be extinguished, and the contraries acquired, but with long time and study. But if there be any secret way by which the Spirit of God does work faster, and produce undiscerned miracles, we ought to adore that goodness by which it is so: and they that can believe this, may hope the other: in the mean time, neither the one nor the other is revealed; and so it stands as it did in the whole question.

IV. We find in the instance of Abraham's faith, that "against hope he believed in hope:" that is, that he had great arguments of both sides, and

therefore that in defiance of one, he would hope in the other, because this could not fail him, but the other could. If it can be brought to pass that a dying man can hope after a wicked life, it is a hope against hope: and of this all that I can say is, that it is no contradiction in the thing, to affirm, that a dying penitent who hath contracted vicious habits, hath not time left him to perform that repentance, which God requires of habitual sinners under the pains of eternal death; and yet to bid such a person do what he can do, and pray, if peradventure God will be entreated. Because that little hopes which he is bid to have, are not warranted, or relying upon pretence of any particular revelation, contrary to the so many expressions of severe duty and stricter conditions; but are placed upon the foundation of the Divine power, and such little proportions and similitudes of things, and guesses and conjectures of kind persons, as can only be sufficient to make the dying man try what can be done.

V. The first ages of the church did exactly use this method of doctrine and discipline. In some cases (whereof I shall afterwards give account) they refused to declare them pardoned, to minister God's pardon to dying penitents; but yet would not bid them despair, but refer them to the Divine judgment: which if it be reduced to the causes of things, if we believe they proceeded reasonably, must mean this, that they knew of no revelation concerning the pardon of such persons; but whether God would or no pardon them, they knew not, but bid them hope well. And when they did admit dying penitents to the peace of the church, they did it "de benè esse," that it might do as much good as it could. But they knew not what that was. "Pœnitentiam dare possumus, securitatem dare non possumus." They are St. Austin's words. Now if I were to ask of him an account, it would be in the same way of objection as I am now untying. For did God promise pardon to dying penitents after a wicked life; or are there fearful threatenings in Scripture against such sinners, as certainly all in their case are? Or hath God said nothing at all concerning them? If God did promise pardon to such, then why did not the church give security as well as penance? If God did threaten fearfully all such persons, why do they admit such to repentance, whom God will not admit to pardon, but hath threatened with eternal death? If he hath said nothing of them, they are to be judged by the measures of others; and truly that will too sadly ring their passing-bell. For men in health, who have contracted vicious habits, cannot be pardoned so long as their vicious habit remains; and they know that to overcome and mortify a vicious habit, is a work of time and great labour; and if this be the measure of dying penitents, as well as of living and healthful, they will sink in judgment that have not time to do their duty. But then why the church of those ages, and particularly St. Austin, should hope and despair at the same time for them, that is, knew no ground of revelations upon which to fix any hope of pardon for them, and yet should exhort them to repentance, which without hopes of pardon is to no purpose, there is no sensible account to be given but this, that for aught they knew, God might do more than they knew, and more than he had promised; but whether he would or not, they knew not, but by that means they thought they fairly quit their hands of such persons.

VI. But after all this strict survey of answers, if we be called to account for being so kind, it must be confessed that things are spoken out of charity and pity, more than of knowledge. The case of these men is sad and deplorable, and it is piety when things are come to that state and saddest event, to show mercy by searching all the corners of revelation for comfort, that God may be as much glorified, and the dying men assisted as much, as may be. I remember the Jews are reproved by some for repeating the last verse but one in the book of Isaiah, and setting it after the last of all. That being a verse of mercy, this of sorrow and threatening; as if they would be more merciful than God himself, and thought it unfit to end so excellent a book with so sad a cursing. Indeed God's ways are best, and his measures the surest; and therefore it is not good to promise where God hath not promised, and to be kind where he is angry, and to be free of his pardon where he hath shut up and sealed his treasures. But if they that say God hath threatened all such sinners as dying penitents after wicked life are, and yet that they must not despair, are to be reproved as too kind; then they much more, who confidently promise heaven at last. It is indeed a compliance with human misery, that makes it fit to speak what hopeful things we can; but if these hopes can easily be reproved, I am sure the former severity cannot so easily be confuted. That may, this cannot.

31. I. But now things being put into this constitution, the inquiry into what manner of repentance the dying penitent is obliged to, will be of no great difficulty. "Qui dicit omnia, nihil excipit:" "He that is tied to all, can be excused from none."—All that he can do is too little, if God shall deal with him according to the conditions of the gospel which are described, and therefore he must not inquire into measures, but do all, absolutely all that he can in that sad period. Particularly,

32. II. Let him examine his conscience most curiously, according as his time will permit, and his other abilities: because he ought to be sure that his intentions are so real to God and to religion, that he hath already within him a resolution so strong, a repentance so holy, a sorrow so deep, a hope so pure, a charity so sublime, that no temptation, no time, no health, no interest could, in any circumstance of things, ever tempt him from God and prevail.

33. III. Let him make a general confession of the sins of his whole life, with all the circumstances of aggravation; let him be mightily humbled, and hugely ashamed, and much in the accusation of himself, and bitterly lament his folly and misery; let him glorify God and justify him, confessing that if he perishes, it is but just; if he does not, it is a glorious, an infinite mercy; a mercy not yet revealed, a mercy to be looked for in the day of wonders, the day of judgment. Let him accept his sickness

and his death humbly at the hands of God, and meekly pray that God would accept that for punishment, and so consign his pardon for the rest through the blood of Jesus. Let him cry mightily unto God, incessantly begging for pardon, and then hope as much as he can, even so much as may exalt the excellency of the Divine mercy; but not too confidently, lest he presume above what is written.

34. IV. Let the dying penitent make what amends he can possibly, in the matter of real injuries and injustices that he is guilty of, though it be to the ruin of his estate; and that will go a great way in deprecation. Let him ask forgiveness, and offer forgiveness, make peace, transmit charity and provisions and piety to his relatives.

35. V. Next to these it were very fitting that the dying penitent did use all the means he can to raise up his spirit, and do internal actions of religion with great fervour and excellency. To love God highly, to be ready to suffer whatsoever can come, to pour out his complaints with great passion and great humility; adding to these and the like, great effusions of charity, holy and prudent undertakings of severity and religion in case he shall recover; and if he can, let him do some great thing, something that does in one little body of action signify great affections; any heroical act, any transportation of a holy zeal, in his case does help to abbreviate the work of many years. If these things be thus done, it is all that can be done at that time, and as well as it can be then done; what the event of it will be, God only knows, and we all shall know at the day of judgment. In this case "the church can give the sacrament, but cannot give security." [u]

Meditations and Prayers to be used in all the foregoing Cases.

Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye learn to do good, that are accustomed to do evil.[x]

This is thy lot, the portion of thy measures, from me, (saith the Lord,) because thou hast forgotten me.[y]

Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains; lest while you look for light, he turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness.[z]

What wilt thou say, when he shall punish? shall not sorrow take thee as a woman in travail? [a]

And if thou say in thine heart, Wherefore came these things upon me? for the greatness of thine iniquity are thy skirts discovered, and thy heels made bare.[b]

I have seen thine adulteries, and thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredoms, and thine abominations. Woe unto thee! wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be? saith the Lord God.[c]

Thus saith the Lord unto this people, Thus have they loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet, therefore the Lord doth not accept them, he will now remember their iniquity and visit their sins.[d]

Then saith the Lord, Pray not for this people for their good. When they fast, I will not hear their cry, and when they offer an oblation, I will not accept them, but I will consume them by the sword, and by famine, and by the pestilence.[e]

Therefore thus saith the Lord, If thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth. I am with thee to save thee, and to deliver thee, saith the Lord.[f]

And I will deliver thee out of the hand of the wicked, and I will redeem thee out of the hand of the terrible.[g]

Learn before thou speak, and use physic or ever thou be sick.[h]

Before judgment examine thyself, and in the day of visitation thou shalt find mercy.[i]

Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins show repentance.[k]

Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vows in due time; and defer not until death to be justified.[l]

I made haste, and prolonged not the time to keep thy commandments.[m]

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place.

Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord.

For if you thoroughly amend your ways and your doings, if you thoroughly execute judgment;

If ye oppress not the stranger and the widow, then shall ye dwell in the land.[n]

Thus saith the Lord God, I will give you the land, and they shall take away all the detestable things thereof, and all the abominations thereof from thence.[o]

And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you, and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh.[p]

That they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.[q]

But as for them whose heart walketh after their detestable things, and their abominations; I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord God.[r]

They have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace, and one built up a wall, and others daubed it with untempered mortar.[s]

Will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying unto my people that hear your lies? [t]

[u] St. Aug. et Habetur de Pœn. dist. 7.
[x] Jer. xiii. 23.
[y] Jer. xiii. 25.
[z] Ver. 16.
[a] Ver. 21.
[b] Ver. 22.
[c] Ver. 27.
[d] Jer. xiv. 10.
[e] Ver. 11, 12.
[f] Jer. xv. 19.
[g] Ver. 21.
[h] Ecclus. xviii. 19.
[i] Ver. 20.
[k] Ver. 21.
[l] Ver. 22.
[m] Psal. cxix. 60.
[n] Jer. vii.
[o] Ezek. xi. 18.
[p] Ver. 19.
[q] Ver. 20.
[r] Ver. 21.
[s] Ezek. xiii. 10.
[t] Ver. 19.

Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to your ways, saith the Lord God: repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin.[u]

Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby you have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel.[x]

For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourselves and live ye.[y]

Ye shall remember your ways, and all your doings wherein ye have been defiled, and ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils, that ye have committed.[z]

Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope.[a]

Woe unto them that justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him.[b]

And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood.[c]

Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doing from before mine eyes, cease to do evil.[d]

Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.[e]

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall be as wool.[f]

If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the fruit of the land.[g]

But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.[h]

She hath wearied herself with lies, therefore have I caused my fury to light upon her.[i]

Sow to yourselves in righteousness, and reap in mercy; break up your fallow-ground, for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you.[k]

Turn thou unto thy God; keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually.[l]

O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help.[m]

Return to the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn to the Lord, say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips. For in thee the fatherless findeth mercy. I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely, for mine anger is turned away.[n]

Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near.[o]

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.[p]

For thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy, I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.[q]

For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth; for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made.[r]

For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him: I hid me and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart.[s]

I have seen his ways and will heal him; I will lead him also, and restore comfort to him and to his mourners.[t]

I create the fruit of the lips; peace, peace to him that is afar off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord, and I will heal him.[u]

But the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.[x]

There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.[y]

It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. It is good that a man should both hope, and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.[z]

Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.[a]

He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us: he will subdue our iniquities, and thou wilt cast all our sins into the depth of the sea.[b]

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have pleasure in them.[c]

A Psalm.

O Lord, though our iniquities testify against us, have mercy upon us for thy name's sake: for our backslidings are many, we sinned against thee.

O the hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldest thou be a stranger to us, and as a wayfaring-man that turneth aside to tarry for a night?

Why shouldest thou be as a man astonied, as a mighty man that cannot save? yet thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy name; leave us not.

We acknowledge, O Lord, our wickedness, and the iniquity of our fathers, for we have sinned against thee.

Do not abhor us for thy name's sake, do not disgrace the throne of thy glory; remember, break not the covenant with us.[d]

I will no more sit in the assembly of mockers, nor rejoice; I will sit alone because of thy hand, for thou hast filled me with indignation.[e]

[u] Ezek. xviii. 30.
[x] Ver. 31.
[y] Ver. 32.
[z] Ezek. xx. 43.
[a] Isa. v. 18.
[b] Ver. 13.
[c] Isa. i. 15.
[d] Ver. 16.
[e] Ver. 17.
[f] Ver. 18.
[g] Ver. 19.
[h] Ver. 20.
[i] Ezek. xxiv.
[k] Hos. x. 12.
[l] Hos. xii. 6.
[m] Hos. xiii. 9.
[n] Hos. xiv. 1—4.
[o] Isa. lv. 6.
[p] Isa. lv. 7.
[q] Isa. lvii. 15.
[r] Ver. 16.
[s] Isa. lvii. 17.
[t] Ver. 18.
[u] Ver. 19.
[x] Ver. 20.
[y] Ver. 21.
[z] Lam. iii. 26, 27
[a] Mic. vii. 18.
[b] Ver. 19.
[c] Eccles. xii. 1.
[d] Jer. xiv. 7—9.
[e] Jer. xv. 17.

Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable which refused to be healed? wilt thou be altogether unto me as waters that fail?[f]

O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgment, not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing.

O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters.

Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed: save me, and I shall be saved: for thou art my praise.[g]

Be not a terror unto me, thou art my hope in the day of evil.[h]

Behold, O Lord, for I am in distress: my bowels are troubled, mine heart is turned within me, for I have grievously rebelled.[i]

For these things I weep; mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me.[k]

Hear me, O Lord, and that soon, for my spirit waxeth faint; hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.[l]

O let me hear thy loving-kindness betimes, for in thee is my trust; show thou me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.

Teach me the thing that pleaseth thee, for thou art my God: let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness.

Quicken me, O Lord, for thy name's sake, and for thy righteousness' sake bring my soul out of trouble.

The Lord upholdeth all such as fall, and lifteth up those that be down.[m]

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: O seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments.

O do well unto thy servant, that I may live and keep thy word.

O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength, before I go hence, and be no more seen.

Glory be to the Father, &c.
As it was in the beginning, &c.

A Prayer for a Sinner returning after a long Impiety.

I.

O eternal Judge of men and angels, Father of mercy, and the great Lover of souls, I humbly acknowledge that the state of my soul is sad and deplorable, and by my fault, by my own grievous fault, I am in an evil condition; and if thou shouldest now enter judgment with me, I have nothing to put in bar against the horrible sentence, nothing of my own, nothing that can ease thy anger, or abate the fury of one stroke of thy severe infliction. I do, O God, judge and condemn myself, and justify thee, for thou art righteous, and whatsoever thou doest is good and true. But, O my God, when the guilty condemns itself, nothing is left for the offended party but to return to graciousness and pardon. I, O Lord, have done thy severe and angry work, I have sentenced a vile man to a sad suffering; and if I so perish as I have deserved, thou art just and righteous, and thou oughtest for ever to be glorified.

II.

But, O my God, though I know that I have deserved evils that I know not, and hope I shall never feel, yet thou art gracious and holy, and lovest more to behold thy glory reflected from the floods and springs of mercy, than to see it refracted from the troubled waters of thy angry and severe displeasure: and because thou lovest it so highly to show mercy, and because my eternal interest is served in it, I also ought to desire what thou lovest, and to beg of thee humbly and passionately that I may not perish; and to hope with a modest confidence that thou hast mercy in store for him, to whom thou hast given grace to ask for it: for it is one degree of pardon to be admitted to the station of penitent beggars; it is another degree of pardon that thou hast given me grace to hope, and I know that in the fountains of thy own graciousness, thou hast infinite arguments and inducements to move thee to pity me, and to pardon.

III.

O my God, pity me for thy name's sake, even for thy own goodness' sake, and because I am miserable and need it. And because I have nothing of my own to be a ground of confidence, give thy servant leave to place my hopes on thee, through Jesus Christ; thou hast commanded me to come to the throne of grace with boldness, that I may find mercy in time of need; and thou hast promised to give thy Holy Spirit to them that ask him. O dear God, give me pardon, and give me thy Spirit, and I am full and safe, and clothed and healed, and all that I desire to be, and all that I ought to be.

IV.

I have spent much time in vanity, and in undoing myself; grant me thy grace, that I may recover my loss, and employ all the remaining portion of my time in holy offices and duties of repentance. My understanding hath been abused by false persuasions and vain confidences. But now, O God, I offer up that imperious faculty, wholly to the obedience of Christ; to be governed by his laws, to be instructed by his doctrine, to be bended by all his arguments. My will hath been used to crookedness and peevish morosity, in all virtuous employments; but greedy and fierce, in the election and prosecution of evil actions and designs: but now, O God, I have no will but what is thine, and I will rather die than consent and choose any thing that I know displeases thee. My heart, O God, was a fountain of evil thoughts, ungracious words, and irregular actions, because my passions were not obedient nor orderly, neither temperate nor governed, neither of a fitting measure nor carried to a right object: but now, O God, I present them unto thee, not as a fit oblation, but as the lepers and the blind, the lame and the

[f] Jer. xv. 18.
[g] Jer. xvii. 13.
[h] Ver. 17.
[i] Lam. i. 20.
[k] Lam. i. 15.
[l] Psal. cxliii.
[m] Psal. cxlii. 9.

crooked, were brought unto the holy Jesus, to be made straight and clean, useful and illuminate; and when thou hast taken into thy possession what is thine, and what I stole from thee, or detained violently, and which the devil did usurp, then thou wilt sanctify and save it, use it as thine own, and make it to be so for ever.

V.

Blessed God, refuse not thy returning son: I have prodigally wasted my talents, and spent my time in riotous and vain living; but I have not lost my title and relation to thee my Father. O my God, I have the sorrow of an humble penitent, the purposes of a converted sinner, the love of a pardoned person, the zeal of an obliged and redeemed prisoner, the hope of him that feels thy present goodness, and longs for more. Reject me not, O my God, but do thou work all my works within me. My heart is in thy hands, and I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps: but do thou guide me into the way of righteousness; work to me an excellent repentance, a great caution and observance, an humble fear, a prudent and a religious hope, and a daily growing charity; "work in me to will and to do of thy good pleasure:" then shall I praise thy name, and love thy excellences, and obey thy commandments, and suffer thy impositions, and be what thou wouldest have me to be, that I being rescued from the possession of the devil, and the torments of perishing souls, may be admitted to serve thee, and be a minister of thy honour, in the kingdoms of grace and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for an Old Person returning after a Wicked Life.

I.

O eternal God, give me leave to speak for myself before I die: I would fain live and be healed, I have been too long thine enemy, and would not be so for ever. My heart is broken within me, and all my fortunes are broken without; I know not how to speak, and I must not, I dare not hold my tongue.

II.

O my God, can yesterday be recalled, and the flying hours be stopped? In my youth I had not the prudence and caution of old age; but is it possible that in my old age I may be restored to the hopes and opportunities of youth? Thou didst make the sun to stand still at the prayer of Joshua, and return back at the importunity of Hezekiah. O do thou make a new account for me, and reckon not the days of my youth; but from this day reckon the beginnings of my life, and measure it by the steps of duty, and the light of the Sun of righteousness now arising upon my heart.

III.

I am ashamed, O God, I am ashamed that I should betray my reason, shame my nature, dishonour all my strengths, debauch my understanding, and baffle all my faculties for so base, so vile affections, so unrewarding interests. O my God, where is all that vanity which I sucked so greedily, as the wild asses do the wind? Whither is that pleasure and madness gone, which so ravished all my senses, and made me deaf to the holy charms of thy Divinest Spirit? Behold, O God, I die for that which is not; and unless thy mercy be my rescue, for ever I shall suffer torments insufferable, still to come, still to succeed, for having drunk of unsatisfying, perishing waters, which had no current, no abode.

IV.

O dear God, smite me not yet; respite me one portion of time, I dare not say how much, but even as much as thou pleasest. O stay awhile, and try me but this once: it is true, O God, I have lost my strength, and given my vigorous years to that which I am ashamed to think on. But yet, O Lord, if thou pleasest, my soul can be as active, and dutiful, and affectionate, and humble, and sorrowful, and watchful, as ever. Thou dost not save any for his own worthiness, but eternal life is a gift; and thou canst, if thou pleasest, give it unto me. But why does my soul run thither, with all its loads of sin and shame upon it? That is too great yet to be thought of. O give me pardon, and give me sorrow, and give me a great, a mighty grace to do the duty of a whole life in the remaining portion of my days.

V.

O my gracious Lord, whatever thy sentence be, yet let me have the honour to serve thee. Let me contribute something to thy glory, let me converse with thy saints and servants in the intercourses of piety; let me be admitted to be a servant to the meanest of thy servants, to do something that thou lovest. O God, my God, do what thou pleasest, so I may not for ever die in the sad and dishonourable impieties of the damned. Let me but be admitted to thy service in all the degrees of my soul, and all the days of my short life, and my soul shall have some comfort, because I signify my love and duty to thee for whom I will not refuse to die. O my God, I will not beg of thee to give me comfort, but to give me duty and employment. Smite me if thou pleasest, but smite me here; kill me if thou pleasest, I have deserved it, but I would fain live to serve thee, and for no other reason, but that thou mayest love to pardon and to sanctify me.

VI.

O blessed Jesus, do thou intercede for me; thy Father hears thee in all things, and thou knowest our infirmities, and hast felt our miseries, and didst die to snatch us from the intolerable flames of hell; and although thou givest thy gifts in differing proportions to thy servants, yet thou dost equally offer pardon to all thy enemies, that will come unto thee and beg it. O give me all faith, and all charity, and a spirit highly compunctive, highly industrious,

passionate, prudent, and indefatigable in holy services. Open thy fountains, gracious Lord, and bathe my stained soul in thy blood. Wash the Ethiop, cleanse the leper, dress the stranger's wounds, and forgive thy enemy.

VII.

I will not, O my God, I dare not, distrust those infinite glories of thy mercy and graciousness, by which thou art ready to save all the world. The sins of all mankind together are infinitely less than thy mercy; and thou who didst redeem the heathen world, wilt also, I hope, rescue me who am a christian. This is my glory and my shame, my sins had not been so great if I had not disgraced so excellent a title, and abused so mighty a grace; but yet if the grace which I have abused had not been so great, my hopes had been less. One deep, O God, calls upon another. O let the abyss of thy mercy swallow up the puddles of my impurity; let my soul no longer sink in the dead sea of Sodom, but in the laver of thy blood and my tears and sorrow; wash me who come to thee to be cleansed and purified. It is not impossible to have it done, for thy power hath no limit: it is not unusual for thee to manifest such glories of an infinite mercy; thou dost it daily. O give me a fast, a tenacious hope on thee, and a bitter sorrow for my sins, and an excellent zeal of thy glory; and let my repentance be more exemplary than my sins, that the infiniteness of that mercy which shall save me, may be conspicuous to all saints and angels, and may endear the return of all sinners to thee, the fountain of holiness and mercy. Mercy, dear God, pity thy servant, and do thy work of grace speedily and mightily upon me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Ejaculations and short Prayers to be used by dying or sick Penitents after a wicked Life.

I.

O almighty Father of men and angels, I have often been taught that thy mercies are infinite, and I know they are so; and if I be a person capable of comfort, this is the fountain of it: for my sins are not infinite, only because they could not be so; my desires were only limited by my nature, for I would not obey the Spirit.

II.

Thou, O God, gavest mercy to the thief upon the cross, and from pain thou didst bring him to paradise, from sin to repentance, from shame to glory. Thou wert the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, and art still slain in all the periods of it. O be thou pleased to adorn thy passion still with such miracles of mercy: and now in this sad conjunction of affairs, let me be made the instance.

III.

Thou art angry if I despair; and therefore thou commandest me to hope: my hope cannot rest upon myself, for I am a broken reed, and an undermined wall. But because it rests upon thee, it ought not to be weak, because thou art infinite in mercy and power.

IV.

He that hath lived best, needs mercy; and he that hath lived worst, even I, O Lord, am not wounded beyond the efficacy of thy blood, O dearest, sweetest Saviour Jesus.

V.

I hope it is not too late to say this. But if I might be suffered to live longer, I would by thy grace live better, spending all my time in duty, laying out all my passion in love and sorrow, employing all my faculties in religion and holiness.

VI.

O my God, I am ready to promise any thing now, and I am ready to do or to suffer any thing, that may be the condition of mercy and pardon to me. But I hope I am not deceived by my fears, but that I should, if I might be tried, do all that I could, and love thee with a charity, great like that mercy by which I humbly pray that I may be pardoned.

VII.

My comfort, O God, is, that thou canst if thou wilt: and I am sure thy mercy is as great as thy power, and why then may not I hope, that thou wilt have mercy according to thy power? Man, only man, is the proper subject of thy mercy, and therefore only he is capable of thy mercy, because he hath sinned against thee. Angels and the inferior creatures rejoice in thy goodness, but only we that are miserable and sinful can rejoice in thy mercy and forgiveness.

VIII.

I confess I have destroyed myself: but in thee is my help; for thou gettest glory to thy name by saving a sinner, by redeeming a captive slave, by enlightening a dark eye, by sanctifying a wicked heart, by pardoning innumerable and intolerable transgressions.

IX.

O my Father, chastise me if thou pleasest, but do not destroy me: I am a son, though an Absalom and a Cain, an unthankful, a malicious, a revengeful, uncharitable person; thou judgest not by time, but by the measures of the Spirit. The affections of the heart are not to be weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, nor repentance to be measured by time, but by the Spirit, and by the measures of thy mercy.

X.

O my God, hope is a word of an uncertain sound when it is placed in something that can fail; but thou art my hope and my confidence, and thy mercies are sure mercies which thou hast revealed to man in Christ Jesus, and they cannot fail them who are capable of them.

XI.

O gracious Father, I am as capable of mercy as I was of being created; and the first grace is always so free a grace, so undeserved on our part, that he that needs and calls, is never forsaken by thee.

XII.

Blessed Jesus, give me leave to trust in thy promises, in the letter of thy promises; this letter killeth not, for it is the letter of thy Spirit, and saveth and maketh alive. Ask and you shall have; so thou hast said, O my God, they are thy own words; and, whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved.

XIII.

There are, O blessed Jesus, many more; and one tittle of thy word shall not pass away unaccomplished: and nothing could be in vain by which thou didst intend to support our hopes. If we confess our sins, thou art just and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquities.

XIV.

When David said he would confess, then thou forgavest him. When the prodigal was yet afar off, thou didst run out to meet him, and didst receive him. When he was naked, thou didst reinvest him with a precious robe; and what, O God, can demonstrate the greatness of thy mercy, but such a misery as mine, so great a shame, so great a sinfulness.

XV.

But what am I, O God, sinful dust and ashes, a miserable and undone man, that I should plead with the great Judge of all the world? Look not upon me as I am in myself, but through Jesus Christ behold thy servant; clothe me with the robes of his righteousness, wash me in his blood, conform me to his image, fill me with his Spirit, and give me time, or give me pardon and an excellent heroic spirit, that I may do all that can be done, something that is excellent, and that may be acceptable in Jesus Christ. If I perish, I perish; I have deserved it: but I will hope for mercy, till thy mercy hath a limit, till thy goodness can be numbered. O my God, let me not perish; thou hast no pleasure in my death, and it is impossible for man to suffer thy extremest wrath. Who can dwell with the everlasting burning? O my God, let me dwell safely in the embraces of thy sweetest mercy. Amen. Amen. Amen.

CHAPTER VI.

OF CONCUPISCENCE, AND ORIGINAL SIN; AND WHETHER OR NO, OR HOW FAR, WE ARE BOUND TO REPENT OF IT.

SECTION I.

ORIGINAL sin is so called καταχρηστικῶς, or "figuratively," meaning the sin of Adam, which was committed in the original of mankind by our first parent, and which hath influence upon all his posterity. "Nascuntur non propriè, sed originalitèr, peccatores;" so St. Austin:[n] and therefore St. Ignatius calls it παλαιὰν ἐυσεέβειαν, "the old impiety;"[o] that which was in the original or first parent of mankind.

2. This sin brought upon Adam all that God threatened,—but no more. A certainty of dying, together with the proper effects and affections of mortality, were inflicted on him; and he was reduced to the condition of his own nature, and then begat sons and daughters in his own likeness, that is, in the proper temper and constitution of mortal men. For as God was not bound to give what he never promised, viz. an immortal duration and abode in this life; so neither does it appear, in that angry intercourse that God had with Adam, that he took from him or us any of our natural perfections, but his graces only.

3. Man, being left in this state of pure naturals, could not by his own strength arrive to a supernatural end; which was typified in his being cast out of Paradise, and the guarding it with the flaming sword of a cherub. For eternal life, being an end above our natural proportion, cannot be acquired by any natural means. Neither Adam nor any of his posterity could, by any actions or holiness, obtain heaven by desert, or by any natural efficiency; for it is a gift still, and it is "neque currentis, neque operantis," "neither of him that runneth, nor of him that worketh," but of God; who freely gives it to such persons, whom he, also by other gifts and graces, hath disposed towards the reception of it.

4. What gifts and graces, or supernatural endowments, God gave to Adam in his state of innocence, we know not; God hath no where told us; and of things unrevealed we commonly make wild conjectures. But, after his fall, we find no sign of any thing but of a common man. And therefore, as it was with him, so it is with us; our nature cannot go to heaven without the helps of the Divine grace, so neither could his: and whether he had them or no, it is certain we have; receiving more by the second Adam than we did lose by the first: and the

[n] De Civit. lib. 16. c. 18.

[o] Epist. ad Trallian.

sons of God are now spiritual, which he never was, that we can find.

5. But concerning the sin of Adam, tragical things are spoken; it destroyed his original righteousness, and lost it to us for ever; it corrupted his nature, and corrupted ours; and brought upon him, and not him only, but on us also, who thought of no such thing,—an inevitable necessity of sinning, making it as natural to us to sin as to be hungry, or to be sick and die; and the consequent of these things is saddest of all; we are born enemies of God, sons of wrath, and heirs of eternal damnation.

6. In the meditation of these sad stories, I shall separate the certain from the uncertain, that which is revealed from that which is presumed, that which is reasonable from that which makes too bold reflections upon God's honour, and the reputation of his justice and his goodness. I shall do it in the words of the apostle, from whence men commonly dispute in this question, right or wrong, according as it happens.

7. "By one man sin came into the world."[p] That sin entered into the world by Adam, is therefore certain, because he was the first man; and unless he had never sinned, it must needs enter by him; for it comes in first by the first; "and death by sin," that is, death which, at first, was the condition of nature, became a punishment upon that account; just as it was to the serpent to creep upon his belly, and to the woman to be subject to her husband: these things were so before, and would have been so; for the apostle pressing the duty of subjection, gives two reasons why the woman was to obey. One of them only was derived from this sin, the other was the prerogative of creation; for "Adam was first formed, then Eve;"[q] so that before her fall, she was to have been subject to her husband, because she was later in being; she was a minor, and therefore under subjection; she was also the weaker vessel. But it had not been a curse; and if any of them had been hindered by grace and favour, by God's anger they were now left to fall back to the condition of their nature.

8. "Death passed upon all men;" that is, upon all the old world, who were drowned in the flood of the Divine vengeance; and who did sin after the similitude of Adam. And therefore St. Paul adds that for the reason: "Inasmuch as all men have sinned." If all men have sinned upon their own account, (as it is certain they have,) then these words can very well mean, that Adam first sinned, and all his sons and daughters sinned after him, and so died in their own sin, by a death which, at first and in the whole constitution of affairs, is natural,—and a death which their own sins deserved, but yet, which was hastened or ascertained upon them the rather for the sin of their progenitor. Sin propagated upon that root and vicious example; or rather from that beginning, not from that cause, but "dum ita peccant, et similitèr moriuntur," "if they sin so, then so shall they die:" so St. Jerome.

9. But this is not thought sufficient; and men do usually affirm that we are formally and properly made sinners by Adam, and in him we all by interpretation sinned, and therefore think these words ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, "forasmuch as all men have sinned," ought to be expounded thus, "Death passed upon all men, in whom all men have sinned;" meaning, that in Adam we really sinned, and God does truly and justly impute his sin to us, to make us as guilty as he that did it, and as much punished, and liable to eternal damnation. And all the great force of this fancy relies upon this exposition of ἐφ' ᾧ, to signify "in him."

10. Concerning which there will be the less need of a laborious inquiry; if it be observed, that the words being read, "forasmuch as all men have sinned," bear a fair and clear discourse, and very intelligible; if it be rendered "in him," it is violent and hard, a distinct period by itself, without dependence or proper purpose, against the faith of all copies, who do not make this a distinct period, and against the usual manner of speaking. 2. This phrase of ἐφ' ᾧ is used in 2 Cor. v. 4. Ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι, "Not for that we would be unclothed;" and so it is used in Polybius, Suidas, and Varinus. Ἐφ' ᾧ, that is, "eâ conditione," for that cause or condition; and ἐφ' ᾧ παρεῖ, "ad quid ades," are the words of the gospel, as Suidas quotes them. 3. Although ἐφ' ᾧ may signify the same with ἐν ᾧ, "in whom," or "in him," yet it is so very seldom or infrequent, that it were intolerable to do violence to this place to force it to an unnatural signification. 4. If it did always signify the same with ἐν ᾧ, or "in him," which it does not; yet we might very well follow the same reading we now do, and which the apostle's discourse does infer; for even ἐν ᾧ does divers times signify, "forasmuch" or "for that," as is to be seen in Rom. viii. 3. and Heb. ii. 18. But, 5. supposing all that can be, and that it did signify "in whom," yet the sense were fair enough, as to the whole article; for "by him," or "in him, we are made sinners," that is, brought to an evil state of things usually consequent to sinners: we are used like sinners, "by him," or "in him;" just as when a sinner is justified, he is treated like a righteous person, as if he had never sinned, though he really did sin oftentimes; and this for his sake who is made righteousness to us: so "in Adam we are made sinners," that is, treated ill and afflicted, though ourselves be innocent of that sin, which was the occasion of our being used so severely for other sins, of which we were not innocent. But how this came to pass, is told in the following words.

11. "For until the law, sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come."[r] By which discourse it appears, that St. Paul does not speak of all mankind, as if the evil occasioned by Adam's sin did descend for ever upon that account; but it had a limited effect, and reached only to those who were in the interval between Adam and Moses. This death was brought upon them by Adam; that is, death, which was threat-

[p] Rom. v. 12. [q] 1 Tim. ii. 13. [r] Rom. v. 13, 14.

ened to Adam only, went forth upon them also who indeed were sinners, but "not after the similitude of Adam's transgression;" that is, who sinned not so capitally as he did. For to sin like Adam, is used as a tragical and a high expression. So it is in the prophet; "they like *men* have transgressed;" [s] so we read it;—but in the Hebrew, it is "they like *Adam* have transgressed," and yet death passed upon them that did not sin after the similitude of Adam; for Abel, and Seth, and Abraham, and all the patriarchs, died, Enoch only excepted; and therefore it was no wonder, that, upon the sin of Adam, death entered upon the world, who generally sinned like Adam, since it passed on and reigned upon less sinners. It reigned upon them, whose sins therefore would not be so imputed as Adam's was; because there was no law with an express threatening given to them as was to Adam; but although it was not wholly imputed upon their own account, yet it was imputed upon theirs and Adam's. For God was so exasperated with mankind, that being angry he would still continue that punishment even to the lesser sins and sinners, which he only had first threatened to Adam: and so Adam brought it upon them. They indeed, in rigour, did themselves deserve it; but if it had not been for that provocation by Adam, they who sinned not so bad, and had not been so severely and expressly threatened, had not suffered so severely. The case is this. Jonathan and Michal were Saul's children; it came to pass that seven of Saul's issue were to be hanged, all equally innocent, equally culpable. David took the five sons of Michal, for she had left him unhandsomely. Jonathan was his friend, and therefore he spared his son Mephibosheth. Here it was indifferent as to the guilt of the persons, whether David should take the sons of Michal, or of Jonathan; but it is likely that as, upon the kindness which David had to Jonathan, he spared his son, so, upon the just provocation of Michal, he made that evil to fall upon them, of which they were otherwise capable; which, it may be, they should not have suffered, if their mother had been kind. Adam was to God as Michal to David.

12. But there was in it a further design: for by this dispensation of death, Adam was made a figure of Christ: so the apostle expressly affirms; "who is the figure of him that was to come;" that as death passed upon the posterity of Adam, though they sinned less than Adam; so life should be given to the followers of Christ, though they were imperfectly righteous, that is, not after the similitude of Christ's perfection.

13. But for the further clearing the article depending upon the right understanding of these words, these two things are observable. 1. That the evil of death descending upon Adam's posterity, for his sake went no further than till Moses. For after the giving of Moses's law, death passed no further upon the account of Adam's transgression; but by the sanction of Moses's law, where death was anew, distinctly, and expressly threatened as it was to Adam, and so went forward upon a new score, but introduced first by Adam; that is, he was the cause at first,—and till Moses also, he was in some sense the author, and for ever after, the precedent; and therefore the apostle said well, "In Adam we all die:" his sin brought in the sentence, in him it began, and from him it passed upon all the world, though by several dispensations. 2. In the discourse of the apostle, those that were named, were not considered simply as born from Adam, and therefore it did not come upon the account of natural or original corruption, but they were considered as sinners; just as they who have life by Christ, are not considered as merely children by title, or spiritual birth, and adoption, but as just and faithful. But then this is the proportion and purpose of the apostle; as God gives to these life by Christ, which is a greater thing than their imperfect righteousness without Christ could have expected: so here also; this part of Adam's posterity was punished with death for their own sin; but this death was brought upon them by Adam; that is, the rather for his provocation of God by his great transgression.

14. There is now remaining no difficulty but in the words of the nineteenth verse; "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Concerning which I need not make use of the word πολλοὶ, or "many;" whom sometimes St. Paul calls πάντας, sometimes πολλοὺς, "all," and "many," that is, all from Adam to Moses; but they are but "many," and not "all" in respect of mankind; exactly answering to the "all" that have life by Christ, which are only the πολλοὶ, or the πιστεύοντες, those "many that believe," and are adopted into the covenant of believers: by this indeed it is perceivable, that this was not a natural title or derivation of an inherent corruption from Adam, for that must have included "all" absolutely and universally. But that which I here dwell and rely upon, is this:

15. Sin is often in Scripture used for the punishment of sin; and they that suffer, are called sinners, though they be innocent. So it is in this case. "By Adam's disobedience many were made sinners;" that is, the sin of Adam passed upon them, and sat upon their heads with evil effect, like that of Bathsheba; "I and my son shall be accounted sinners;" [t] that is, evil will befall us, we shall be used like sinners, like traitors, and usurpers. So, "This shall be the *sin* of Egypt," said the prophet: [u] this shall be the *punishment*; so we read it. And Cain, complaining of the greatness of his punishment, said, "Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear." And to put it past all doubt, not only punishment is called sin in Scripture, but even he that bears it. "Him that knew no sin, God hath made sin, that we might be the righteousness of God in him:" [x] and the prophet Isaiah, speaking of Christ, saith, "Posuit peccatum animam suam;" "He hath made his soul a sin," [y] that is, obnoxious to the punishment of sin. Thus it is said, that "Christ shall appear the second time without sin," that is, without the punishment of sin, "unto salvation:" [z] for of sin formally or materially, he was at first as innocent

[s] Hos. vi. 7. [t] 1 Kings i. 21. [u] Zech. xiv. 19. [x] 2 Cor. v. 21. [y] Isa. liii. 10. [z] Heb. ix. 28.

as at the second time; that is, pure in both. And if Christ who bare our burden, became sin for us in the midst of his purest innocence, that we also are by Adam made sinners, that is, suffer evil by occasion of his demerit, infers not that we have any formal guilt, or enmity against God upon that account. "Facti peccatores" in St. Paul, "by Adam we were made sinners," answers both in the story and in the expression to "Christus factus peccatum pro nobis;" "Christ was made sin for us," that is, was exposed to the evil that is consequent to sin, viz. to its punishment.

16. For the further explication of which, it is observable that the word "sinner" and "sin," in Scripture, is used for any person that hath a fault or a legal impurity, a debt, a vitiosity, defect, or imperfection. For the Hebrews use the word חטאת for any obligation which is contracted by the law without our fault. Thus a Nazarite, who had touched a dead body, was tied to offer a sacrifice *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, "for sin;" and the reason is added, *ὅτι ἥμαρτε περὶ ψυχῆς*, that is, "he had sinned concerning the dead body:" and yet it was nothing but a legal impurity, nothing moral. And the offering that was made by the leprous, or the menstruous, or the diseased "in profluvio seminis," is called *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, "an offering for sin," and yet it might be innocent all the way.

17. Thus in the epistle to the Hebrews it is said, that our blessed Lord, who is compared to the high priest among the Jews, did "offer first for his own sins:"[a] by which word it is certain that no sin properly could be meant, for Christ was *ἀναμάρτητος*, "he knew no sin:" but it means, the state of his infirmity, the condition of his mortal body, which he took for us and our sins, and is a state of misery and of distance from heaven; "for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven;" whither Christ was not to go, till by offering himself he had unclothed himself of that imperfect vesture, as they that were legally impure might not go to the temple before their offering; and therefore when by death he quit himself of this condition, it is said "he died unto sin."[b] Parallel to this is that of St. Paul in the fifth chapter to the Hebrews, where the state of infirmity is expressly called sin. The high priest "is himself also compassed with infirmity; and by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins."[c] This is also more expressly by St. Paul called *ὁμοίωμα τῆς σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*, "the likeness of the sin of the flesh;"[d] and thus, concupiscence, or the first motions and inclinations to sin, is called sin, and said to have the nature of sin, that is, *ὁμοίωμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, "the likeness," it may be, the material part "of sin," or something by which sin is commonly known. And thus Origen observes, that an oblation was to be offered, even for new-born children, *ὡς οὐ καθαρῶν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας*, "as if they were not clean from sin." But this being a usual expression among the Hebrews, bears its sense upon the palm of the hand, and signifies only the legal impurity in which the *ἀρτιγεγενημένοι*, "the new-born" babes, and their mothers, were involved. Even Christ himself, who had no original sin, was subject to this purification. So we read in St. Luke:[e] and "when the days of *her* purification were accomplished:" but in most books, and particularly in the King's MS. it is read *καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν*, "the days of *their* purification." But the things of this nature being called offerings for sins, and the expression usual among the Jews, I doubt not but hath given occasion to the christian writers to fancy other things than were intended.

18. Having now explicated those words of St. Paul, which, by being misunderstood, have caused strange devices in this article, we may now, without prejudice, examine what really was the effect of Adam's sin, and what evil descended upon his posterity.

19. Adam's sin was punished by an expulsion out of Paradise, in which was a tree appointed to be the cure of diseases and a conservatory of life. There was no more told as done but this, and its proper consequents. He came into a land less blessed, a land which bore thistles and briers easily, and fruits with difficulty, so that he was forced to sweat hard for his bread; and this also, I cannot say, did descend, but must needs be the condition of his children who were left to live so, and in the same place; just as when young Anthony had seized upon Marcus Cicero's land, the son also lost what he never had. And thus death came in, not by any new sentence or change of nature: for man was created mortal; and if Adam had not sinned, he should have been immortal by grace, that is, by the use of the tree of life; and now being driven from the place where the tree grew, was left in his own natural constitution; that is, to be sick and die without that remedy. *Οἱ γεγονότες ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ φθαρτοῦ φθαρτοὶ γεγόναμεν*: "He was mortal of himself, and we are mortal from him."[f] "Peccando Adam posteros morti subjecit, et universos huic delicto obnoxios reddidit," said Justin Martyr: "Adam by his sin made all his posterity liable to the sin, and subjected them to death."[g] One explicates the other; and therefore St. Cyprian calls original sin, "Malum domesticum, contagium mortis antiquæ primâ nativitate contractum:" "His sin infected us with death, and this infection we derive in our birth;"[h] that is, we are born mortal. Adam's sin was imputed to us unto a natural death; in him we are sinners, as in him we die. But this sin is not real and inherent, but imputed only to such a degree. So St. Cyprian affirms most expressly: "Infans recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quòd, secundum Adam carnalitè natus, contagium mortis antiquæ primâ nativitate contraxit:" "An infant hath not sinned, save only that being carnally born of Adam, in his first birth he hath contracted the contagion of the old death."

20. This evil, which is the condition of all our natures, viz. to die, was to some a punishment, but to others not so. It was a punishment to all that

[a] Heb. vii. 27. [b] Rom. vi. 10.
[c] Heb. v. 2, 3. [d] Rom. viii. 3.
[e] Luke ii. 22. [f] Cyril. adv. Anthrop.
[g] Dial. adv. Tryph. [h] Lib. 3. Ep. 8.

sinned both before Moses and since; upon the first it fell as a consequent of God's anger upon Adam; (as I before discoursed;) upon the latter it fell as a consequent of that anger, which was threatened in Moses's law. But to those who sinned not at all, as infants and innocents, it was merely a condition of their nature, and no more a punishment, than to be a child is. It was a punishment of Adam's sin; because by his sin human nature became disrobed of their preternatural immortality; and, therefore, upon that account they die; but as it related to the persons, it was not a punishment, not an evil inflicted for their sin, or any guiltiness of their own, properly so called.

21. We find nothing else in Scripture expressed to be the effect of Adam's sin: and beyond this, without authority, we must not go. Other things are said, but I find no warrant for them in that sense they are usually supposed,—and some of them in no sense at all. The particulars commonly reckoned, are, that from Adam we derive an original ignorance, a proneness to sin, a natural malice, a "fomes," or nest of sin imprinted and placed in our souls, a loss of our will's liberty, and nothing is left but a liberty to sin; which liberty upon the sum of affairs is expounded to be a necessity to sin; and the effect of all is, we are born heirs of damnation.

22. Concerning original or natural ignorance, it is true, we derive it from our parents, I mean, we are born with it; but I do not know that any man thinks, that, if Adam had not sinned that sin, Cain should have been wise as soon as his navel had been cut. Neither can we guess at what degree of knowledge Adam had before his fall. Certainly, if he had had so great a knowledge, it is not likely he would so cheaply have sold himself and all his hopes, out of a greedy appetite to get some knowledge. But concerning his posterity; indeed it is true a child cannot speak as first, nor understand; and if, as Plato said, "all our knowledge is nothing but memory," it is no wonder a child is born without knowledge. But so it is in the wisest men in the world; they also when they see or hear a thing first, think it strange, and could not know it, till they saw or heard it. Now this state of ignorance we derive from Adam, as we do our nature, which is a state of ignorance and all manner of imperfection; but whether it was not imperfect, and apt to fall into forbidden instances even before his fall, we may best guess at by the event; for if he had not had a rebellious appetite, and an inclination to forbidden things, by what could he have been tempted, and how could it have come to pass that he should sin? Indeed this nature was made worse by sin, and became divested of whatsoever it had extraordinary, and was left naked, and mere; and, therefore, it is not only an original imperfection, which we inherit, but in the sense now explicated, it is also an original corruption. And this is all: as natural death by his sin became a curse, so our natural imperfection became natural corruption, and that is original sin. Death and imperfection we derive from Adam, but both were natural to us; but by him they became actual, and penal, and by him they became worse, as by every evil act every principle of evil is improved. And in this sense, this article is affirmed by all the doctors of the ancient church. We are miserable really, sinners in account or effect, that properly, this improperly; and are fallen into so sad a state of things, which we also every day make worse, that we did need a Saviour to redeem us from it. For in original sin we are to consider the principle, and the effects. The principle is the actual sin of Adam. This being to certain purposes by God's absolute dominion imputed to us, hath brought upon us a necessity of dying, and all the affections of mortality; which although they were natural, yet would by grace have been hindered. Another evil there is upon us, and that is concupiscence; this also is natural, but it was actual before the fall, it was in Adam, and tempted him. This also from him is derived to us, and is by many causes made worse, by him and by ourselves. And this is the whole state of original sin, so far as is fairly warrantable. But for the other particulars the case is wholly differing.

The sin of Adam neither made us, 1. heirs of damnation, nor, 2. naturally and necessarily vicious.

23. I. It could not make us heirs of damnation. This I shall the less need to insist upon, because, of itself, it seems so horrid to impute to the goodness and justice of God to be author of so great a calamity to innocents, that St. Austin's followers have generally left him in that point, and have descended to this lesser proportion, that original sin damns only to the eternal loss of the sight of God's glorious face. But to this I say these things.

24. I. That there are many divines which believe this alone to be the worm that never dies, and the fire that never goeth out; that is, in effect, this, and the anguish for this, is all the hell of the damned. And unless infants remain infants in the resurrection too, (which no man that I know affirms,) or unless they be senseless and inapprehensive, it is not to be imagined but that all, that know they are by way of punishment deprived of the glorious face of God, must needs have a horrible anguish of soul to eternal ages. And this argument, besides the reasonableness of the thing, hath warrant from the words of St. Austin.[1] "Si hoc eis non erit malum, non ergo amabunt regnum Dei tot innocentes imagines Dei? Si autem amabunt, et tantum amabunt, quantum innocentes amare debent, regnum ejus, à quo ad ipsius imaginem creantur, nihilne mali de hâc ipsâ separatione patientur?" Here the good man and eloquent supposes the little babes to be innocent, to be images of God, to love the kingdom of God, and yet to be sentenced to hell: which, it may be, he did, but I do not, understand; save only that, in the parable, we find Dives in hell to be very charitable to his living brethren. But that which I make use of for the present, is, that infants,—besides the loss of God's presence, and the beholding his face,—are apprehensive and afflicted with that evil state of things, whither their infelicity, not their fault, hath carried them.

25. II. But suppose this to be but a mere privative state, yet it cannot be inflicted upon infants as a pu-

[1] Lib. 6. in Julian. c. 4.

nishment of Adam's sin; and upon the same account it cannot be inflicted upon any one else. Not upon infants, because they are not capable of a law for themselves; therefore much less of a law which was given to another, here being a double incapacity of obedience. They cannot receive any law; and if they could, yet of this they never were offered any notice till it was too late. Now if infants be not capable of this, nor chargeable with it,—then no man is; for all are infants first; and if it comes not by birth, and at first,—it cannot come at all. So that although this privative hell be less than to say they are tormented in flames besides, yet it is as unequal and unjust. There is not, indeed, the same cruelty, but there is the same injustice. I deny not but all persons naturally are so, that they cannot arrive at heaven; but unless some other principle be put into them, or some great grace done for them, must for ever stand separate from seeing the face of God. But this is but accidentally occasioned by the sin of Adam. That left us in our natural state, and that state can never come to heaven in its own strength. But this condition of all men by nature is not the punishment of our sin; for this would suppose, that were it not for this sin superinduced, otherwise we should go to heaven. Now this is not true; for if Adam had not sinned, yet without something supernatural, some grace and gift, we could never go to heaven. Now although the sin of Adam left him in his nakedness, and a mere natural man; yet presently this was supplied, and we were never in it, but were improved and bettered by the promise, and Christ hath died for mankind, and in so doing is become our Redeemer and representative; and therefore this sin of Adam cannot call us back from that state of good things, into which we are put by the mercies of God in our Lord Jesus; and, therefore, now no infant or idiot, or man or woman, shall, for this alone, be condemned to an eternal banishment from the sweetest presence of God. But this will be evinced more certainly in the following periods. For if they stand for ever banished from the presence of God, then they shall be for ever shut up in hell, with the devil and his angels; for the Scripture hath mentioned no portions but of the right and left hand. Gregory Nazianzen and his scholiast Nicetas did suppose, that there should be a middle state between heaven and hell for infants and heathens; and concerning infants, Pope Innocent III. and some schoolmen[k] have taken it up: but St. Austin[l] hath sufficiently confuted it; and it is sufficient that there is no ground for it but their own dreams.

26. III. But then against those that say, the flames of hell are the portion of Adam's heirs, and that infants, dying in original sin, are eternally tormented, as Judas, or Dives, or Julian,—I call to witness all the economy of the Divine goodness, and justice, and truth. "The soul that sins, it shall die; as I live, saith the Lord, the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;"[m] that is, he shall not be guilty of his crime, nor liable to his punishment.

27. IV. Is hell so easy a pain, or are the souls of children of so cheap, so contemptible a price, that God should so easily throw them into hell? God's goodness, which pardons many sins which we could avoid, will not so easily throw them into hell for what they could not avoid. God's goodness is against this.

28. V. It is supposed that Adam did not finally perish for that sin which himself committed; all antiquity thought so, Tatianus only excepted, who was a heretic accounted, and the father of the Encratites. But, then, what equity is it that any innocents or little children should? for either God pardoned Adam or condemned him. If he pardoned him that sinned, it is not so agreeable to his goodness to exact it of others that did not.[n] For if he pardoned him, then either God took off all that to which he was liable, or only removed it from him to place it somewhere else. If he removed it from him to his posterity, that is it which we complain of as contrary to his justice and his goodness. But if God took off all that was due, how could God exact it of others, it being wholly pardoned? But if God did not pardon him the eternal guilt, but took the forfeiture and made him pay the full price of his sin, that is, all which he did threaten and intend,—then it is not to be supposed that God should, in justice, demand more than eternal pains as the price to be paid by one man for one sin. So that in all senses this seems unjust.

29. VI. To be born, was a thing wholly involuntary and unchosen, and therefore it could in no sense be chosen, that we were born so; that is, born guilty of Adam's sin, which we knew not of, which was done so many thousand years before we were born; which we had never heard of, if God had not been pleased by a supernatural way to reveal to us, which the greatest part of mankind to this day have never heard of; at which we were displeased as soon as we knew of it; which hath caused much trouble to us, but never tempted us with any pleasure.

30. VII. No man can perish for that of which he was not guilty; but we could not be involved in the guilt, unless some way or other our consent had been involved. For it is no matter who sins, or who is innocent, if he, that is innocent, may perish for what another does without his knowledge or leave, either asked, or given, or presumed. But if our consent was in it, then either it was included naturally, or by an express will of God that made it so. It can no way be imagined how our will can be naturally included, for we had no natural being. We had no life, and therefore no action, and therefore no consent. For it is impossible there should be an act of will in any sense, when there is an act of understanding in no sense. But if by a Divine act or decree it became so, and not by our act, then we only are said to consent, because God would have it so; which, if we speak intelligibly, is to charge God with making us guilty when we were not; to say, we consented when we did not.

31. VIII. In pursuance of which argument, I

[k] Ambros. Catharinus, Albert. Pighius.
[l] De Verb. Apost. serm. 14. [m] Ezek. xviii.

[n] Ex tarditate si Dii sontes prætereant, et insontes plectant, justitiam suam non sic rectè resarciunt.

consider, that whatsoever can be said to consent, must have a being either in or out of its causes. But our will was not in being or actual existence, when Adam sinned; it was then in its causes. But the soul, and so the will of man, hath no cause but God, it being with the soul immediately created. If therefore we sinned, we could not sin in ourselves, for we were not born; nor could we sin in Adam, for he was not the cause of our will; it must therefore be that we sinned in God: for as was our being, so must our action be; but our being was then only in God, our will and our soul were in him only, "tanquam in suâ causâ," therefore in him was our action, or consent, or what we please to call it. Which affirmative, what sense, or what piety, or what probability, it can have in it, I suppose, needs not much inquiry.

32. IX. To condemn infants to hell for the fault of another, is to deal worse with them than God did to the very devils, who did not perish but for an act of their own most perfect choice.

33. X. This, besides the formality of injustice and cruelty, does add and suppose a circumstance of a strange ungentle contrivance. For because it cannot be supposed that God should damn infants or innocents without cause, it finds out this way, that God, to bring his purposes to pass, should create a guilt for them, or bring them into an inevitable condition of being guilty by a way of his inventing.[o] For if he did make any such agreement with Adam, he beforehand knew that Adam would forfeit all, and therefore that unavoidably all his posterity should be surprised. This is to make pretences, and to invent justifications and reasons of his proceedings, which indeed are all one as if they were not. For he that can make a reason for an action otherwise unjust, can do it without any reason; especially when the reason itself makes the misery as fatal as a decree without a reason: and if God cannot be supposed to damn infants without just cause, and therefore he so ordered it that a cause should not be wanting, but he infallibly and irresistibly made them guilty of Adam's sin; is not this to resolve to make them miserable, and then with scorn to triumph in their sad condition? For if they could not deserve to perish without a fault of their own, how could they deserve to have such a fault put upon them? If it be unjust to damn them without cause, is it not also unjust to make a cause for them whether they will or no?

34. XI. It is supposed and generally taught, that before the fall Adam had original righteousness, that is, not only that he was as innocent as children new-born are of actual sin, (which seems to be that which divines call "original righteousness," there being no other either taught, or reasonable,) but a rare rectitude of the inner man, a just subordination of the inferior faculties to the superior, an excellent knowledge and clear light; and therefore that he would sin had so little excuse, that well it might deserve such a punishment, so great as himself suffered. Indeed, if he had no such rare perfections and rectitude, I can say nothing to the particular: but to the question, this; that if Adam had it not, then he could not lose it, nor his posterity after him; as it is fiercely and mightily pretended that they did. But if he had this rectitude and rare endowments, what equity is it that his posterity, who had no such helps to resist the sin, and were so far from having any helps at all to resist it, that they had no notice of it, neither of the law, nor the danger, nor the temptation, nor the action, till it was past; I say, what equity is it that his posterity should, in the midst of all these imperfections, be equally punished with him, who sinned against so great a light, and so mighty helps?

35. XII. Infants cannot justly perish for Adam's sin, unless it be just that their wills should be included in his will, and his will justly become theirs by interpretation. Now if so, I ask, whether, before that sin of Adam, were our wills free, or not free? For if we had any will at all, it must be free or not free. If we had none at all, how could it be involved in his? Now if our wills were free, why are they without our act, and whether we will or no, involved in the will of another? If they were not free, how could we be guilty? If they were free, then they could also dissent. If they were not free, then they could not consent; and so, either they never had, or else, before Adam's fall, they lost their liberty.

36. XIII. But if it be inquired seriously, I cannot imagine what can be answered. Could we prevent the sin of Adam? Could we hinder it? Were we ever asked? Could we, if we had been asked, after we were born a month, have given our negative? Or could we do more before we were born than after? Were we, or could we be, tied to prevent that sin? Did not God know that we could not in that case dissent? and why then shall our consent be taken in by interpretation, when our dissent could not be really acted; but if at that time we could not dissent really, could we have dissented from Adam's sin by interpretation? If not, then we could dissent no way, and then it was inevitably decreed that we should be ruined: for neither really, nor by interpretation, could we have dissented. But if we could by interpretation have dissented, it were certainly more agreeable to God's goodness, to have interpreted for us in the better sense, rather than in the worse; being we did neither, really and actually; and if God had so pleased, he rather might with his goodness have interpreted us to have dissented, than he could with justice have interpreted us to have consented: and therefore, certainly he did so, or would have done, if there had been need.

37. XIV. Lastly; the consequent of these is this. That because God is true, and just, and wise, and good, and merciful, it is not to be supposed that he will snatch infants from their mother's breasts, and throw them into the everlasting flames of hell for the sin of Adam, that is, as to them, for their mere natural state, of which himself was Author and Creator: that is, he will not damn them for being

[o] Qui vult aliquid in causâ, vult effectum ex istâ causâ profluentem.

good. For "God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good:" and therefore, so is that state of descent from Adam. God is the Author of it, and therefore it cannot be ill. It cannot be contrary to God, because it is his work.

38. Upon the account of these reasons I suppose it safe to affirm, that God does not damn any one to hell merely for the sin of our first father, which I sum up in the words of St. Ambrose, or whoever is the author of the commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul attributed to him; "Mors autem dissolutio corporis est, cum anima à corpore separatur. Est et alia mors, quæ secunda dicitur, in Gehennâ, quam non peccato Adæ patimur, sed ejus occasione propriis peccatis acquiritur:" "Death is the dividing soul and body. There is also another death which is in hell, and is called the second death, which we do not suffer for the sin of Adam; but, by occasion of it, we fall into it by our own sins."[p]

Next we are to inquire, whether or no it does not make us infallibly, naturally, and necessarily vicious, by taking from us original righteousness, by discomposing the order of our faculties, and enslaving the will to sin and folly, concerning which the inquiry must be made by parts.

39. For if the sin of Adam did debauch our nature, and corrupt our will and manners, it is either by a physical or natural efficiency of the sin itself; or, 2. Because we were all in the loins of Adam; or, 3. By the sentence and decree of God.

40. I. Not by any natural efficiency of the sin itself: because then it must be that every sin of Adam must spoil such a portion of his nature, that before he died, he must be a very beast. 2. We also, by degeneration and multiplication of new sins, must have been at so vast a distance from him at the very worst, that by this time we should not have been so wise as a fly, nor so free and unconstrained as fire. 3. If one sin would, naturally and by physical causality, destroy original righteousness, then every one sin in the regenerate can as well destroy habitual righteousness, because that and this differ not but in their principle, not in their nature and constitution. And why should not a righteous man as easily and as quickly fall from grace, and lose his habits, as Adam did? Naturally it is all one. 4. If that one sin of Adam did destroy all his righteousness and ours too, then our original sin does more hurt, and is more punished, and is of greater malice, than our actual sin. For one act of sin does but lessen and weaken the habit, but does not quite destroy it. If therefore this act of Adam (in which, certainly, at least we did not offend maliciously) destroys all original righteousness, and a malicious act now does not destroy a righteous habit, it is better for us in our own malice, than in our ignorance, and we suffer less for doing evil that we know of, than for doing that which we knew nothing of.

41. II. If it be said, that this evil came upon us, because we all were in the loins of Adam, I consider, 1. That then by the same reason we are guilty of all the sins, which he ever committed while we were in his loins; there being no imaginable reason why the first sin should be propagated, and not the rest; and he might have sinned the second time and have sinned worse. Add to this, that the latter sins are commonly the worse, as being committed not only against the same law, but a greater reason and a longer experience, and heightened by the mark of ingratitude, and deeply noted with folly, for venturing damnation so much longer: and then he that was born last should have most original sin and Seth should in his birth and nature be worse than Abel, and Abel be worse than Cain. 2. Upon this account all the sins of all our progenitors will be imputed to us, because we were in their loins when they sinned them; and every lustful father must have a lustful son, and so every man, or no man, will be lustful. For if ever any man were lustful, or intemperate, when or before he begot his child, upon this reckoning his child will be so too, and then his grandchild, and so on for ever. 3. Sin is seated in the will, it is an action, and transient; and when it dwells or abides, it abides no where but in the will by approbation and love, to which is naturally consequent a readiness in the inferior faculties to obey and act accordingly; and therefore sin does not infect our mere natural faculties, but the will only, and not that in the natural capacity, but in its moral only. 4. And indeed to him that considers it, it will seem strange and monstrous, that a moral obliquity, in a single instance, should make a universal change in a natural suscipient, and in a natural capacity. When it is in nature impossible, that any impression should be made but between those things that communicate in matter or capacity; and, therefore, if this were done at all, it must be by a higher principle, by God's own act or sanction, and then should be referred to another principle, not this against which I am now disputing. 5. No man can transmit a good habit, a grace, or a virtue, by natural generation; as a great scholar's son cannot be born with learning, and the child of a judge cannot upon his birth-day give wise sentences; and Marcus the son of Cicero was not so good an orator as his father: and how can it be then, that a naughty quality should be more apt to be disseminated than a good one; when it is not the goodness or the badness of a quality that hinders its dissemination, but its being an acquired and superinduced quality that makes it cannot descend naturally? Add to this, how can a bad quality, morally bad, be directly and regularly transmitted by an action morally good? And since neither God that is the Maker of all does amiss, and the father that begets sins not, and the child that is begotten cannot sin,—by what conveyance can any positive evil be derived to the posterity? 6. It is generally, now-a-days especially, believed, that the soul is immediately created, not generated, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, affirming τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον; "that the soul is from without, and is a divine substance;" and therefore sin cannot descend by natural generation, or by our being in Adam's loins. And how can it be, that the father,

[p] In Cap. 5. Rom.

who contributes nothing to her production, should contribute to her pollution? that he who did not transmit life, should transmit his sin? And yet if the soul were traduced from the parents, and begotten, yet sin could not descend, because it is not a natural, but a superinduced quality; and if it could, then it would follow, that we should from every vicious father derive a proper original sin, besides the general. 7. If in him we sinned, then it were but just, that in him we should be punished: for as the sin is, so ought the punishment to be. But it were unjust, or at least it seems so, that he should sin for us, and we be punished for him, or that he should sin for us and for himself, and yet be punished for himself alone.

42. III. But if it be said, that this happened because of the will and decree of God; then there is no more to be done, but to look into the record, and see what God threatened, and what he inflicted. He threatened death and inflicted it, with all its preparations and solemnities in men and women: hard labour in them both; which St. Chrysostom thus expresses: Ἐκείνου πεσόντος, καὶ οἱ μὴ φαγόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, γεγόνασιν παρ' ἐκείνου πάντες θνητοί: "Adam falling, even they that did not eat of the tree were of him all born mortal."[q] He and all his posterity were left in the mere natural state; that is, in a state of imperfection, in a state that was not sufficiently instructed and furnished with abilities in order to a supernatural end, whither God had secretly designed mankind. In this state, he could never arrive at heaven, but that was to be supplied by other means; for this made it necessary that all should come to Christ, and is the great *αὐθεντία* and necessity for the baptism of infants, that they, being admitted to supernatural promises and assistances, may be lifted up to a state above their nature; not only to improve their present good, as the Pelagians affirmed,

> Tam dives verò hoc donum baptismatis esse,
> Ut parvis etiam vitioque carentibus omni
> Congruat, ut qui sunt geniti bene, sint meliores,
> Naturæque bonum adjecto illustretur honore;

but to take off that evil state of things whither by occasion of the fall of Adam they were devolved,—and to give them new birth, adoption into Christ, and the seeds of a new nature, so to become children of God and heirs of the promises, who in their mere naturals did inherit from Adam nothing but misery, and imperfection, and death.

> Cœlorum regnum sperate, hoc fonte renati;
> Non recipit felix vita semel genitos.
> Insons esse volens isto mundare lavacro,
> Seu patrio premeris crimine, seu proprio.

So Xystus in the verses written upon the fount of Constantine. But, 2. It is not to be supposed that God did inflict any necessity of sinning upon Adam or his posterity, because from that time ever unto this, he by new laws hath required innocence of life, or repentance and holiness. For besides that it is a great testimony of the Divine favour that God will still employ us, and exact more services of us, and that there is no greater argument of joy to us in the world, than that we are God's servants, and there can be no greater testimony that God is our God; and that of this employing us in his service, there can be no greater evidence, than the giving to us new laws: besides this, I say, if man could not obey, it is not consistent with the wisdom of God, to require of man what he knows man cannot do; nor with his justice to punish that in man which he knows man cannot avoid.

43. But if it be objected, that man had strengths enough in his first creation, but when in Adam he sinned, in him also he forfeited all his strengths; and therefore his consequent disability being his own fault, cannot be his excuse; and to whatsoever laws God shall be pleased afterward to impose, he cannot plead his infirmity, because himself having brought it on himself, must suffer for it: it being just in God to exact the law of him, even where he is unable to keep it, because God once made him able, and he disabled himself. I answer many things.

44. 1. That Adam had any more strengths than we have, and greater powers of nature, and by his fall lost them to himself and us, being part of the question, ought not to be pretended, till it be proved. Adam was a man, as his sons are, and no more; and God gave him strength enough to do his duty; and God is as just and loving to us as to him, and hath promised "he will lay no more upon us, than he will make us able to bear." But, 2. He that disables himself from doing his Lord service, if he does it on purpose that he may not serve him, may be punished for not doing all that which was imposed upon him, because that servant did choose his disability that he might with some pretence refuse the service. He did disobey in all the following particulars; because out of a resolution not to obey in those particulars, he made himself unable in the general. It is all one with the case of voluntary and affected ignorance. He that refuses knowledge lest he should understand his duty, and he that disables himself that he may not do it, may be punished not only for not doing it, but for making it impossible to be done. But that was not Adam's case, so far as we know; and it is certain it was not ours in the matter of his sin. 3. But if he commits a fault which accidentally disables him; as if he eats too much, and be sick the next day, and fall into a fever, he may indeed, and is justly punished for his gluttony, but he is not punishable for omitting that, which in his present weakness he can no ways perform. The reason is, because this disability was involuntary, and an evil accident; of itself a punishment of his sin, and therefore of itself not punishable; and this involuntariness is still the more notorious and certain, as the consequents are the more remote. 4. No man can be answerable to God for the consequent of his sin, unless it be natural, foretold, or foreseen; but for the sin itself he is; and as for the consequents superinduced by God, he must suffer them, but not answer for them. For these being in the hands of God, are not the works of men's hands; God hath effected it upon the sinner, he is the Author of it, and by it he is directly glorified; and therefore

[q] In 5. Rom.

though by it the sinner is punished, yet for it he cannot be punished again. 5. But that I may come to the case of the present argument. This measure and line of justice are most evident in laws to be imposed after the disability is contracted, and not foreseen before; concerning which, there can be no pretence of justice that the breach of them should be punished. If a law be already imposed, and a man by his fault loses those assistances, without which he could not keep the law, he may nevertheless in the rigour of justice be punished for not keeping it, because the law was given him when he had strength, and he ought to have preserved it. For though he cannot be obliged to a new law to which he is not enabled, yet for his sin he shall not be disobliged from an old law to which he was enabled. Although God will not exceed his measures, or do wrong to a sinner, yet by his sin he shall receive no favour, or immunity. But in laws to be imposed afterwards, the case, I say, is otherwise. Because the persons are not capable of any such law; and God knowing they cannot perform them, cannot intend they should; and therefore cannot justly punish them for not doing that, which himself did never heartily intend they should do, because he knew they could not. The instances will make the matter to be confessed. Suppose a man falling into drunkenness, should, by the Divine judgment, fall lame; can God afterwards exact it of him that he should leap and dance in public festivities, when he can neither go nor stand? If so, suppose yet further, that by the Divine judgment he should fall mad; is the mad man capable of a new law? I suppose it will not be said he is: or if it be, suppose yet further, that he be taken speechless and senseless, or die: can God still exact of him obedience to any new commandment? If he be dead, his day is done, he can work no more, nor be obliged any more; and so it is if he be mad, or any ways disabled; the case is all one. For whatsoever the disability be, the incapacity, and impossibility, and the excuse are the same. 6. When God, as it is said, punished the first sin with a consequent disability of doing any future services, if he also punishes the not doing what he afterwards imposes, I ask whether this later punishment be precisely due to the later, or to the former sin? If to the later, then in vain is it laid upon the former account; and yet, if it be laid upon its own, it is high injustice; because of this law, the man was not a subject capable when it was imposed, the man was dead before the law was alive: and a tree is as much capable of a law, as a man is of an impossible commandment. But if the punishment of this later be inflicted upon the sinner for the first transgression by which he disabled himself, then in vain was the later commandment imposed. For since the later sin was unavoidable, and the first sin deserved the whole damnation, what end could there be of imposing this new law, by which God could not serve any new purpose no, not for the manifestation of his justice in condemning him? For if the first sin deserved condemnation, there was no need to introduce a new pretence, and to seek an occasion to slay him. But if it did not, it is certain the new sin could not make it just to do what was not just before, because by this new omission there can be no new guilt contracted. But of this I shall give yet a further account, when I shall discourse in what sense God can be said to punish one sin with another.

45. The consequent of the parts of this discourse is this, that since the sin of Adam did not debauch our nature by any natural efficiency of the sin itself, nor by our being in the loins of Adam, nor yet by any sentence or decree of God, we are not by Adam's sin made necessarily and naturally vicious and inclined to evil, but are left in our mere nature, such as it was, and such as it is.[r]

——Nec si miserum [Natura] Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.

Nature makes us miserable and imperfect, but not criminal. Ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις ἄνθρωπος, Θεοῦ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῇ τις ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ διαβόλου· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. They are the words of St. Ignatius[s] the martyr: "If any man be a pious and a good man, he is of God; if he be impious, he is of the devil. Not by nature, but made so by his own proceedings." To all which I add this;

46. That in Scripture there is no signification of any corruption or depravation of our souls by Adam's sin; which I shall manifest by examination of all those places, which are the pretence of the contrary doctrine. For if God hath not declared in Scripture any such thing, we have the common notions of his justice, and wisdom, and goodness, and truth, in prejudice of the contrary.

SECTION II.

Consideration of the Objections against the former Doctrine.

47. THE first is, "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually."[t] I answer, it is true, they were so, but it was their own fault, not Adam's; for so it is said expressly, "All flesh hath corrupted his way upon the earth, and the earth was filled with violence."[u] 2. If this corruption had been natural and unavoidable, why did God punish all the world for it, except eight persons? Why did he punish those that could not help it? and why did others escape that were equally guilty? Is not this a respect of persons, and partiality to some, and iniquity towards all? which far be it from the Judge of all the world. 3. God

[r] Idem sensit Jacobus Faber in 5. Rom. Nihil nos ex Adamo trahere nisi obligationem ad mortem. Albertus Pighius Controv. 1. de Peccato Orig. et Ambr. Catharinus de Lapsu Hominis et Peccato Orig. statuunt, peccatum originis non habere veram peccati rationem, sed esse tantùm reatum, quo posteri primorum parentum propter transgressionem illorum primævam, sine aliquo vitio proprio et inhærente, naturæ pravitate devincti teneantur.

[s] Epist. ad Magnes.

[t] Gen. vi. 5.

[u] Ver. 12.

might as well have punished all the world, for sleeping once in a day, or for being hungry, as for sinning, if so to do be natural and unavoidable. 4. If God in these words complained of their natural and original corruption, why did he but then, as if it were a new thing, complain of it, and repent that he had made man, since he proved so bad? 5. This malice and corruption were such, that God did send Noah, the preacher of righteousness, to draw the world from it. But no man supposes, that it was fit to send a preacher to dehort them from being guilty of original sin. Therefore it was good counsel;

> ——— Denique te ipsum
> Concute, numqua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
> Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
> Neglectis urenda filix innascitur argis. HORAT.

Blame not nature, but thy own evil customs; for thy neglect of thy fields will make fern and thistles to grow. It is not only because the ground is accursed, but because it is neglected, that it bears thorns. "Errasti, si existimas nobiscum vitia nasci: supervenerunt, ingesta sunt," said Seneca:[z] "Thou art deceived, if thou thinkest that vices are born with us. No, they are superinduced, and come in upon us afterwards."

48. And by this we may the better understand the following words: "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth."[a] Concerning which note, that these words are not two sentences. For this is not the reason why God gave over smiting, because "man was corrupt from his youth." For if this had been the reason, it would have come to pass, that the same cause which moved God to smite, would also move him to forbear, which were a strange economy. The words therefore are not a reason of his forbearing, but an aggravation of his kindness; as if he had said, Though man be continually evil, yet I will not, for all that, any more drown the world for man's being so evil: and so the Hebrews note that the particle כי sometimes signifies "although."

49. But the great outcry in this question is upon confidence of the words of David; "Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me."[b] To which I answer, that the words are a Hebraism, and signify nothing but an aggrandation of his sinfulness, and are intended for a high expression, meaning that "I am wholly and entirely wicked." For the verification of which exposition, there are divers parallel places in the Holy Scriptures. "Thou wert my hope, when I hanged yet upon my mother's breasts;" and, "The ungodly are froward even from their mother's womb; as soon as they are born they go astray, and speak lies;" which, because it cannot be true in the letter, must be an idiotism, or propriety of phrase, apt to explicate the other, and signifying only a ready, a prompt, a great, and universal wickedness. The like to this is that saying of the Pharisees; "Thou wert altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us?"[c] which phrase and manner of speaking, being plainly a reproach of the poor blind man and a disparagement of him, did mean only to call him a very wicked person, but not that he had derived his sin originally, and from his birth; for that had been their own case as much as his; and, therefore, St. Chrysostom explaining this phrase, says, Ὡσανεὶ ἔλεγον, ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐν ἁμαρτίαις εἶ σὺ, "It is as if they should say, Thou hast been a sinner all thy lifetime." To the same sense are those words of Job; "I have guided her (the widow) from my mother's womb."[d] And in this expression and severity of hyperbole it is, that God aggravated the sins of his people; "Thou wast called a transgressor from the womb."[e] And this way of expressing a great state of misery we find used among the heathen writers: for so Seneca brings in Œdipus complaining;

> Infanti quoque decreta mors est:
> Fata quis tam tristia sortitus unquam!
> Videram nondum diem, et jam tenebar,
> Mors me antecessit, aliquis intra viscera
> Materna, lethum præcocis fati tulit:
> Sed numquid et peccavit? ——— Thebaid.

Something like St. Bernard's, "Damnatus antequam natus," "'I was condemned before I was born;' dead before I was alive; and death seized upon me in my mother's womb. Somebody brought in a hasty and a too forward death, but did he sin also?" An expression not unlike this we have in Lucian; Συγγίνωσκέ μοι μὴ πεφυκότι κακῷ γίνεσθαι. "Pardon me that I was not born wicked," or "born to be wicked." 2. If David had meant it literally, it had not signified that himself was born in original sin, but that his father and mother sinned when they begat him: which the eldest son that he begat of Bathsheba, for aught I know, might have said truer than he in this sense. And this is the exposition of Clemens Alexandrinus,[f] save only that by "my mother" he understands "Eva:" Καὶ εἰ ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ συνειλήφθη, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ. "Though he was conceived in sin, yet he was not in the sin;" "peccatrix concepit, sed non peccatorem;" she sinned in the conception, not David. And in the following words he speaks home to the main article. Λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν, ποῦ ἐπόρνευσεν τὸ γεννηθὲν παιδίον; ἢ πῶς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρὰν τὸ μηδὲν ἐνέργησαν; "Let them tell us where an infant did fornicate, or how he, who had done nothing, could fall under the curse of Adam;" meaning, so as to deserve the same evil that he did. 3. If it did relate to his own person, he might mean that he was begotten with that sanguine disposition, and libidinous temper, that was the original of his vile adultery: and then, though David said this truly of himself, yet it is not true of all, not of those whose temper is phlegmatic and inactive. 4. If David had meant this of himself, and that in regard of original sin, this had been so far from being a penitential expression, or a confessing of his sin, that it had been a plain accusation of God, and an excusing of himself. As if he had said, "O Lord, I confess I have sinned in this

[a] Epist. 91.
[b] Psal. li. 5.
[a] Gen. viii. 21.
[c] John ix. 34.
[d] Job xxxi. 18.
[e] Isa. xlviii. 8
[f] Lib. 3. Strom. extrem

horrible murder and adultery; but thou, O God, knowest how it comes to pass, even by that fatal punishment, which thou didst, for the sin of Adam, inflict on me and all mankind above three thousand years before I was born, thereby making me to fall into so horrible corruption of nature, that unless thou didst irresistibly force me from it, I cannot abstain from any sin, being most naturally inclined to all. In this sinfulness hath my mother conceived me, and that hath produced in me this sad effect."—Who would suppose David to make such a confession, or in his sorrow to hope for pardon for upbraiding not his own folly, but the decrees of God? 5. But that David thought nothing of this, or any thing like it, we may understand by the preceding words, which are as a preface to these in the objection. "Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged." He that thus acquits God, cannot easily be supposed, in the very next breath, so fiercely to accuse him. 6. To which also add the following words, which are a sufficient reproof of all strange senses in the other; "In sin hath my mother conceived me. But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts:" as if he had said, "Though I am so wicked, yet thy laws are good, and I therefore so much the worse, because I am contrary to thy laws: they require truth and sincerity in the soul, but I am false and perfidious."—But if this had been natural for him so to be, and unavoidable, God, who knew it perfectly well, would have expected nothing else of him. For he will not require of a stone to speak, nor of fire to be cold, unless himself be pleased to work a miracle to have them so.

50. But St. Paul[h] affirms, that, "by nature we were the children of wrath." True, we were so, when we were dead in sins, and before we were quickened by the Spirit of life and grace. We *were* so; now we *are* not. We were so by our own unworthiness and filthy conversation; now we being regenerated by the Spirit of holiness, we are alive unto God, and no longer heirs of wrath. This therefore, as appears by the discourse of St. Paul, relates not to our original sin, but to the actual; and of this sense of the word "nature," in the matter of sinning, we have Justin Martyr, or whoever is the author of the questions and answers "ad orthodoxos," to be witness:[i] for, answering those words of Scripture, "there is not any one clean who is born of a woman," and there is none begotten who hath not committed sin: he says, their meaning cannot extend to Christ, for he was not *πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν*, "born to sin;" but he is "natura ad peccandum natus," *πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν, ὁ κατὰ τὴν αὐθαίρετον προαίρεσιν ἄγων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἃ βούλεται εἴτε ἀγαθὰ, εἴτε φαῦλα*, "by nature born to sin, who by the choice of his own will is author to himself to do what he list, whether it be good or evil." The following words are eaten out by time; but upon this ground whatever he said of infants, must needs have been to better purposes than is usually spoken of in this article. 2. Heirs of wrath, signifies persons liable to punishment, heirs of death. It is a usual expression among the Hebrews. So "sons of death," in the Holy Scriptures, are those that deserve death, or are condemned to die. Thus Judas Iscariot is called, "the son of perdition;"[k] and so is that saying of David to Nathan, "The man that hath done this shall surely die."[l] In the Hebrew it is, "he is the son of death." And so where those Ephesians, "children" or sons "of wrath" before their conversion; that is, they had deserved death. 3. By "nature" is here most likely to be meant that which Galen calls *φύσις ἐπίκτητος*, "an acquisite nature," that is, *τὰ ἤθη*, "customs" and evil habits. And so Suidas expounds the word in this very place; not only upon the account of grammar, and the use of the word in the best authors, but also upon an excellent reason. His words are these: *Ὅταν δὲ λέγει ὁ Ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἦμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ σημαινόμενον τῆς φύσεως λέγει· ἐπεὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἂν ἦν τὸ ἔγκλημα. Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔμμονον καὶ κακίστην διάθεσιν, καὶ χρονίαν καὶ πονηρὰν συνήθειαν*· "When the apostle says, we were by nature children of wrath, he means not that which is the usual signification of nature, for then it were not their fault, but the fault of him that made them such; but it means an abiding and vile habit, a wicked and a lasting custom." *Καὶ γὰρ τὸ εἰθισμένον ὥσπερ πεφυκὸς ἤδη γίνεται*, saith Aristotle:[m] "Custom is like nature." For "often" and "always" are not far asunder. Nature is "always," custom is "almost always." To the same sense are those words of Porphyry;[n] *Τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότας, βελτίστους τε ὄντας φύσει καὶ τῶν ἄριστον ἐζηκότας βίον, ὡς χρυσοῦν γένος νομίζεσθαι*—"The ancients who lived likest to God, and were by nature the best, living the best life, were a golden generation.—4. "By nature," means not by birth and natural extraction, or any original derivation from Adam, in this place: for of this these Ephesians were no more guilty than every one else, and no more before their conversion than after; but "by nature" signifies *ὄντως, ἀληθῶς*, so the Greek Scholiast renders it; "really, beyond opinion;" "plenè et omnino," "entirely, or wholly," so the Syriac; and so St. Jerome affirms that the ancients did expound it: and it is agreeable to the usage of the same phrase, Gal. iv. 8. "Ye did service to them which 'by nature' are no gods," that is, which "really" are none. And as these Ephesians were before their conversion, so were the Israelites in the days of their rebellion, a wicked, stubborn people, insomuch that they are by the prophet called "children of transgression, a seed of falsehood."[o] But these and the like places have no force at all but what they borrow from the ignorance of that sense and acceptation of the word in those languages, which ought to be the measure of them.

51. But it is hard upon such mean accounts to

[h] Ephes. ii. 2, 3.
[i] Quæst. 88.
[k] John xvii. 12.
[l] 2 Sam. xii. 5.
[m] Arist. Rhet. l. 1. c. 11.
[n] Lib. 4. de Esu Anim.
[o] Isa. lvii. 4.

reckon all children to be born enemies of God, that is, bastards and not sons, heirs of hell and damnation, full of sin and vile corruption, when the Holy Scriptures propound children as imitable for their pretty innocence and sweetness, and declare them rather heirs of heaven than hell. "In malice be children;"[p] and, "unless we become like to children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;"[q] and, "their angels behold the face of their Father which is in heaven."[r] Heaven is theirs, God is their Father, angels are appropriated to them; they are free from malice, and imitable by men. These are better words than are usually given them; and signify, that they are beloved of God, not hated; designed for heaven, and born to it, though brought thither by Christ, and by the Spirit of Christ: not born for hell; that was "prepared for the devil and his angels," not for innocent babes. This does not call them naturally wicked, but rather naturally innocent, and is a better account than is commonly given them by imputation of Adam's sin.

52. But not concerning children, but of himself St. Paul complains, that his nature and his principles of action and choice are corrupted. "There is a law in my members, bringing me into captivity to the law of sin;"[s] and many other words to the same purpose: all which indeed have been strangely mistaken to very ill purposes, so that the whole chapter so, as is commonly expounded, is nothing but a temptation to evil life, and a patron of impiety. Concerning which I have in the next chapter given account, and freed it from the common abuse. But if this were to be understood in the sense which I there reprove, yet it is to be observed in order to the present question, that St. Paul does not say, "This law in our members comes by nature, or is derived from Adam." A man may bring a law upon himself by vicious custom, and that may be as prevalent as nature, and more; because more men have by philosophy and illuminated reason cured the disposition of their nature, than have cured their vicious habits. Add to this, that St. Paul puts this uneasiness, and this carnal law in his members, wholly upon the account of being "under the law," and of his not being under Christ; not upon the account of Adam's prevarication, as is plain in the analogy of the whole chapter.

53. As easy also it is to understand these words of St. Paul without prejudice to this question: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither indeed can he know them:"[t] meaning, as is supposed, that there is in our natures an ignorance and averseness from spiritual things, that is, a contrariety to God. But it is observable, that the word which the apostle uses is ψυχικὸς, which is not properly rendered "natural," but "animal," and it certainly means a man that is guided only by natural reason, without the revelations of the gospel. Ψυχικὸς καλεῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸν τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς λογισμοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέποντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐνέργειαν μὴ δέχοντα. So Suidas. An animal man, that is, a philosopher, or a rational man, such as were the Greek and Roman philosophers, upon the stock and account of the learning of all their schools, could never discern the excellences of the gospel mysteries; as of God incarnate, Christ dying, resurrection of the body, and the like. For this word ψυχικὸς, or "animal," and another word used often by the apostle, σαρκικὸς, "carnal," are opposed to πνευματικὸς, "spiritual;" and are states of evil, or of imperfection, in which while a man remains, he cannot do the work of God. For "animality," which is a relying upon natural principles without revelation, is a state privatively opposed to the "Spirit;" and a man in that state cannot be saved, because he wants a vital part, he wants the Spirit, which is a part of the constitution of a christian in that capacity, who consists of body, and soul, and Spirit; and therefore "anima without Spiritus," "the soul without the Spirit," is not sufficient. For as the soul is a sufficient principle of all the actions of life, in order to our natural end and perfection, but it can bear us no further; so there must be another principle in order to a supernatural end, and that is the Spirit; called by St. Paul, νέα κτίσις, "the new creation;" by St. Peter, "a Divine nature;" and by this we become renewed in the inner man: the infusion of this new nature into us is called regeneration; and it is the great principle of godliness, called grace, or the Spirit, σπέρμα Θεοῦ, "the seed of God," and by it we are begotten by God, and brought forth by the church to the hopes and beginnings of a new life, and a supernatural end. And although I cannot say that this is a third substance distinct from soul and body, yet it is a distinct principle put into us by God, without which we cannot work, and by which we can; and therefore if it be not a substance, yet it is more than a metaphor; it is a real being, permanent and inherent; but yet such as can be lessened and extinguished.

But "carnality," or the state of being in the flesh, is not only privatively opposed, but contrarily also, to the spiritual state or the state of grace. But as the first is not a sin derived from Adam, so neither is the second. The first is only an imperfection, or want of supernatural aids; the other is indeed a direct state of sin, and hated by God, but superinduced by choice, and not descending naturally. Now to the spiritual state, nothing is in Scripture opposed but these two; and neither of these, when it is sinful, can be pretended, upon the stock or argument of any scriptures, to descend from Adam; therefore all the state of opposition to grace, is owing to ourselves, and not to him. Adam indeed did leave us all in an animal estate, but this state is not a state of enmity, or direct opposition to God, but a state insufficient and imperfect. No man can perish for being an animal man, that is, for not having any supernatural revelations, but for not consenting to them when he hath, that is, for being carnal as well as animal; and that he is carnal is wholly his own choice. In the state of animality he cannot go to heaven; but neither will that alone bear him to hell; and therefore God does not let a man alone in that state: for either God suggests to him what is

[p] 1 Cor. xiv. 20. [q] Matt. xviii. 3. [r] Matt. xviii. 10. [s] Rom. vii. 23. [t] 1 Cor. ii. 14.

spiritual; or if he does not, it is because himself hath superinduced something that is carnal.

54. Having now explicated those scriptures which have made some difficulty in this question, to what topic soever we shall return, all things are plain and clear in this article, "Noxa caput sequitur," "The soul that sinneth, it shall die."—"Neque virtutes, neque vitia parentum liberis imputantur," saith St. Jerome; "Neither the vices nor the virtues of the parents are imputed to the children."[u] And therefore when Dion Chrysostomus had reproved Solon's laws which in some cases condemn the innocent posterity; he adds this in honour of God's law: Πλὴν παῖδας καὶ γένος οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν, ὡς ἐκεῖ, τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος αὐτῷ γίνεταί τῆς ἀτυχίας αἴτιος. "That it does not, like the law of the Athenians, punish the children and kindred of the criminal; but every man is the cause of his own misfortune."—But concerning this, it will not be amiss, in order to many good purposes, to observe the whole economy and dispensation of the Divine justice in this affair.

SECTION III.

How God punishes the Fathers' Sin upon the Children.

55. I. GOD may and does very often bless children to reward their fathers' piety; as is notorious in the famous descent of Abraham's family. But the same is not the reasons of favours and punishments. For such is the nature of benefits, that he in whose power they are, may without injustice give them, why, and when, and to whom, he please.

56. II. God never imputes the father's sin to the son or relative, formally making him guilty, or being angry with the innocent eternally. It were blasphemy to affirm so fierce and violent a cruelty of the most merciful Saviour and Father of mankind; and it was yet never imagined or affirmed by any that I know of, that God did yet ever damn an innocent son, though the father were the vilest person, and committed the greatest evils of the world, actually, personally, choosingly, and maliciously; and why it should by so many, and so confidently, be affirmed in a lesser instance, in so unequal a case, and at so long a distance, I cannot suspect any reason. Plutarch in his book against Herodotus, affirms, that it is not likely they would, meaning that it was unjust to, revenge an injury which the Samians did to the Corinthians three hundred years before. But to revenge it for ever, upon all generations, and with an eternal anger upon some persons, even the most innocent, cannot without trembling be spoken or imagined of God, who is the great "lover of souls." Whatsoever the matter be in temporal inflictions, of which in the next propositions I shall give account, yet if the question be concerning eternal damnation, it was never said, never threatened, by God to pass from father to the son. When God punishes one relative for the sin of another, he does it as fines are taken in our law, "salvo contenemento," "the principal stake being safe;" it may be justice to seize upon all the smaller portions; at least it is not against justice for God in such cases to use the power and dominion of a lord. But this cannot be reasonable to be used in the matter of eternal interest; because if God should as a lord use his power over innocents, and condemn them to hell, he should be author to them of more evil than ever he conveyed good to them; which but to imagine would be a horrible impiety. And therefore, when our blessed Saviour took upon him the wrath of God due to all mankind, yet God's anger even in that case extended no further than a temporal death. Because, for the eternal, nothing can make recompence, and it can never turn to good.

57. III. When God inflicts a temporal evil upon the son for his father's sin, he does it as a judge to the father, but as a lord only of the son. He hath absolute power over the lives of all his creatures, and can take it away from any man without injustice, when he please, though neither he nor his parents have sinned; and he may use the same right and power when either of them alone hath sinned. But in striking the son, he does not do to him as a judge; that is, he is not angry with him, but with the parent: but to the son he is a supreme lord, and may do what seemeth good in his own eyes.

58. IV. When God, using the power and dominion of a lord, and the severity of a judge, did punish posterity, "it was but so long as the fathers might live and see it," οὐ λυποῦσα μᾶλλον ἑτέρα κόλασις ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσχοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶν, said St. Chrysostom,[x] to the third and fourth generation, no longer. It was threatened to endure no longer, in the second commandment; and so it happened in the case of Zimri and Jehu; after the fourth generation they prevailed not upon their master's houses. And if it happen that the parents die before, yet it is a plague to them that they know, or ought to fear, the evil shall happen upon their posterity; "quò tristiores perirent," as Alexander said of the traitors, whose sons were to die after them; "They die with sorrow and fear."

59. V. This power and dominion which God used, was not exercised in ordinary cases, but in the biggest crimes only. It was threatened in the case of idolatry; and was often inflicted in the case of perjury, of which the oracle recited by Herodotus said,

> ——— Impete magno
> Advenit, atque omnem vastat stirpemque domumque.

And in sacrilege the anger of God uses also to be severe; of which it was observed even by the heathens taught by the Delphic priests:

> Sed capiti ipsorum, quique enascuntur ab ipsis,
> Imminet; inque domo cladem subit altera clades.

Those sins which the Greeks called ἄγη, and which the christians called "crying sins," are such, in the punishment of which God did not only use his severe justice as to the offending person; but for the enlargement and extension of his justice, and the

[u] Epist. 3. de Morte Nepotian.

[x] Homil. 29. in 9. Gen.

terror of the world, he used the rights of his power and dominion over their relatives.

60. VI. Although God threatened this, and hath a right and power to do this, yet he did not often use his right, but only in such notable examples as were sufficient to all ages to consign and testify his great indignation against those crimes, for the punishment of which he was pleased to use his right, the rights of his dominion. For although he often does miracles of mercy, yet seldom it is that he does any extraordinaries of judgment: he did it to Corah and Dathan, to Achan and Saul, to Jeroboam and Ahab; and by these and some more expressed his severity against the like crimes sufficiently to all ages.

61. VII. But his goodness and graciousness grew quickly weary of this way of proceeding. They were the terrors of the law, and God did not delight in them. Therefore, in the time of Ezekiel the prophet, he declared against them, and promised to use it no more, that is, not so frequently, not so notoriously, not without great necessity and charity, "Ne ad parentum exempla succresceret improbitas filiorum:—"As I live, saith the Lord, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. The soul that sinneth, it shall die."[y]

62. VIII. The iniquity of the people, and the hardness of their heart, did force God to use this harsh course, especially since that then there was no declaration, or intermination, and threatening the pains of hell to great sinners. "Duritia populi ad talia remedia compulerat, ut vel posteritatibus suis prospicientes legi divinæ obedirent," said Tertullian. Something extraordinary was then needful to be done to so vile a people to restrain their sinfulness. But when the gospel was published, and hell-fire threatened to persevering and greater sinners, the former way of punishment was quite left off. And in all the gospel there is not any one word of threatening passing beyond the person offending. "Desivit uva acerba," (saith Tertullian,)[z] "à patribus manducata, dentes filiorum obstupefacere: unusquisque enim in suo delicto morietur:" "Now" (that is, in the time of the gospel) "the sour grape of the fathers shall no more set on edge the children's teeth, but every one shall die in his own sin."

63. Upon this account alone, it must needs be impossible to be consented to, that God should still, under the gospel, after so many generations of vengeance, and taking punishment for the sin, after the publication of so many mercies, and so infinite a graciousness as is revealed to mankind in Jesus Christ, after the so great provisions against sin, even the horrible threatenings of damnation, still persevere to punish Adam in his posterity, and the posterity for what they never did.

64. For either the evil that falls upon us for Adam's sin, is inflicted upon us by way of proper punishment, or by right of dominion. If by a proper punishment to us, then we understand not the justice of it, because we were not personally guilty; and all the world says it is unjust directly to punish a child for his father's fault. "Nihil est iniquius quàm aliquem hæredem paterni odii fieri," said Seneca:—and Pausanias, the general of the Grecian army, would not punish the children of Attagines, who persuaded the Thebans to revolt to the Medes, φὰς τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐκ εἶναι μεταιτίους, "saying, the children were not guilty of that revolt:" and when Avidius Cassius had conspired against Mark Antony, he wrote to the senate to pardon his wife and son-in-law; "Et quid dico *veniam*, cùm illi nihil fecerint?" "But why" (says he) "should I say, *pardon*, when they had done nothing?" But if God inflicts the evil upon Adam's posterity, which we suffer for his sake, not as a punishment, that is, not making us formally guilty, but using his own right and power of dominion which he hath over the lives and fortunes of his creatures; then it is a strange anger which God hath against Adam, that he still retains so fierce an indignation, as not to take off his hand from striking after five thousand six hundred years, and striking him for that of which he repented him, and which in all reason we believe he then pardoned, or resolved to pardon, when he promised the Messias to him. To this I add this consideration; that it is not easily to be imagined how Christ reconciled the world unto his Father; if after the death of Christ, God is still so angry with mankind, so unappeased, that even the most innocent part of mankind may perish for Adam's sin; and the other are perpetually punished by a corrupted nature, a proneness to sin, a servile will, a filthy concupiscence, and an impossibility of being innocent; that no faith, no sacrament, no industry, no prayers, can obtain freedom from this punishment.

65. Certain it is, the Jews knew of no such thing, they understood nothing of this economy, that the father's sin should be punished in the children by a formal imputation of the guilt; and therefore Rabbi Simeon Barsema said well, that "when God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, 'jure dominii, non pœnæ utitur,' 'he uses the right of empire,' not of justice,—of dominion, 'not of punishment,'—of a lord, not of a judge." And Philo blames it for the worst of institutions, when the good sons of bad parents shall be dishonoured by their fathers' stain, and the bad sons of good parents shall have their fathers' honour; τοῦ νόμου δικάζοντος ἕκαστον αὐτὸν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ συγγενῶν, ἀρεταῖς ἐπαινοῦντος, ἢ κακίαις κολάζοντος· "for the law praises every one for their own, not for the virtue of their ancestors, and punishes not the fathers, but his own wickedness upon every man's head."[a] And therefore Josephus calls the contrary way of proceeding, which he had observed in Alexander, ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπου δίκην, "a punishment above the measures of a man; and the Greeks and Romans did always call it injustice.

> Illic immeritam maternæ pendere linguæ
> Andromedam pœnas injustus jusserat Ammon. OVID.

And hence it is, that all laws forbear to kill a

[y] Ezek. xviii. 3. [z] De Monog. [a] Lib. de Pietate.

woman with child, lest the innocent should suffer for the mother's fault; and therefore this just mercy is infinitely more to be expected from the great Father of spirits, the God of mercy and comfort. And upon this account Abraham was confident with God; "Wilt thou slay the righteous with the wicked? Shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" And if it be unrighteous to slay the righteous with the wicked, it is also unjust to slay the righteous for the wicked. "Ferretne ulla civitas laborem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnetur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquissent:" "It were an intolerable law, and no community would be governed by it, that the father or grandfather should sin, and the son or nephew should be punished."[c] —I shall add no more testimonies, but only make use of the words of the christian emperors in their laws; "Peccata igitur suos teneant auctores: nec ulteriùs progrediatur metus, quàm reperiatur delictum;"[d] "Let no man trouble himself with unnecessary and melancholy dreams of strange, inevitable, undeserved punishments, descending upon us for the faults of others."—The sin that a man does shall be upon his own head only. Sufficient to every man is his own evil, the evil that he does, and the evil that he suffers.

SECTION IV.

Of the Causes of the universal Wickedness of Mankind.

66. BUT if there were not some common natural principle of evil introduced by the sin of our parent upon all his posterity, how should all men be so naturally inclined to be vicious, so hard and unapt, so uneasy and so listless, to the practices of virtue? How is it that all men in the world are sinners, and that in many things we offend all? For if men could choose and had freedom, it is not imaginable that all should choose the same thing; as all men will not be physicians, nor all desire to be merchants. But we see that all men are sinners, and yet it is impossible that in a liberty of indifferency there should be no variety. Therefore we must be content to say, that we have only a liberty of adhesion or delight; that is, we so love sin that we all choose it, but cannot choose good.

67. To this I answer many things. I. If we will suppose that there must now be a cause in our nature determining us to sin by an irresistible necessity, I desire to know why such principle should be more necessary to us than it was to Adam? What made him to sin when he fell? He had a perfect liberty, and no ignorance, no original sin, no inordination of his affections, no such rebellion of the inferior faculties against the superior as we complain of; or at least we say he had not, and yet he sinned. And if his passions did rebel against his reason before the fall, then so they may in us, and yet not be long of that fall. It was before the fall in him, and so may be in us, and not the effect of it. But the truth of the thing is this, he had liberty of choice, and chose ill, and so do we: and all men say, that this liberty of choosing ill, is still left to us. But because it is left here, it appears that it was there before, and therefore is not the consequent of original sin. But it is said, that as Adam chose ill, so do we; but he was free to good as well as to evil, but so are not we; we are free to evil, not to good; and that we are so, is the consequent of original sin. I reply, that we can choose good, and as naturally love good as evil, and in some instances more. A man cannot naturally hate God, if he knows any thing of him. A man naturally loves his parents. He naturally hates some sort of uncleanness. He naturally loves and preserves himself: and all those sins which are unnatural, are such which nature hates: and the law of nature commands all the great instances of virtue, and marks out all the great lines of justice. Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς λογικοῖς γένεσι ἐνουσιωμένος ὅρκος, μὴ παραβαίνειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Θεοῦ) διορισθέντας νόμους. "It is a law imprinted in the very substance of our natures, and incorporated in all generations of reasonable creatures, not to break or transgress the laws which are appointed by God." Here only our nature is defective; we do not naturally know, nor yet naturally love, those supernatural excellencies, which are appointed and commanded by God as the means of bringing us to a supernatural condition. That is, without God's grace, and the renovation of the Spirit of God, we cannot be saved. Neither was Adam's case better than ours in this particular. For that his nature could not carry him to heaven, or indeed to please God in order to it, seems to be confessed by them who have therefore affirmed him to have had a supernatural righteousness: which is affirmed by all the Roman party. But although in supernatural instances it must needs be that our nature is defective; so it must needs have been in Adam: and therefore the Lutherans, (who, in this particular, dream not so probably as the other,) affirming that justice was natural in Adam, do yet but differ in the manner of speaking, and have not at all spoken against this; neither can they, unless they also affirm that to arrive at heaven was the natural end of man. For if it be not, then neither we nor Adam could by nature do things above nature; and if God did concreate grace with Adam, that grace was nevertheless grace, for being given him as soon as he was made: for even the Holy Spirit may be given to a chrisom-child; and Christ, and St. John Baptist, and the prophet Jeremy, are, in their several measures and proportions, instances of it. The result of which is this; that the necessity of grace does not suppose that our nature is originally corrupted; for beyond Adam's mere nature, something else was necessary, and so it is to us.

68. II. But to the main objection; I answer, that it is certain there is not only one, but many common principles from which sin derives itself into the manners of all men. I. The first great cause of a universal impiety is, that at first, God had made no promises of heaven, he had not propounded any glorious

[c] Cicero. lib. 1. de Nat. Deor.

[d] L. Sancimus. c. de Pœnit.

rewards, to be as an argument to support the superior faculty against the inferior, that is, to make the will choose the best and leave the worst, and to be as a reward for suffering contradiction. For if the inferior faculty be pleased with its object, and that chance to be forbidden, as it was in most instances, there had need be something to make recompence for the suffering the displeasure of crossing that appetite. I use the common manner of speaking, and the distinction of superior and inferior faculties: though indeed in nature there is no such thing; and it is but the same faculty, divided between differing objects; of which I shall give an account in the chapter 9, section 3. But here I take notice of it, that it may not with prejudice be taken to the disadvantage of this whole article. For if there be no such difference of faculties founded in nature, then the rebellion of the inferior against the superior is no effect of Adam's sin. But the inclination to sensual objects being chastised by laws and prohibitions, hath made that which we call the rebellion of the inferior, that is, the adherence to sensual objects; which was the more certain to remain, because they were not at first enabled by great promises of good things to contest against sensual temptations. And because there was no such thing in that period of the world, therefore almost all flesh corrupted themselves: excepting Abel, Seth, Enos, and Enoch, we find not one good man from Adam to Noah; and therefore the apostle calls that world, *κοσμὸν ἀσεβῶν*, "the world of the ungodly."[e] It was not so much wonder that when Adam had no promises made to enable him to contest his natural concupiscence, he should strive to make his condition better by the devil's promises. If God had been pleased to have promised to him the glories he hath promised to us, it is not to be supposed he had fallen so easily. But he did not, and so he fell, and all the world followed his example, and most upon this account; till it pleased God, after he had tried the world with temporal promises, and found them also insufficient,—to finish the work of his graciousness, and to cause us to be born anew by the revelations and promises of Jesus Christ.

69. II. A second cause of the universal iniquity of the world, is because our nature is so hard put to it in many instances; not because nature is originally corrupted, but because God's laws command such things, which are a restraint to the indifferent, and otherwise lawful inclinations of nature. I instance in the matters of temperance, abstinence, patience, humility, self-denial, and mortification. But more particularly thus: a man is naturally inclined to desire the company of a woman whom he fancies. This is naturally no sin: for the natural desire was put into us by God, and therefore could not be evil. But then God, as an instance and trial of our obedience, put fetters upon the indefinite desire, and determined us to one woman; which provision was enough to satisfy our need, but not all our possibility. This therefore he left as a reserve, that by obeying God in the so reasonable restraint of our natural desire, we might give him something of our own. But then it is to be considered, that our unwillingness to obey in this instance, or in any of the other, cannot be attributed to original sin, or natural disability derived as a punishment from Adam, because the particular instances were postnate a long time to the fall of man; and it was for a long time lawful to do some things which now are unlawful. But our unwillingness and averseness came by occasion of the law coming cross upon our nature; not because our nature is contrary to God, but because God was pleased to superinduce some commandments contrary to our nature. For if God had commanded us to eat the best meats, and drink the richest wines as long as they could please us, and were to be had, I suppose it will not be thought, that original sin would hinder us from obedience. But because we are forbidden to do some things which naturally we desire to do and love, therefore our nature is hard put to it; and this is the true state of the difficulty. "Citò nequitia subrepit: virtus difficilis inventa est:" "Wickedness came in speedily; but virtue was hard and difficult."[f]

70. III. But then, besides these, there are many concurrent causes of evil which have influence upon communities of men, such as are, evil examples, the similitude of Adam's transgression, vices of princes, wars, impunity, ignorance, error, false principles, flattery, interest, fear, partiality, authority, evil laws, heresy, schism, spite, and ambition, natural inclination, and other principiant causes, which, proceeding from the natural weakness of human constitution, are the fountain and proper causes of many consequent evils. "Quis dabit mundum ab immundo," saith Job; "How can a clean thing come from an unclean?"[g] We all naturally have great weaknesses, and an imperfect constitution, apt to be weary, loving variety, ignorantly making false measures of good and evil, made up with two appetites, that is, with inclination to several objects serving to contrary interests, a thing between angel and beast, and the later in this life is the bigger ingredient. "Hominem à naturâ novercâ in lucem edi corpore nudo, fragili atque infirmo animo, anxio ad molestias, humili ad timores, debili ad labores, proclivi ad libidines, in quo divinus ignis sit obrutus, et ingenium, et mores:" so Cicero, as St. Austin[h] quotes him: "Nature hath, like a stepmother, sent man into the world with a naked body, a frail and infirm mind, vexed with troubles, dejected with fears, weak for labours, prone to lusts, in whom the Divine fire, and his wit, and his manners, are covered and overturned."—And when Plato had fiercely reproved the baseness of men's manners, by saying, that they are even naturally evil; he reckons two causes of it, which are the diseases of the soul, but contracted he knew not how, ignorance and improbity; which he supposes to have been the remains of that baseness they had before they entered into bodies, whither they were sent as to a prison.[i]—This is our natural uncleanness and imperfection, and from such

[e] 2 Pet. ii. 5.
[g] Job xiv. 11.
[f] Sen. lib. 3. Quæst. Natur. c. 3.
[h] Lib. 4. contra Julianum.
[i] In Sophisticâ.—Homines naturâ sunt mali: et non possunt induci, ut justitiam colant. lib. 2. de Rep.

a principle we are to expect proper and proportioned effects; and therefore we may well say with Job, "What is man that he should be clean, and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?"[k] That is, our imperfections are many, and we are with unequal strengths called to labour for a supernatural purchase; and when "our spirit is very willing, even then our flesh is very weak:" and yet it is worse if we compare ourselves, as Job does, to the purities and perfections of God; in respect of which, as he says of us men in our imperfect state, so he says also of the angels, or the holy ones of God, and of the heaven itself, that it is also "unclean and impure:" for the cause and verification of which, we must look out something besides original sin. Add to this that vice is pregnant and teeming, and brings forth new instances, numerous as the spawn of fishes; such as are inadvertency, carelessness, tediousness of spirit, and these also are causes of very much evil.

SECTION V.

Of Liberty of Election remaining after Adam's Fall.

UPON this account, besides that the causes of a universal impiety are apparent without any need of laying Adam in blame for all our follies and miseries, or rather without charging them upon God, who so ordered all things as we see and feel; the universal wickedness of man is no argument to prove our will servile, and the powers of election to be quite lost in us, excepting only that we can choose evil. For admitting this proposition, that there can be no liberty where there is no variety; yet that all men choose sin, is not any testimony that there is no variety in our choice. If there were but one sin in the world, and all men did choose that, it were a shrewd suspicion that they were naturally determined or strongly precipitated. But every man does not choose the same sin, nor for the same cause; neither does he choose it always, but frequently declines it, hates it, and repents of it: many men, even among the heathens, did so. So that the objection hinders not, but that choice and election still remain to man, and that he is not naturally sinful, as he is naturally heavy, or upright, apt to laugh, or weep. For these he is always, and unavoidable.

72. And indeed the contrary doctrine is a destruction of all laws, it takes away reward and punishment, and we have nothing whereby we can serve God. And precepts of holiness might as well be preached to a wolf as to a man, if man were naturally and inevitably wicked.

Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio.

There would be no use of reason or of discourse, no deliberation or counsel: and it were impossible for the wit of man to make sense of thousands of places of Scripture, which speak to us as if we could hear and obey, or could refuse. Why are promises made, and threatenings recorded? Why are God's judgments registered? To what purpose is our reason above, and our affections below, if they were not to minister to, and attend upon the will? But upon this account, it is so far from being true that man after his fall did forfeit his natural power of election, that it seems rather to be increased. For as a man's knowledge grows, so his will becomes better attended and ministered unto. But after his fall, his knowledge was more than before; he knew what nakedness was, and had experience of the difference of things, he perceived the evil and mischief of disobedience and the Divine anger; he knew fear and flight, new apprehensions, and the trouble of a guilty conscience: by all which and many other things, he grew better able, and instructed with arguments, to obey God, and to refuse sin for the time to come. And it is every man's case; a repenting man is wiser, and hath oftentimes more perfect hatred of sin than the innocent, and is made more wary by his fall. But of this thing God himself is witness. "Ecce homo tanquam singularis, ex se ipso habet scire bonum et malum:" so the Chaldee paraphrase reads Gen. iii. 22. Our Bibles read thus: "And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil." Now as a consequent of this knowledge, God was pleased, by ejecting him out of Paradise, "to prevent his eating of the tree of life:" "Ne fortè mittat manum suam in arborem vitæ:" meaning, that now he was grown wise and apt to provide himself, and use all such remedies as were before him. He knew more after his fall than before; therefore ignorance was not the punishment of that sin: and he that knows more, is better enabled to choose, and lest he should choose that which might prevent the sentence of death put upon him, God cast him from thence where the remedy did grow. Upon the authority of this place Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon hath these words: "Potestas libera unicuique data est. Si vult inclinare se ad bonum et esse justus, penes ipsum est: sin vult se ad malum inclinare et esse impius, et hoc ipsum penes est. Hoc illud est quod in lege scribitur, Ecce homo tanquam singularis, ex seipso habet scire bonum et malum:" "To every man is given a power that he may choose and be inclined to good if he please; or else if he please to do evil. For this written in the law, Behold, the man is a single one, of himself now he knows good and evil: as if he had said, Behold mankind is in the world without its like, and can, of his own counsel and thought, know good and evil, in either of these doing what himself shall choose."—"Si lapsus es, poteris surgere, in utramvis partem habes liberum arbitrium," saith St. Chrysostom.[l] "If thou hast fallen, thou mayest rise again. That which thou art commanded to do, thou hast power to do. Thou mayest choose either."

73. I might be infinite in this; but I shall only add this one thing, that to deny to the will of man powers of choice and election, or the use of it in the actions of our life, destroys the immortality of the

[k] Job xv. 14.

[l] In 50. Psal. hom. 2.

soul. Κινδύνεύει γὰρ εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὑποφέρεσθαι ἡ ανθρωπίνη ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸ μὴ παρὰ φυσιν ἐκτροπῆς, said Hierocles: "Human nature is in danger to be lost, if it diverts to that which is against nature." —For if it be immortal, it can never die in its noblest faculty. But if the will be destroyed, that is, disabled from choosing, (which is all the work the will hath to do,) then it is dead. For to live, and to be able to operate, in philosophy are all one. If the will therefore cannot operate, how is it immortal? And we may as well suppose an understanding that can never understand, and passions that can never desire or refuse, and a memory that can never remember, as a will that cannot choose. Indeed all the faculties of the soul that operate by way of nature, can be hindered in individuals; but in the whole species never. But the will is not impedible, it cannot be restrained at all, if there be any acts of life; and when all the other faculties are weakest, the will is strongest, and does not all depend upon the body. Indeed it often follows the inclination and affections of the body, but it can choose against them, and it can work without them. And indeed since sin is the action of a free faculty, it can no more take away the freedom of that faculty, than virtue can; for that also is the action of the same free faculty. If sin be considered in its formality, as it is an inordination or irregularity, so it is contrary to virtue; but if you consider it as an effect, or action of the will, it is not at all contrary to the will, and therefore it is impossible it should be destructive of that faculty from whence it comes.

74. Now to say, that the will is not dead, because it can choose sin, but not virtue, is an escape too slight. For, besides that it is against an infinite experience, it is also contrary to the very being and manner of a man, and his whole economy in this world. For men indeed, sometimes by evil habits, and by choosing vile things for a long time together, make it morally impossible to choose and to love that good in particular which is contrary to their evil customs. Ἡράκλειτος ἔφη ὡς ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων.[m] Custom is the devil that brings in new natures upon us; for nature is innocent in this particular. "Nulli nos vitio natura conciliat: nos illa integros ac liberos genuit:"[n] "Nature does not engage us upon a vice. She made us entire, she left us free," but we make ourselves prisoners and slaves by vicious habits; or, as St. Cyril expresses it,[o] Ἐλθόντες ἀναμάρτητοι, νῦν ἐκπροαιρέσεως ἁμαρτάνομεν· "We came into the world without sin," meaning without sin properly so called, "but now we sin by choice," and by election bring a kind of necessity upon us. But this is not so in all men, and scarcely in any man in all instances; and as it is, it is but an approach to that state in which men shall work by will without choice, or by choice without contrariety of objects. In heaven and hell men will do so. The saints love God so fully, that they cannot hate him, nor desire to displease him. And in hell the accursed spirits so perfectly hate him, that they can never love him. But in this life, which is "status viæ," a middle condition between both, and a passage to one or the other, it cannot be supposed to be so, unless here also a man be already saved or damned.

75. But then I consider this also, that since it is almost by all men acknowledged to be unjust, that infants should be eternally tormented in the flames of hell for original sin; yet we do not say that it is unjust, that men of age and reason should so perish, if they be vicious and disobedient. Which difference can have no ground but this, that infants could not choose at all, much less that, which not they, but their father did long before they were born: but men can choose, and do what they are commanded, and abstain from what is forbidden. For if they could not, they ought no more to perish for this, than infants for that.

76. And this is so necessary a truth, that it is one of the great grounds and necessities of obedience and holy living; and if, after the fall of Adam, it be not by God permitted to us to choose or refuse, there is nothing left whereby man can serve God or offer him a sacrifice. It is no service, it is not rewardable, if it could not be avoided, nor the omission punishable if it could not be done. All things else are determined, and fixed by the Divine Providence, even all the actions of men. But the inward act of the will is left under the command of laws only, and under the arrest of threatenings, and the invitation of promises. And that this is left for man, can no ways impede any of the Divine decrees, because the outward act being overruled by the Divine Providence, it is strange if the schools will leave nothing to man, whereby he can glorify God.

77. I have now said something to all that I know objected, and more than is necessary to the question, if the impertinences of some schools, and their trifling arrests, had not so needlessly disturbed this article. There is nothing which from so slight grounds hath got so great, and till of late, so unquestioned footing in the persuasions of men. Origen[p] said enough to be mistaken in the question. Ἡ ἀρὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κοινὴ πάντων ἐστί. Καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ἧς οὐ λέγεται. "Adam's curse is common to all. And there is not a woman on earth, to whom may not be said those things which were spoken to this woman 'Eve.'" Him St. Ambrose did mistake, and followed the error about explicating the nature of original sin, and set it something forward. But St. Austin gave it complement and authority by his fierce disputing against the Pelagians, whom he would overthrow by all means. Indeed, their capital error was a great one, and such against which all men, while there was need, ought to have contended earnestly, but this might and ought to have been done by truth. For error is no good confuter of error, as it is no good conversion that reforms one vice with another. But his zeal against a certain error, made him take in auxiliaries from an uncertain or less discerned one, and caused him to say many things which all antiquity before him disavowed, and which the following ages took up upon his account. And if such a weak principle as his saying, could make an error

[m] Stob. [n] Senec. ep. 94. [o] Catech. 9. [p] Contra Celsum, lib. 4.

spread over so many churches, for so many ages, we may easily imagine that so many greater causes, as I before reckoned, might infect whole nations, and consequently mankind, without crucifying our patriarch or first parent, and declaiming against him, poor man, as the author of all our evil. Truth is, we intend, by laying load upon him, to excuse ourselves, and which is worse, to entertain our sins infallibly, and never to part with them, upon pretence that they are natural, and irresistible.

SECTION VI.

The Practical Question.

78. And now if it be inquired, whether we be tied to any particular repentance relative to this sin, the answer will not be difficult. I remember a pretty device of Jerome of Florence, a famous preacher not long since, who used this argument to prove the blessed Virgin Mary to be free from original sin. Because it is more likely, if the blessed Virgin had been put to her choice, she would rather have desired of God to have kept her free from venial actual sin than from original. Since therefore God hath granted her the greater, and that she never sinned actually, it is to be presumed God did not deny to her the smaller favour, and therefore she was free from original. Upon this many a pretty story hath been made, and rare arguments framed, and fierce contestations, whether it be more agreeable to the piety and prudence of the Virgin mother to desire immunity from original sin, that is deadly, or from a venial actual sin that is not deadly. This indeed is voluntary, and the other is not; but the other deprives us of grace, and this does not. God was more offended by that, but we offend him more by this. The dispute can never be ended upon their accounts; but this Gordian knot I have now untied as Alexander did, by destroying it, and cutting it all in pieces. But to return to the question.

79. St. Austin was indeed a fierce patron of this device, and one of the chief inventors and finishers of it; and his sense of it is declared in his book "de Peccatorum Medicinâ,"[q] where he endeavours largely to prove, that all our lifetime we are bound to mourn for the inconveniences and evil consequents derived from original sin. I dare say, every man is sufficiently displeased that he is liable to sickness, weariness, displeasure, melancholy, sorrow, folly, imperfection, and death, dying with groans and horrid spasms and convulsions. In what sense these are the effects of Adam's sin, and though of themselves natural, yet also upon his account made penal, I have already declared, and need no more to dispute; my purpose being only to establish such truths as are in order to practice and a holy life, to the duties of repentance and amendment. But our share of Adam's sin, either being in us no sin at all, or else not to be avoided or amended, it cannot be the matter of repentance. "Neminem autem rectè ita loqui pœnitere sese quòd natus sit, aut pœnitere quòd mortalis sit, aut quòd ex offenso fortè vulneratoque corpore dolorem sentiat," said A. Gellius;[r] "A man is not properly said to repent that he was born, or that he shall die, or that he feels pain when his leg is hurt:" he gives this reason, "Quando istiusmodo rerum nec consilium sit nostrum, nec arbitrium:" "As these are besides our choice, so they cannot fall into our deliberation;" and therefore, as they cannot be chosen, so neither refused, and therefore not repented of; for that supposes both; that they were chosen once, and now refused. As Adam was not bound to repent of the sins of all his posterity, so neither are we tied to repent of his sins. Neither did I ever see, in any ancient office or forms of prayer, public or private, any prayer of humiliation prescribed for original sin. They might deprecate the evil consequents, but never confess themselves guilty of the formal sin.

80. Add to this: Original sin is remitted in baptism by the consent of those schools of learning, who teach this article; and therefore is not reserved for any other repentance: and that which came without our own consent, is also to be taken off without it. That which came by the imputation of a sin, may also be taken off by the imputation of righteousness; that is, as it came without sin, so it must also go away without trouble.

But yet because the question may not render the practice insecure, I add these rules by way of advice and caution.

SECTION VII.

Advices relating to the Matter of Original Sin.

81. I. It is very requisite that we should understand the state of our own infirmity, the weakness of the flesh, the temptations and diversions of the spirit, that by understanding our present state, we may prevent the evils of carelessness and security. Our evils are the imperfections and sorrows inherent in, or appendant to, our bodies, our souls, our spirits.

82. In our bodies we find weakness and imperfection, sometimes crookedness, sometimes monstrosity; filthiness and weariness, infinite numbers of diseases and an uncertain cure, great pain and restless nights, hunger and thirst daily, necessities, ridiculous gestures, madness from passions, distempers and disorders, great labour to provide meat and drink, and oftentimes a loathing when we have them; if we use them they breed sicknesses; if we use them not, we die; and there is such a certain healthlessness in many things to all, and in all things to some men and at some times, that to supply a need, is to bring a danger: and if we eat like beasts only of one thing, our souls are quickly weary; if we eat variety, we are sick, and intemperate; and our bodies are inlets to sin, and a stage of temptation. If we cherish them, they undo us; if we do not cherish them, they die: we suffer illusion in our dreams, and absurd fancies when we are waking; our life is soon done, and yet very tedious; it is too

[q] Cap. 3. homil. 50.

[r] Lib. 17. c. 1.

long and too short; darkness and light are both troublesome; and those things which are pleasant, are often unwholesome. Sweet smells make the head ache, and those smells which are medicinal in some diseases, are intolerable to the sense. The pleasures of our body are bigger in expectation than in the possession; and yet, while they are expected, they torment us with the delay, and when they are enjoyed, they are as if they were not; they abuse us with their vanity, and vex us with their volatile and fugitive nature. Our pains are very frequent alone, and very often mingled with pleasures to spoil them; and he that feels one sharp pain, feels not all the pleasures of the world, if they were in his power to have them. We live a precarious life, begging help of every thing, and needing the repairs of every day, and being beholden to beasts and birds, to plants and trees, to dirt and stones, to the very excrements of beasts, and that which dogs and horses throw forth. Our motion is slow and dull, heavy and uneasy; we cannot move but we are quickly tired, and for every day's labour, we need a whole night to recruit our lost strengths; we live like a lamp,—unless new materials be perpetually poured in, we live no longer than a fly; and our motion is not otherwise than a clock; we must be pulled up once or twice in twenty-four hours; and unless we be in the shadow of death for six or eight hours every night, we shall be scarce in the shadows of life the other sixteen. Heat and cold are both our enemies; and yet the one always dwells within, and the other dwells round about us. The chances and contingencies that trouble us, are no more to be numbered than the minutes of eternity. The devil often hurts us, and men hurt each other oftener, and we are perpetually doing mischief to ourselves. The stars do in their courses fight against some men, and all the elements against every man; the heavens send evil influences, the very beasts are dangerous, and the air we suck in, does corrupt our lungs: many are deformed, and blind, and ill coloured; and yet upon the most beauteous face is placed one of the worst sinks of the body; and we are forced to pass that through our mouths oftentimes, which our eye and our stomach hate. Pliny[s] did wittily and elegantly represent this state of evil things: "Itaque felicitèr homo natus jacet manibus pedibusque devinctis, flens, animal cæteris imperaturum, et à suppliciis vitam auspicatur, unam tantum ob culpam, quia natum est:" "A man is born happily, but at first he lies bound hand and foot by impotency, and cannot stir; the creature weeps that is born to rule over all other creatures, and begins his life with punishments, for no fault, but that he was born."—In short; the body is a region of diseases, of sorrow, and nastiness, and weakness, and temptation. Here is cause enough of being humbled.

Neither is it better in the soul of man, where ignorance dwells and passion rules. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον καὶ πολὺς παθῶν εἰσῆλθεν ἐσμός: "After death came in, there entered also a swarm of passions."—And the will obeys every thing but God.[t] Our judgment is often abused in matters of sense, and one faculty guesses at truth by confuting another; and the error of the eye is corrected by something of reason or a former experience. Our fancy is often abused, and yet creates things of itself, by tying desperate things together, that can cohere no more than music and a cable, than meat and syllogisms: and yet this alone does many times make credibilities in the understandings. Our memories are so frail, that they need instruments of recollection, and laborious artifices to help them; and in the use of these artifices sometimes we forget the meaning of those instruments: and of those millions of sins which we have committed, we scarce remember so many as to make us sorrowful, or ashamed. Our judgments are baffled with every sophism, and we change our opinion with a wind, and are confident against truth, but in love with error. We use to reprove one error by another, and lose truth while we contend too earnestly for it. Infinite opinions there are in matters of religion, and most men are confident, and most are deceived in many things, and all in some; and those few that are not confident, have only reason enough to suspect their own reason. We do not know our own bodies, not what is within us, nor what ails us when we are sick, nor whereof we are made; nay, we oftentimes cannot tell what we think, or believe, or love. We desire and hate the same thing, speak against and run after it. We resolve, and then consider; we bind ourselves, and then find causes why we ought not to be bound, and want not some pretences to make ourselves believe we are not bound. Prejudice and interest are our two great motives of believing; we weigh deeper what is extrinsical to a question, than what is in its nature; and oftener regard who speaks, than what is said. The diseases of our soul are infinite; Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν, ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξολισθήσασαν, ἡ πολυπαθεστάτη ζωὴ διαδέχεται, καὶ τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ θανάτου πέρας, said Dionysius[u] of Athens: "Mankind of old fell from those good things which God gave him, and now is fallen into a life of passion, and a state of death."—In sum; it follows the temper or distemper of the body, and sailing by such a compass, and being carried in so rotten a vessel, especially being empty, or filled with lightness, and ignorance, and mistakes, it must needs be exposed to the dangers and miseries of every storm; which I choose to represent in the words of Cicero: "Ex humanæ vitæ erroribus et ærumnis fit, ut verum sit illud quod est apud Aristotelem,—sic nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos:" "The soul joined with the body, is like the conjunction of the living and the dead; the dead are not quickened by it, but the living are afflicted and die."[x]

But then if we consider what our spirit is, we have reason to lie down flat upon our faces, and confess God's glory and our own shame. When it

[s] Lib. 6. Proœm.
[t] Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

[u] Eccles. Hier. c. 3. part 3.
[x] In Hortens.

is at the best, it is but willing, but can do nothing without the miracle of grace. Our spirit is hindered by the body, and cannot rise up whither it properly tends, with those great weights upon it. It is foolish and improvident: large in desires, and narrow in abilities; naturally curious in trifles, and inquisitive after vanities; but neither understands deeply, nor affectionately relishes the things of God; pleased with forms, cozened with pretences, satisfied with shadows, incurious of substances and realities. It is quick enough to find doubts, and when the doubts are satisfied, it raises scruples, that is, it is restless after it is put to sleep, and will be troubled in despite of all arguments of peace. It is incredibly negligent of matters of religion, and most solicitous and troubled in the things of the world. We love ourselves, and despise others; judging most unjust sentences, and by peevish and cross measures; covetousness and ambition, gain and empire, are the proportions by which we take account of things. We hate to be governed by others, even when we cannot dress ourselves; and to be forbidden to do or have a thing, is the best art in the world to make us greedy of it. The flesh and the spirit perpetually are at strife;[y] the spirit pretending that his ought to be the dominion, and the flesh alleging that this is her state, and her day. We hate our present condition, and know not how to better ourselves, our changes being but like the tumblings and tossings in a fever, from trouble to trouble, that is all the variety. We are extremely inconstant, and always hate our own choice; we despair sometimes of God's mercies, and are confident in our own follies: as we order things, we cannot avoid little sins, and do not avoid great ones. We love the present world, though it be good for nothing; and undervalue infinite treasures, if they be not to be had till the day of recompences. We are peevish if a servant does but break a glass, and patient when we have thrown an ill cast for eternity; throwing away the hopes of a glorious crown, for wine, and dirty silver. We know that our prayers, if well done, are great advantages to our state, and yet we are hardly brought to them, and love not to stay at them, and wander while we are saying them, and say them without minding, and are glad when they are done, or when we have a reasonable excuse to omit them. A passion does quite overturn all our purposes, and all our principles, and there are certain times of weakness in which any temptation may prevail, if it comes in that unlucky minute.

84. This is a little representment of the state of man; whereof a great part is a natural impotency, and the other is brought in by our own folly. Concerning the first, when we discourse, it is as if one describes the condition of a mole or a bat, an oyster or a mushroom, concerning whose imperfections, no other cause is to be inquired of, but the will of God, who gives his gifts as he please, and is unjust to no man, by giving or not giving any certain proportion of good things: and supposing this loss was brought first upon Adam, and so descended upon us, yet we have no cause to complain, for we lost nothing that was ours. "Præposterum est," said Paulus the lawyer, "antè nos locupletes dici quàm acquisiverimus." We cannot be said to lose what we never had; and our fathers' goods were not to descend upon us, unless they were his at his death. If therefore they be confiscated before his death, ours indeed is the inconvenience too, but his alone is the punishment, and to neither of us is the wrong.

But concerning the second, I mean that which is superinduced, it is not his fault alone, nor ours alone, and neither of us is innocent; we all put in our accursed symbol for the debauching of our spirits, for the besotting our souls, for the spoiling our bodies. "Ille initium induxit debiti, nos fœnus auximus posterioribus peccatis," &c. "He began the principal, and we have increased the interest."[z] —This we also find well expressed by Justin Martyr; for the fathers of the first ages spake prudently and temperately in this article, as in other things. "Christ was not born or crucified because himself had need of these things, but for the sake of mankind;" Ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ ὄφεως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου· "which from Adam fell into death and the deception of the serpent, besides the evil which every one adds upon his own account."[a]—And it appears in the greatest instance of all, even in that of natural death; which though it was natural, yet from Adam it began to be a curse, just as the motion of a serpent upon his belly, which was concreated with him, yet upon this story was changed into a malediction and an evil adjunct. But though Adam was the gate, and brought in the head of death, yet our sins brought him in further, we brought in "the body of death." Our life was left by Adam a thousand years long almost; but the iniquity of man brought it quickly to five hundred years, from thence to two hundred and fifty, from thence to one hundred and twenty, and at last to seventy, and then God would no more strike all mankind in the same manner, but individuals and single sinners smart for it, and are cut off in their youth, and do not live out half their days. And so it is in the matters of the soul and the spirit. Every sin leaves an evil upon the soul; and every age grows worse, and adds some iniquity of its own to the former examples. And therefore Tertullian calls Adam "mali traducem;" "he transmitted the original and exemplar," and we write after his copy. —"Infirmitatis ingenitæ vitium;" so Arnobius calls our natural baseness; "we are naturally weak:" and this weakness is a vice or defect of nature, and our evil usages make our natures worse; like butchers being used to kill beasts, their natures grow more savage and unmerciful; so it is with us all. If our parents be good, yet we often prove bad, as the wild olive comes from the branch of a natural olive, or as corn with the chaff comes from clean grain, and the uncircumcised

[y] Πάντη ἡ ἐναντιότης ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρυπτοῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου, εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήντησεν. Macar. hom. 21.

[z] St. Chrys. in cap. 6. Ephes.

[a] Dial. cum Tryph.

from the circumcised. But if our parents be bad, it is the less wonder if their children are so; a blackamoor begets a blackamoor, as an epileptic son does often come from an epileptic father, and hereditary diseases are transmitted by generation; so it is in that viciousness that is radicated in the body, for a lustful father oftentimes begets a lustful son; and so it is in all those instances where the soul follows the temperature of the body. And thus not only Adam, but every father, may transmit an original sin, or rather an original viciousness of his own. For a vicious nature, or a natural improbity, when it is not consented to, is not a sin, but an ill disposition: philosophy and the grace of God must cure it; but it often causes us to sin, before our reason and our higher principles are well attended to. But when we consent to and actuate our evil inclinations, we spoil our natures, and make them worse, making evil still more natural. For it is as much in our nature to be pleased with our artificial delights as with our natural. And this is the doctrine of St. Austin, speaking of concupiscence. "Modo quodam loquendi vocatur peccatum, quòd peccato facta est; et peccati, si vicerit, facit reum." "Concupiscence, or the viciousness of our nature, is, after a certain manner of speaking, called sin; because it is made worse by sin, and makes us guilty of sin when it is consented to."[b]—"It hath the nature of sin;"—so the article of the church of England expresses it; that is, it is "in eâdem materiâ;" it comes from a weak principle, "à naturæ vitio," "from the imperfect and defective nature of man, and inclines to sin." But, (that I may again use St. Austin's words,) "Quantum ad nos attinet, sine peccato semper essemus, donec sanaretur hoc malum, si ei nunquam consentiremus, ad malum:" "Although we all have concupiscence, yet none of us all should have any sin, if we did not consent to this concupiscence unto evil."[c]—Concupiscence is "naturæ vitium," but not "peccatum," "a defect" or "fault of nature," but not formally "a sin:" which distinction we learn from St. Austin; "Non enim talia sunt vitia, quæ jam peccata dicenda sunt."[d] Concupiscence is an evil, as a weak eye is, but not a sin, if we speak properly, till it be consented to; and then indeed it is the parent of sin. Τίκτει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν: so St. James; "it brings forth sin."

85. This is the vile state of our natural viciousness, and improbity, and misery, in which Adam had some, but truly not the biggest share; and let this consideration sink as deep as it will in us, to make us humble and careful, but let us not use it as an excuse to lessen our diligence, by greatening our evil necessity. For death and sin were both born from Adam, but we have nursed them up to an ugly bulk and deformity. But I must now proceed to other practical rules.

86. II. It is necessary that we understand that our natural state is not a state in which we can hope for heaven. Natural agents can effect but natural ends, by natural instruments: and now supposing the former doctrine, that we lost not the Divine favour by our guilt of what we never did consent to, yet we were born in pure naturals, and they some of them worsted by our forefathers, yet we were at the best born but in pure naturals, and we "must be born again;" that as by our first birth we are heirs of death, so by our new birth we may be adopted into the inheritance of life and salvation.

87. III. It is our duty to be humbled in the consideration of ourselves, and of our natural condition. That by distrusting our own strengths we may take sanctuary in God through Jesus Christ, praying for his grace, entertaining and caressing of his Holy Spirit, with purities and devotions, with charity and humility, infinitely fearing to grieve him, lest he leaving us, we be left as Adam left us, in pure naturals, but in some degrees worsted by the nature of sin in some instances, and the anger of God in all, that is, in the state of "flesh and blood," which "shall never inherit the kingdom of heaven."

88. IV. Whatsoever good work we do, let us not impute it to ourselves, or our own choice. For God is the best estimator of that: he knows best what portion of the work we did, and what influence our will had into the action, and leave it to him to judge and recompense. But let us attribute all the glory to God, and to God's grace; for without him we can do nothing. But by him that strengthens us, that works in us to will and to do of his good pleasure, by him alone we are saved. Giving all glory to God, will take nothing of the reward from us.

89. V. Let no man so undervalue his sin, or overvalue himself, as to lessen that, and to put the fault any where but where it ought to be. If a man accuses himself with too great a rigour, it is no more than if he holds his horse too hard when he is running down a hill. It may be, a less force would stop his running; but the greater does so too, and manifests his fear; which in this case of his sin and danger is of itself rewardable.

90. VI. Let no man when he is tempted, say that he is tempted of God. Not only because, as St. James affirms most wisely, "every man is tempted, when he is led away by his concupiscence;"[e] but because he is a very evil speaker that speaks evil things of God. Think it not therefore in thy thought, that God hath made any necessities of sinning. He that hath forbidden sin so earnestly, threatened it so deeply, hates it so essentially, prevents it so cautiously, dissuades us from it so passionately, punishes it so severely, arms us against it so strongly, and sent his Son so piously and charitably to root out sin, so far as may be, from the face of the earth: certainly it cannot be thought that he hath made necessities of sinning. For whatsoever he hath made necessary, is as innocent as what he hath commanded; it is his own work, and he hateth nothing that he hath made, and therefore he hath not made sin. And no man shall dare to say at doomsday unto God, that he made him to sin, or made it unavoidable. There are no two cases of conscience, no two duties in any case, so seemingly contradictory, that whichsoever a man choose he must sin: and therefore much less is any one state a state of necessary unavoidable enmity against God.

[b] Lib. 1. de Nupt. et Concup. c. 23. [c] Lib. 2. ad Julian. [d] Ibid. [e] Jam. i. 13.

91. VII. Use thyself to holy company and pious employment in thy early days: follow no evil example, live by rule, and despise the world; relieve the usual necessities of thy life, but be not sensual in thy appetite, accustom thyself to religion and spiritual things, and then much of that evil nature thou complainest of will pass into virtuous habits. It was the saying of Xenocrates in Aristotle,[f] Εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν· ταύτην γὰρ ἑκάστῳ εἶναι δαίμονα: "Happy is he that hath a diligent studious soul; for that is every man's good angel, and the principle of his felicity."

92. VIII. Educate thy children and charges strictly and severely. Let them not be suffered to swear before they can pray, nor taught little revenges in the cradle, nor pride at school, nor fightings in company, nor drinkings in all their entertainments, nor lusts in private. Let them be drawn from evil company, and do thou give them holy example, and provide for them severe and wise tutors; and what Alexander of Ales said of Buonaventure, "Adam non peccavit in Buonaventurâ," will be as truly said of young men and maidens. Impiety will not peep out so soon. It was wisely observed by Quintilian,[g] who was an excellent tutor for young gentlemen, that ourselves with ill breeding our children are the authors of their evil nature. "Antè palatum eorum, quàm os, instituimus. Gaudemus, si quid licentiùs dixerint. Verba, ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, risu et osculo excipimus." "We teach their palate before we instruct the tongue. And when the tongue begins first to prattle, they can efform wantonness before words; and we kiss them for speaking filthy things:" "Fit ex his consuetudo, deinde natura. Discunt hæc miseri antequam sciunt vitia esse." "The poor wretches sin before they know what it is; and by these actions a custom is made up, and this custom becomes a nature."

SECTION VIII.

Rules and Measures of Deportment when a Curse doth descend upon Children for their Parents' Fault, or when it is feared.

93. I. IF we fear a curse upon ourselves or family for our fathers' sin, let us do all actions of piety or religion, justice or charity, which are contrary to that crime which is suspected to be the enemy; in all things being careful that we do not inherit the sin. "Si quis paterni vitii nascitur hæres; nascitur et pœnæ:" "The heir of the crime must possess the revenue of punishment."

94. II. Let the children be careful not to commend, not to justify, not to glory in, their fathers' sin, but be diligent to represent themselves the more pious, by how much their fathers were impious; for by such a contrariety and visible distance, they will avoid their fathers' shame. Εἰώθασι οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων γεγονότας, ὡς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δυσκόλων καὶ χαλεπῶν, ἥπερ φαίνωνται μηδὲν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὄντες. "For most men love not to honour and praise the sons of good men so much as the sons of wicked men, when they study to represent themselves better, and unlike their wicked parents."[h] Therefore,

95. III. Let no child of a wicked father be dejected and confounded in his spirit, because his fathers were impious. For although it is piety to be troubled for their father's regard, and because he died an enemy to God; yet in reference to themselves they must know, that God puts upon every head his own punishment. Πατρὸς ὀνείδη καὶ τιμωρίας, παίδων οὐδενὶ ξυνέπεσθαι, said Plato. For every one is submitted to his own fortune by his own act. The father's crime and the father's punishment make no real permanent blot upon the son. "No man is forced to succeed in his father's crime;" said Callistratus the lawyer.

96. IV. Every evil that happens to a son for his father's fault, hath an errand of its own to him. For as God is a just judge to his father; so he is an essential enemy to sin, and a gracious Lord to the suffering person. When God sent blindness upon the man in the gospel, neither for his parents' sins, nor his own, yet he did it for his own glory. Let the afflicted person study by all ways to advance God's glory in the sufferance, and the sharpness of the evil will be taken off.

97. V. Let not a son retain the price of his father's sin, the purchase of his iniquity. If his father entered into the fields of the fatherless, let not the son dwell there. If his ancestors were sacrilegious, let not the son declaim against the crime and keep the lands, but cast off that which brings the burden along with it. And this is to be observed in all those sins, the evil consequent and effect of which remain upon the posterity or successors of the injured person; for in those sins very often the curse descends with the wrong. So long as the effect remains, and the injury is complained of, and the title is still kept on foot, so long the son is tied to restitution. But even after the possession is settled, yet the curse and evil may descend longer than the sin; as the smart and the aching remains after the blow is past. And therefore, even after the successors come to be lawful possessors, it may yet be very fit for them to quit the purchase of their fathers' sin, or else they must resolve to pay the sad and severe rent-charge of a curse.

98. VI. In such cases in which there cannot be a real, let there be a verbal and public, disavowing their fathers' sin, which was public, scandalous, and notorious. We find this thing done by Andronicus Palæologus, the Greek emperor,[i] who was the son of a bad father; and it is to be done, when the effect was transient, or irremediable.

99. VII. Sometimes no piety of the children shall quite take off the anger of God from a family or nation: as it happened to Josiah, who above all the princes that were before or after him, turned to the Lord. "Notwithstanding, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath wherewith

[f] Arist. 2. Topic. c. 3. [g] Lib. 1. c. 2. [h] Isocrat. ep. ad Tim. [i] Gregoras, lib. 5. c. 81.

his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal."[k] In such a case as this we are to submit to God's will, and let him exercise his power, his dominion, and his kingdom, as he pleases, and expect the returns of our piety in the day of recompences: and it may be, our posterity shall reap a blessing for our sakes, who feel a sorrow and an evil for our fathers' sake.

100. VIII. Let all that have children, endeavour to be the beginners and the stock of a new blessing to their family; by blessing their children, by praying much for them, by holy education and a severe piety, by rare example, and an excellent religion. And if there be in the family a great curse, and an extraordinary anger gone out against it, there must be something extraordinary done in the matter of religion, or of charity, that the remedy be no less than the evil.

101. IX. Let not the consideration of the universal sinfulness and corruption of mankind, add confidence to thy person, and hardness to thy conscience, and authority to thy sin; but let it awaken thy spirit, and stir up thy diligence, and endear all the watchfulness in the world for the service of God; for there is in it some difficulty, and an infinite necessity.

Ὦ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἶ κακόν,
Σωτήριόν δὲ τοῖς καλῶς κεκτημένοις,

said Electra in the tragedy.[l] Our nature is very bad in itself; but very good to them that use it well.

Prayers and Meditations.

The first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed and was overcome: and so be all they that are born of him. Thus infirmity was made permanent: and the law also in the heart of the people with the malignity and root, so that the good departed away, and the evil abode still.[m]

Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright: but they have sought many inventions.[n]

For there is not a just man upon the earth that doth good and sinneth not.[o]

Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow: create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.[p]

The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek after God. They are all gone aside, they are all become filthy: there is not one that doth good, no, not one.[q] O that the salvation of Israel were come out of Sion! When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad."[r]

Man dieth and wasteth away, yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? For now thou numberest my steps: dost thou not watch over my sin? My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and thou sewest up mine iniquity. Thou destroyest the hope of man: thou prevailest against him for ever, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. But his flesh upon him shall have pain, and his soul within him shall mourn.[s]

What is man that he should be clean, and he that is born of a woman that he should be righteous? Behold he putteth no trust in his saints, yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water![t]

Trouble and anguish shall make him afraid. They shall prevail against him as a king ready to battle. For he stretcheth out his hand against God, and strengtheneth himself against the Almighty.[u]

Let not him that is deceived trust in vanity, for vanity shall be his recompence. Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean thing? no, not one.[x]

I have sewed sackloth upon my skin, and defiled my horn in the dust. My face is foul with weeping, and on my eyelids is the shadow of death. Not for any injustice in my hand: also my prayer is pure.[y]

Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God I am delivered through Jesus Christ our Lord.[z]

But now being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life: for the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.[a]

Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace.[b]

The Prayer.

I.

O almighty God, great Father of men and angels, thou art the preserver of men, and the great lover of souls; thou didst make every thing perfect in its kind, and all that thou didst make was very good: only we miserable creatures, sons of Adam, have suffered the falling angels to infect us with their leprosy of pride, and so we entered into their evil portion, having corrupted our way before thee, and are covered with thy rod, and dwell in a cloud of thy displeasure: behold me, the meanest of thy servants, humbled before thee, sensible of my sad condition, weak and miserable, sinful and ignorant, full of need, wanting thee in all things, and neither able to escape death without a Saviour, nor to live a life of holiness without thy Spirit. O be pleased to give me a portion in the new birth: break off the bands and fetters of my sin, cure my evil inclinations, correct my indispositions, and natural averse-

[k] 2 Kings xxiii. 26. [l] Eurip. Orest.
[m] Esdras ii. 3, 21, 22. [n] Eccl. vii. 29. [o] Ver. 20.
[p] Psal. li. 5, 7, 10. [q] Psal. xiv. 1—3. [r] Ver. 7.
[s] Job xiv. 10, &c. [t] Job xv. 14. [u] Ver. 24.
[x] Ver. 31. [y] Job xvi. 15. [z] Rom. vii. 24.
[a] Rom. vi. 22. [b] Ver. 12. 14.

ness from the severities of religion; let me live by the measures of thy law, not by the evil example and disguises of the world; renew a right spirit within me, and cast me not away from thy presence, lest I should retire to the works of darkness, and enter into those horrible regions, where the light of thy countenance never shineth.

II.

I am ashamed, O Lord, I am ashamed, that I have dishonoured so excellent a creation. Thou didst make us upright, and create us in innocence. And when thou didst see us unable to stand in thy sight, and that we could never endure to be judged by the covenant of works, thou didst renew thy mercies to us in the new covenant of Jesus Christ; and now we have no excuse, nothing to plead for ourselves, much less against thee; but thou art holy and pure, and just and merciful. Make me to be like thee, holy as thou art holy, merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful, obedient as our holy Saviour Jesus, meek and charitable, temperate and chaste, humble and patient, according to that holy example, that my sins may be pardoned by his death, and my spirit renewed by his Spirit, that passing from sin to grace, from ignorance to the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, I may pass from death to life, from sorrow to joy, from earth to heaven, from the present state of misery and imperfection, to the glorious inheritance prepared for the saints and sons of light, the children of the new birth, the brethren of our Lord and Brother, our Judge and our Advocate, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus. Amen.

A Prayer to be said by a Matron in Behalf of her Husband and Family, that a Blessing may descend upon their Posterity.

I.

O eternal God, our most merciful Lord, and gracious Father, thou art my guide, the light of mine eyes, the joy of my heart, the author of my hope, and the object of my love and worshippings; thou relievest all my needs, and determinest all my doubts, and art an eternal fountain of blessing, open and running over to all thirsty and weary souls that come and cry to thee for mercy and refreshment. Have mercy upon thy servant, and relieve my fears and sorrows, and the great necessities of my family; for thou alone, O Lord, canst do it.

II.

Fit and adorn every one of us with a holy and a religious spirit, and give a double portion to thy servant my dear husband: give him a wise heart, a prudent, severe, and indulgent care, over the children which thou hast given us. His heart is in thy hand, and the events of all things are in thy disposition. Make it a great part of his care, to promote the spiritual and eternal interest of his children, and not to neglect their temporal relations and necessities; but to provide states of life for them in which with fair advantages they may live cheerfully, serve thee diligently, promote the interest of the christian family in all their capacities, that they may be always blessed, and always innocent, devout, and pious, and may be graciously accepted by thee to pardon, and grace, and glory, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

III.

Bless, O Lord, my sons with excellent understandings, love of holy and noble things, sweet dispositions, innocent deportment, diligent souls, chaste, healthful, and temperate bodies, holy and religious spirits, that they may live to thy glory, and be useful in their capacities to the servants of God, and all their neighbours, and the relatives of their conversation. Bless my daughters with an humble and a modest carriage, and excellent meekness, a great love of holy things, a severe chastity, a constant, holy, and passionate religion. O my God, never suffer them to fall into folly, and the sad effects of a wanton, loose, and indiscreet spirit: possess their fancies with holy affections; be thou the covering of their eyes, and the great object of their hopes, and all their desires. Blessed Lord, thou disposest all things sweetly by thy providence, thou guidest them excellently by thy wisdom, thou unitest all circumstances and changes wonderfully by thy power, and by thy power makest all things work for the good of thy servants; be pleased so to dispose my daughters, that if thou shouldst call them to the state of a married life, they may not dishonour their family, nor grieve their parents, nor displease thee; but that thou wilt so dispose of their persons, and the accidents and circumstances of that state, that it may be a state of holiness to the Lord, and blessing to thy servants. And until thy wisdom shall know it fit to bring things so to pass, let them live with all purity, spending their time religiously and usefully. O most blessed Lord, enable their dear father with proportionable abilities and opportunities of doing his duty and charities towards them, and them with great obedience and duty towards him, and all of us with a love towards thee above all things in the word, that our portion may be in love and in thy blessings, through Jesus Christ our dearest Lord, and most gracious Redeemer.

IV.

O my God, pardon thy servant, pity my infirmities, hear the passionate desires of thy humble servant; in thee alone is my trust, my heart and all my wishes are towards thee. Thou hast commanded me to pray to thee in all needs, thou hast made gracious promises to hear and accept me; and I will never leave importuning thy glorious Majesty, humbly, passionately, confidently, till thou hast heard and accepted the prayer of thy servant. Amen, dearest Lord; for thy mercy's sake hear thy servant. Amen.

CHAPTER VII.

A FURTHER EXPLICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN WARNER, D. D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

My Lord,

I now see cause to wish that I had given to your Lordship the trouble of reading my papers of "Original Sin," before their publication; for though I have said all that which I found material in the question, yet I perceive that it had been fitting I had spoken some things less material, so to prevent the apprehensions that some have of this doctrine, that it is of a sense differing from the usual expressions of the church of England. However, my Lord, since your Lordship is pleased to be careful not only of truth, and God's glory, but desirous also that even all of us should speak the same thing, and understand each other without jealousies, or severer censures, I have now obeyed your counsel, and done all my part towards the asserting the truth, and securing charity and unity: professing with all truth and ingenuity, that I would rather die than either willingly give occasion or countenance to a schism in the church of England; and I would suffer much evil before I would displease my dear brethren in the service of Jesus, and in the ministries of the church. But as I have not given just cause of offence to any, so I pray that they may not be offended unjustly, lest the fault lie on them, whose persons I so much love, and whose eternal interest I do so much desire may be secured and advanced.

Now, my Lord, I had thought I had been secured in the article, not only for the truth of the doctrine, but for the advantages and comforts it brings. I was confident they would not, because there was no cause any men should, be angry at it; for it was strange to me that any man should desire to believe God to be more severe and less gentle; that men should be greedy to find out inevitable ways of being damned, that they should be unwilling to have the veil drawn away from the face of God's goodness, and that they should desire to see an angry countenance, and be displeased at the glad tidings of the gospel of peace. It is strange to me that men should desire to believe that their pretty babes, which are strangled at the gates of the womb or die before baptism, should, for aught they know, die eternally and be damned, and that themselves should consent to it: and to them that invent reasons to make it seem just, they might have had not only pretences but reasons to be troubled, if I had represented God to be so great a hater of mankind, as to damn millions of millions for that which they could not help, or if I had taught that their infants might by chance have gone to hell, and as soon as ever they came for life descend to an eternal death; if I had told them evil things of God, and hard measures and evil portions to their children, they might have complained; but to complain because I say God is just to all, and merciful and just to infants; to fret and be peevish because I tell them, that nothing but good things are to be expected from our good God, is a thing that may well be wondered at. My Lord, I take a great comfort in this, that my doctrine stands on that side, where God's justice and goodness and mercy stand apparently: and they that speak otherwise in this article, are forced by convulsions and violences to draw their doctrine to comply with God's justice and the reputation of his most glorious attributes. And after great and laborious devices, they must needs do it pitifully and jejunely: but I will prejudice no man's opinion; I only will defend my own, because in so doing I have the honour to be an advocate for God, who will defend and accept me, in the simplicity and innocency of my purposes, and the profession of his truth.

Now, my Lord, I find that some believe this doctrine ought not now to have been published; others think it not true. The first are the wise and few; the others are the many who have been taught otherwise, and either have not leisure or abilities to make right judgments in the question. Concerning the first I have given what accounts I could, to that excellent man the Lord Bishop of Sarum, who, out of his great piety and prudence and his great kindness to me, was pleased to call for accounts of me. Concerning the other, your Lordship, in great humility, and in great tenderness to those who are not persuaded of the truth of this doctrine, hath called upon me to give all those just measures of satisfaction, which I could be obliged to by the interest of any christian virtue. In obedience to this pious care and

prudent counsel of your Lordship, I have published these ensuing papers, hoping that God will bless them to the purposes whither they are designed: however, I have done all that I could, and all that I am commanded, and all that I was counselled to. And as I submit all to God's blessing, and the events of his providence and economy; so my doctrine I humbly submit to my holy mother the church of England, and rejoice in any circumstances by which I can testify my duty to her, and my obedience to your Lordship.

SECTION I.

Of the Fall of Adam, and the Effects of it upon him and us.

IT was well said of St. Austin in this thing, though he said many others in it less certain, "Nihil est peccato originali ad prædicandum notius, nihil ad intelligendum secretius." The article we all confess; but the manner of explicating it is not an apple of knowledge, but of contention. Having therefore turned to all the ways of reason and scripture, I at last apply myself to examine how it was affirmed by the first and best antiquity. For the doctrine of original sin, as I have explicated it, is taxed of singularity and novelty; and though these words are very freely bestowed upon any thing we have not learned, or consented to; and that we take false measures of these appellatives; reckoning that new that is but renewed, and that singular that is not taught vulgarly, or in our own societies; yet I shall easily quit the proposition from these charges: and though I do confess, and complain of it, that the usual affirmations of original sin are a popular error; yet I will make it appear that it is no catholic doctrine, that it prevailed by prejudice, and accidental authorities; but after such prevailing, it was accused and reproved by the greatest and most judicious persons of christendom.

And, first, that judgment may the better be given of the allegations I shall bring from authority, I shall explicate and state the question, that there may be no impertinent allegations of antiquity for both sides, nor clamours against the persons interested in either persuasion, nor any offence taken by error and misprision. It is not therefore intended, nor affirmed, that there is no such thing as original sin; for it is certain, and affirmed by all antiquity, upon many grounds of scripture, that Adam sinned, and his sin was personally his, but derivatively ours; that is, it did great hurt to us, to our bodies directly, to our souls indirectly and accidentally.

2. For "Adam was made a living soul," the great representative of mankind, and the beginner of a temporal happy life; and to that purpose he was put in a place of temporal happiness, where he was to have lived as long as he obeyed God (so far as he knew, nothing else being promised to him, or implied); but when he sinned, he was thrown from thence, and spoiled of all those advantages by which he was enabled to live and be happy. This we find in the story; the reasonableness of the parts of which teaches us all this doctrine. To which if we add the words of St. Paul, the case is clear, "The first Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit, that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthly, such are they that are earthly; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly: now this I say, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."[a] This discourse of the apostle hath in it all these propositions, which clearly state this whole article. There are two great heads of mankind, the two Adams; the first and the second. The first was framed with an earthly body, the second had (viz. after his resurrection, when he had died unto sin once) a spiritual body. The first was earthly, the second is heavenly: from the first we derive an earthly life, from the second we obtain a heavenly; all that are born of the first are such as he was naturally, but the effects of the Spirit came only upon them who are born of the second Adam: from him who is earthly we could have no more than he was, or had; the spiritual life, and consequently the heavenly, could not be derived from the first Adam, but from Christ only. All that are born of the first, by that birth inherit nothing but temporal life and corruption; but in the new birth only we derive a title to heaven. For "flesh and blood," that is, whatsoever is born of Adam, "cannot inherit the kingdom of God." And they are injurious to Christ, who think, that from Adam we might have inherited immortality. Christ was the giver and preacher of it; "he brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." It is a singular benefit given by God to mankind, through Jesus Christ.

3. Upon the affirmation of these premises, it follows, that if Adam had stood, yet from him we could not have, by our natural generation, obtained a title to our spiritual life, nor by all the strengths of Adam have gone to heaven: Adam was not our representative to any of these purposes, but in order to the perfection of a temporal life. Christ only is and was from eternal ages designed to be the head of the church, and the fountain of spiritual life. And this is it which is affirmed by some very eminent persons in the church of God; particularly by Junius and Tilenus, that "Christus est fundamentum

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 45, &c.

totius prædestinationis;" all that are, or ever were, predestinated, were predestinated in Christ: even Adam himself was predestinated in him; and therefore from him, if he had stood, though we should have inherited a temporal happy life, yet the Scriptures speak nothing of any other event. Heaven was not promised to Adam himself, therefore from him we could not have derived a title thither. And therefore that inquiry of the schoolmen—whether if Adam had not sinned, Christ should have been incarnate—was not an impertinent question, though they prosecuted it to weak purposes, and with trifling arguments; Scotus and his scholars were for the affirmative; and though I will not be decretory in it, because the scripture hath said nothing of it, nor the church delivered it; yet to me it seems plainly the discourse of the apostle now alleged:—That if Adam had not sinned, yet that by Christ alone we should have obtained everlasting life. Whether this had been dispensed by his incarnation, or some other way of economy, is not signified.

4. But then, if from Adam we should not have derived our title to heaven, though he had stood, then neither by his fall can we be said to have lost heaven. Heaven and hell were to be administered by another method. But then, if it be inquired what evil we thence received? I answer, that the principal effect was the loss of that excellent condition in which God placed him, and would have placed his posterity, unless sin had entered. He should have lived a long and lasting life, till it had been time to remove him, and very happy. Instead of this, he was thrown from those means which God had designed to this purpose, that is, Paradise and the trees of life; he was turned into a place of labour and uneasiness, of briers and thorns, ill air and violent chances, "et novo febrium Terris incubuit cohors;" the woman was condemned to hard labour and travail, and (that which troubled her most) obedience to her husband; his body was made frail, and weak, and sickly; that is, it was left such as it was made, and left without remedies, which were to have made it otherwise. For that Adam was made mortal in his nature, is infinitely certain, and proved by his very eating and drinking, his sleep and recreation; by ingestion, and egestion, by breathing and generating his like, which immortal substances never do; and by the very tree of life, which had not been needful, if he should have had no need of it to repair his decaying strength and health.

5. The effect of this consideration is this, that all the product of Adam's sin, was by despoiling him, and consequently us, of all the superadditions and graces brought upon his nature. Even that which was threatened to him, and in the narrative of that sad story expressed to be his punishment, was no lessening of his nature, but despoiling him of his supernaturals: and therefore Manuel Palæologus calls it *κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως αὐχμὸν*, "the common dryness of our nature;" and he adds, *προλέγω δὲ προπατορικὴν ἁμαρτίαν δι' ἧς τῆς χάριτος ἐκπεπτώκαμεν*, "by our father's sin we fell from our father's graces." Now, according to the words of the apostle, "As is the earthly, such are they that are earthly;" that is, all his posterity must be so as his nature was left; in this there could be no injustice. For if God might at first, and all the way, have made man with a necessity as well as a possibility of dying, though men had not sinned; then so also may he do, if he did sin; and so it was; but this was effected by disrobing him of all the superadded excellencies with which God adorned and supported his natural life. But this also I add, that if even death itself came upon us without the alteration or diminution of our nature, then so might sin, because death was in "re naturali," but sin is not, and therefore need not suppose that Adam's nature was spoiled to introduce that.

6. As the sin of Adam brought hurt to the body directly, so indirectly it brought hurt to the soul. For the evils upon the body, as they are only felt by the soul; so they grieve, and tempt, and provoke, the soul to anger, to sorrow, to envy; they make weariness in religious things; cause desires for ease, for pleasure; and as these are by the body always desired, so sometimes being forbidden by God, they become sins, and are always apt to it; because the body being a natural agent, tempts to all it can feel, and have pleasure in. And this is also observed and affirmed by St. Chrysostom, and he often speaks it, as if he were pleased in this explication of the article: *Μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου φησὶ καὶ ὁ τῶν παθῶν ἐπεισῆλθεν ὄχλος· ὅτε γὰρ θνητὸν ἐγένετο τὸ σῶμα, ἐδέξατο γὰρ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναγκαίως, λοιπὸν, καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ λύπην, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ πολλῆς ἐδεῖτο φιλοσοφίας· ἵνα μὴ πλημμύρα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καταποντίσῃ λογισμὸν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας βυθόν· ἄὔτα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ ἀμετρία αὐτῶν μὴ χαλινουμένη τοῦτο εἰργάζετο.* "Together with death entered a whole troop of affections or passions. For when the body became mortal, then of necessity it did admit desires, or lust, and anger, and grief, and all things else which need great constancy and wisdom; lest the storm should drown reason in us, in the gulf of sin. For these affections or passions were not sin; but the excess of them, not being bridled, did effect this." [b] The same he affirms in homil. 11. ad Rom. vi. and homil. 12. on Rom. vii. And not much unlike this was that excellent discourse of Lactantius, in his seventh book "de Divino Præmio," cap. 5. But Theodoret, in his commentaries upon the Romans, follows the same discourse exactly. And this way of explicating the entrance and facility of sin upon us, is usual in antiquity; affirming, that because we derive a miserable and an afflicted body from Adam, upon that stock sin enters.

> Quæ quia materiam peccati ex fomite carnis
> Consociata trahit, nec non simul ipsa sodali
> Est incentivum peccaminis, implicat ambas
> Vindex pœna reas, peccantes mente sub unâ
> Peccandique cremat socias cruciatibus æquis.
> PRUDENTIUS in Apotheosi.

"Because the soul joined to the body draws from the society of the flesh incentives and arguments to sin, therefore both of them are punished, as being guilty by consociation." But then thus it was also

[b] Ad 7. Rom. homil. 13.

before the fall; for by this it was that Adam fell. So the same Prudentius:

> Hæc prima est natura animæ, sic condita simplex
> Decidit in vitium per sordida fœdera carnis.

"The soul was created simple and pure, but fell into vice by the evil combination with the flesh." But at first the appetites, and necessities, and tendencies of the body, when it was at ease, and health, and blessed, did yet tempt the soul to forbidden instances; much more will this be done, when the body is miserable and afflicted, uneasy and dying. For even now we see, by a sad experience, that the afflicted and the miserable are not only apt to anger and envy, but have many more desires, and more weaknesses, and consequently more aptnesses to sin in many instances, than those who are less troubled. And this is that which was said by Arnobius, "Proni ad culpas, et ad libidinis varios appetitus vitio sumus infirmitatis ingenitæ:" "By the fault of our natural infirmity, we are prone to the appetites of lust and sins." [c]

7. From hence it follows, that naturally a man cannot do or perform the law of God; because being so weak, so tempted by his body; and this life being the body's day, that is, the time in which its appetites are properly prevailing; to be born of Adam, is to be born under sin, that is, under such inclinations to it, that as no man will remain innocent, so no man can of himself keep the law of God; "Vendidit se prior, ac, per hoc, omne semen subjectum est peccato. Quamobrem infirmum esse hominem ad præcepta legis servanda;" said the author of the commentary on St. Paul's epistles usually attributed to St. Ambrose.[d]

But beyond this there are two things more considerable; the one is, that the soul of man being divested by Adam's fall, by way of punishment, of all those supernatural assistances, which God put into it; that which remained was a reasonable soul, fitted for the actions of life and of reason, but not of any thing that was supernatural. For the soul, being immerged in flesh, feeling grief by participation of evils from the flesh, hath and must needs have discourses in order to its own ease and comfort, that is, in order to the satisfaction of the body's desires; which, because they are often contradicted, restrained, and curbed, and commanded to be mortified and killed, by the laws of God, must of necessity make great inlets for sin; for while reason judges of things in proportion to present interests, and is less apprehensive of the proportions of those good things which are not the good things of this life, but of another; the reason abuses the will as the flesh abuses the reason. And for this there is no remedy but the grace of God, the Holy Spirit, to make us be born again, to become spiritual; that is, to have new principles, new appetites, and new interests.

The other thing I was to note is this; that as the devil was busy to abuse mankind, when he was fortified by many advantages and favours from God: so now that man is naturally born naked, and divested of those graces and advantages, and hath an infirm sickly body, and enters upon the actions of life through infancy, and childhood, and youth, and folly, and ignorance; the devil, it is certain, will not omit his opportunities, but will with all his power possess and abuse mankind; and upon the apprehension of this, the primitive church used, in the first admission of infants to the entrance of a new birth to a spiritual life, to pray against the power and frauds of the devil; and that brought in the ceremony of exsufflation, for ejecting of the devil. The ceremony was fond and weak, but the opinion that introduced it was full of caution and prudence. For as Optatus Milevitanus said, "Neminem fugit, quod omnis homo qui nascitur, quamvis de christianis parentibus nascitur, sine spiritu immundo esse non possit; quem necesse sit, ante salutare lavacrum, ab homine excludi ac separari." [e] It is but too likely the devil will take advantages of our natural weaknesses, and with his temptations and abuses enter upon children as soon as they enter upon choice, and indeed prepossess them with imitating follies, that may become customs of sinfulness before they become sins; and therefore with rare wisdom it was done by the church, to prevent the devil's frauds and violences, by an early baptism, and early offices.

8. As a consequent of all this, it comes to pass, that we being born thus naked of the Divine grace, thus naturally weak, thus encumbered with a body of sin, that is, a body apt to tempt to forbidden instances, and thus assaulted by the frauds and violences of the devil; all which are helped on by the evil guises of the world; it is certain, we cannot with all these disadvantages and loads soar up to heaven; but, in the whole constitution of affairs, are in sad dispositions to enter into the devil's portion, and go to hell: not that if we die before we consent to evil, we shall perish; but that we are evilly disposed to do actions that will deserve it, and because if we die before our new birth, we have nothing in us that can, according to the revelations of God, dispose us to heaven; according to these words of the apostle; "In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." [f]

But this infers not, that in our flesh, or that in our soul, there is any sin properly inherent, which makes God to be our present enemy; that is, the only or the principal thing I suppose myself to have so much reason to deny; but that the state of the body is a state not at all fitted for heaven, but too much disposed to the ways that lead to hell. For even in innocent persons, in Christ himself it was a hinderance or a state of present exclusion from heaven; "he could not enter into the second tabernacle" (that is, into heaven) "so long as the first tabernacle of his body was standing;" the body of sin, that is, of infirmity, he was first to lay aside, and so by dying unto sin once, he entered into heaven; according to the other words of St. Paul, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," [g] it is a state of differing nature and capacity; Christ himself could not enter thither, till he had

[c] Lib. 1. advers. Gentes. [d] In cap. 7. Rom. [e] Lib. 4. contr. Parmen. [f] Rom. vii. 18. [g] 1 Cor. xv. 50.

first laid that down, as the divine author to the Hebrews rarely and mysteriously discourses.[h]

9. This is the whole sum of original sin, which now I have more fully explicated than formerly; it being then only fitting to speak of so much of it, as to represent it to be a state of evil, which yet left in us powers enough to do our duty, and to be without excuse, (which very thing the Belgic confession in this article acknowleges,) and that not God but ourselves are authors of our eternal death in case we do perish.

But now though thus far I have admitted as far as can be consonant to antiquity, and not unreasonable, though in Scripture so much is not expressed; yet now I must be more restrained, and deny those superadditions to this doctrine, which the ignorance, or the fancy, or the interest, or the laziness, of men have sewed to this doctrine.

SECTION II.

Adam's Sin is in us no more than an imputed Sin, and how it is so.

10. Original sin is not our sin properly, not inherent in us, but is only imputed to us, so as to bring evil effects upon us: for that which is inherent in us, is a consequent only of Adam's sin, but of itself no sin; for there being but two things affirmed to be the constituent parts of original sin, the want of original righteousness and concupiscence, neither of these can be a sin in us, but a punishment and a consequent of Adam's sin they may be: for the case is thus:

One half of christians that dispute in this article, particularly the Roman schools, say that concupiscence is not a sin, but a consequent of Adam's sin: the other half of christians, (I mean in Europe,) that is, the protestants, generally say, that the want of original righteousness is a consequent of Adam's sin, but formally no sin. The effect of these is this, that it is not certain amongst the churches, that either one or the other is formally our sin, or inherent in us; and we cannot affirm either, without crossing a great part of christendom in their affirmative.

There have indeed been attempts made to reconcile this difference; and therefore in the conference at Worms, and in the book offered at Ratisbon to the emperor, and in the "Interim" itself they jumbled them both together, saying, that "Originale peccatum est carentia justitiæ originalis, cum concupiscentiâ." But the church of England defines neither, but rather inclines to believe that it consists in concupiscence, as appears in the explication of the article which I have annexed. But because she hath not determined, that either of them is formerly a sin, or inherent in us, I may with the greater freedom discourse concerning the several parts.

The want of original righteousness is not a thing, but the privation of a thing, and therefore cannot be inherent in us; and therefore if it be a sin at all to us, it can only be such by imputation. But neither can this be imputed to us as a sin formally, because, if it be at all, it is only a consequent or punishment of Adam's sin, and unavoidable by us: for though Scotus is pleased to affirm, that there was an obligation upon human nature to preserve it; I doubt not but, as he intended it, he said false, Adam indeed was tied to it, for if he lost it for himself and us, then he only was bound to keep it for himself and us; for we could not be obliged to keep it, unless we had received it; but he was, and because he lost it we also missed it; that is, are punished, and feel the evil effects of it. But besides all this, the matter of original righteousness is a thing framed in the school-forges, but not at all spoken of in Scripture, save only that "God made man upright," that is, he was brought innocent into the world, he brought no sin along with him, he was created in the time and stature of reason and choice; he entered upon action when his reason was great enough to master his passion, all which we do not: it is that which, as Prosper describes it, made a man "expertem peccati, et capacem Dei;" for by this is meant that he had grace and helps enough, if he needed any, besides his natural powers; which we have not by nature, but by another dispensation.

11. Add to all this, that they who make the want of original righteousness to be a sin formally in us, when they come to explicate their meaning by material or intelligible events, tell us it is an aversion from God; that is, in effect a turning to the creature, and differs no otherwise from concupiscence, than going from the west directly does from going directly to the east; that is, just nothing. It follows then, that if concupiscence be the effect of Adam's sin, then so must the want of original righteousness, because they are the same thing in real event: and if that be no sin in us, because it was only the punishment of his sin, then neither is the other a sin, for the same reason.

But then for concupiscence, that this is no sin before we consent to it, appears by many testimonies of antiquity, and of St. Austin himself: "Quantum ad nos attinet, sine peccato semper essemus, donec sanaretur hoc malum, si nunquam consentiremus ad malum."[i] And it is infinitely against reason it should; for in infants the very actions and desire of concupiscence are no sins, therefore much less is the principle; if the little emanations of it in them be innocent, although there are some images of consent, much more is that principle innocent, before any thing of consent at all is applied to it.

By the way, I cannot but wonder at this, that the Roman schools, affirming the first motions of concupiscence to be no sin, because they are involuntary, and not consented to by us, but come upon us whether we list or no, yet that they should think original sin to be a sin in us really and truly, which, it is certain, is altogether as involuntary and unchosen as concupiscence. But I add this also, that concupiscence is not wholly an effect of Adam's sin; if it were, then it would follow, that if Adam had not sinned we should have no concupiscence,

[h] Heb. ix. 8. vii. 27. v. 2, 3.

[i] Lib. 2. ad Julianum.

that is, no contrary appetites; which is infinitely confuted by the experience of Adam's fall: for by the rebellion and prevailing of his concupiscence it was that he fell, and that which was the cause, could not be the effect of the same thing: as no child can beget his own father, nor any thing which it leads and draws in after itself. Indeed, it is true that by Adam's sin this became much worse, and by the evils of the body and its infirmities, and the nakedness of the soul as well as the body, and new necessities and new emergencies, Πάντη ἡ ἐναντιότης ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρυπτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου, εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήντησεν, as Macarius said; "An entire contrariety, both manifest and secret, came in upon us from the transgression of Adam;"[k] this, I say, became much worse, and more inordinate and tempted and vexed, and we were more under the devil's power, because we had the loss of our own.

12. The result is this, that neither the one nor the other is our sin formally, but by imputation only, that is, we are not sinners, but we are afflicted for his sin, and he is punished in us; and that it cannot be our sin properly, but metonymically, that is, our misery only, appears to me demonstratively certain upon this account: for how can that in another be our sin, when it is in us involuntary, when our own acts, if involuntary, are not sins?

If it be asked, how can we have the punishment unless we also have the fault? I return this answer, that St. Austin[l] and some others who make this objection, have already given answer themselves, and "Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi,"[m] is an answer enough; as Saul sinned and his seven sons were hanged: and all that evil which is upon us, being not by any positive infliction; but by privative, or the taking away gifts and blessings and graces from us, which God, not having promised to give, was neither naturally nor by covenant obliged to give, it is certain, he could not be obliged to continue that to the sons of a sinning father, which to an innocent father he was not obliged to give.

But these things, which are only evils and miseries to us upon Adam's account, become direct punishments upon our own account, that is, if we sin. But then as to the argument itself: certainly it were more probable to say, we had not the fault, we did not do the sin which another did; therefore, the evil that we feel is our misery, but not our punishment; rather than to say, we are punished, therefore we are guilty. For let what will happen to us, it is not true that we are guilty of what we never did: and whatever comes upon us by the way of empire and dominion, nothing can descend upon us by the way of justice, as relating to our own fault.

But thus it was, that "in him we are all sinners;" that is, his sin is reckoned to us so as to bring evil upon us; because we were born of him, and consequently put into the same natural state where he was left after his sin; no otherwise than as children born of a bankrupt father, are also miserable; not that they are guilty of their father's sin, or that it is imputed so as to involve them in the guilt, but it is derived upon them and reckoned to evil events; the very nature of birth and derivation from him infers it.

13. And this it is that St. Austin once said; "Nascimur non propriè, sed originaliter peccatores;"[n] that is, Adam's sin is imputed to us, but we have none of our own born with us: and this expression of "having Adam's sin imputed to us," is followed by divers of the modern doctors: by St. Bernard, serm. 11. "de Dominicâ prima post 8 Epiph.:" by Lyra in 5. cap. Rom.: by Cajetan "ibidem:" by Bellarmine, tom. 3. "de Amiss. Gratiæ," lib. 5. cap. 17.: by Dr. Whitaker, lib. 1. "de Peccato Originali," cap. 7. et 9.: by Paræus in his Animadversions upon Bellarmine, lib. 5. "de Amiss. Gratiæ," cap. 16.: by Dr. George Charleton, lib. "de Consensu Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos," controvers. 4. which is the fifth chapter of Grace, in these words; "Either we must, with Pelagius, wholly deny original sin, or it must be by the imputation of the injustice that was in Adam that we are made sinners, because original sin is an imputed sin."—The effect of this is, that therefore it is not formally ours, and it is no sin inherent in us; and then the imputation means nothing but that it brought evils upon us; our dying, our sorrow, and the affections of mortality and concupiscence, are the consequents of Adam's sin, and the occasion of ours, and "so we are in him and by him made sinners:" and in this there can be no injustice, for this imputation brings nothing upon us in relation to Adam's sin, but what by his power and justice he might have done without such relation; and what is just, if done absolutely, must needs be just if done relatively; and because there is no other way to reconcile this with God's justice, it follows, that there is no other sense of imputation than what is now explicated.

SECTION III.

The Doctrine of the ancient Fathers was, that Free-will remained in us after the Fall.

14. ADAM'S sin did not destroy the liberty of our election, but left it naturally as great as before the fall.

And here I observe, that the fathers before St. Austin generally maintained the doctrine of man's liberty remaining after the fall; the consequents of which are incompossible and inconsistent with the present doctrines of original sin.

That the doctrine of man's liberty remaining was general and catholic, appears by these few testimonies instead of very many. Justin Martyr, in his second apology for the christians, hath these words; Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἱρεῖσθαι ταληθῆ καὶ εὖ πράττειν, τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ· λογικοὶ γὰρ καὶ θεωρητικοὶ γεγένηνται. "Christ hath declared, that the devil and his angels, and men that follow him, shall be

[k] Homil. 5. [l] Lib. 4. contra duas epist. Pelag. c. 4. [m] Horat. [n] De Civ. Dei, lib. 18.

tormented in hell for ever; which thing is not yet done for the sake of mankind, because God foresees that some by repentance shall obtain salvation, even some that are not yet born: and from the beginning he created mankind, so that he should be endued with understanding, and by the power of his free-will should obtain choice to follow truth, and to do well: wherefore, all men are wholly left without excuse and defence before God; for they are created by him reasonable and fit for contemplation."

St. Cyrillus, lib. 4. in Johan. l. 7.: "Non possumus, secundum Ecclesiæ veritatisque dogmata, liberam potestatem hominis, quod liberum arbitrium appellatur, ullo modo negare."

St. Hieronymus epist. "ad Ctesiphontem" extrem.: "Frustra blasphemas et ignorantiam auribus ingeris, nos liberum arbitrium condemnare. Damnetur ille qui damnat."

Autor Hypognosticôn, lib. 3.: "Ipsum liberum arbitrium in hominibus esse certâ fide credimus et prædicamus indubitantèr: [et infra] est igitur liberum arbitrium: quod quisquis negaverit, catholicus non est."

Gregory Nyssenus, the great divine, saith, lib. 7. "de Philosoph." c. 2.: "Concupiscere et non concupiscere, mentiri et non mentiri, et quæcunque talia in quibus consistunt virtutis et vitii opera, hæc sunt in nostro libero arbitrio."

B. Macarius Ægyptius, hom. 15. "Cæterumve semel et omninò resonet, et permaneat delectus et arbitrii libertas, quam primitùs homini dedit Deus, ea propter dispensatione suâ res administrantur, et corporum solutio sit, ut in voluntate hominis situm sit, ad bonum, vel malum converti."

Marcus Heremita, lib. "de Baptismo," ultra medium, speaks more home to the particular question: "Hæc et similia, cum sciat scriptura in nostrâ potestate positum esse, ut hæc agamus nec ne, propterea non Satanam, neque pacatum Adæ, sed nos increpat. [et infra.] Primam conceptionem habemus ex dispensatione quemadmodum et ille, et perinde ac ille pro arbitrio possumus obtemperare vel non obtemperare."

Julius Firmicus "de Erroribus Profanarum Religionum," cap. 29.: "Liberum te Deus fecit: in tuâ manu est, ut aut vivas aut pereas, quia te per abrupta præcipitas."

St. Ambrose, in exposit. Psalm 40.: "Homini dedit eligendi arbitrium quod sequatur; ante hominem vita et mors; si deliqueris, non natura in culpa est, sed eligentis affectus."

Gaudentius Brixianus tertio tractat. super Exod.: "Horum concessa semel voluntatis libertas non auferatur, ne nihil de eo judicare possit, qui liber non fuerit in agendo."

Boetius libro "de Consolatione Philosophiæ:" "Quæ cum ita sint, manet intemerata mortalibus libertas arbitrii."

Though it were easy to bring very many more testimonies to this purpose, yet I have omitted them because the matter is known to all learned persons, and have chosen these, because they testify "that our liberty of choice remains after the fall: that if we sin, the fault is not in our nature, but in our persons and election: that still it is in our own powers to do good or evil: that this is the sentence of the church: that he who denies this is not a catholic believer."

15. And this is so agreeable to nature, to experience, to the sentence of all wise men, to the nature of laws, to the effect of reward and punishments, that I am persuaded no man would deny it, if it were not upon this mistake; for many wise and learned men dispute against it, because they find it affirmed in Holy Scripture every where, "that grace is necessary; that we are servants of sin; that we cannot come to God unless we be drawn:" and very many more excellent things, to the same purpose. Upon the account of which they conclude, that therefore our free-will is impaired by Adam's fall, since without the grace of God we cannot convert ourselves to godliness,—and being converted, without it we cannot stand,—and if we stand, without it we cannot go on,—and going on, without it we cannot persevere. Now though all this be very true, yet there is a mistake in the whole question. For when it is affirmed, that Adam's sin did not, could not, impair our liberty, but all that freedom of election which was concreated with his reason, and is essential to an understanding creature, did remain inviolate, there is no more said: but that after Adam's fall, all that which was natural remained, and that what Adam could naturally do, all that he and we can do afterwards. But yet this contradicts not all those excellent discourses, which the church makes of the necessity of grace, of the necessity and effect of which, I am more earnestly persuaded, and do believe more things, than are ordinarily taught in the schools of learning: but when I say, that our will can do all that it ever could, I mean all that it could ever do naturally, but not all that is to be done supernaturally.

But then this I add, that the things of the Spirit, that is, all that belongs to spiritual life, are not naturally known, not naturally discerned; but are made known to us by the Spirit; and when they are known, they are not naturally amiable, as being in great degrees and many regards contradictory to natural desires; but they are made amiable by the proposition of spiritual rewards, and our will is moved by God in ways not natural, and the active and passive are brought together by secret powers; and after all this, our will, being put into a supernatural order, does, upon these presuppositions, choose freely, and work in the manner of nature. Our will is after Adam naturally as free as ever it was, and in spiritual things it is free, when it is made so by the Spirit; for nature could never do that: according to that saying of Celestine: "Nemo nisi per Christum libero arbitrio benè utitur. Omnis sancta cogitatio et motus bonæ voluntatis ex Deo est:" "A man before he is in Christ, hath free-will, but cannot use it well. He hath motions and operations of will; but without God's grace they do not delight in holy things."

But then in the next place there is another mistake also, when it is affirmed in the writings of

some doctors, that the will of man is depraved; men presently suppose, that depravation is a natural or physical effect, and means a diminution of powers; whereas it signifies nothing but a being in love with, or having chosen, an evil object, and not an impossibility or weakness to do the contrary: but only because it will not; for the powers of the will cannot be lessened by any act of the same faculty, for the act is not contrary to the faculty, and therefore can do nothing towards its destruction.

III. As a consequent of this I infer, that there is no natural necessity of sinning; that is, there is no sinful action to which naturally we are determined; but it is our own choice that we sin. This depending upon the former, stands or falls with it. But because God hath superinduced so many laws, and the devil superinduces temptations upon our weak nature, and we are to enter into a supernatural state of things; therefore it is that we need the helps of supernatural grace to enable us to do a supernatural duty in order to a Divine end; so that the necessity of sinning which we all complain of, though it be greater in us than it was in Adam before his fall, yet is not absolute in either, nor merely natural, but accidental and superinduced; and in remedy to it, God also hath superinduced and "promised his Holy Spirit to them that ask him."

SECTION IV.

Adam's Sin is not imputed to us to our Damnation.

16. BUT the main of all is this; that this sin of Adam is not imputed unto us to eternal damnation. For eternal death was not threatened to Adam for his sin, and therefore could not from him come upon us for that which was none of ours. Indeed, the Socinians affirm, that the death which entered into the world by Adam's sin, was death eternal; that is, God then decreed to punish sinners with the portion of devils. It is likely he did so, but that this was the death introduced for the sin of Adam upon all mankind, is not at all affirmed in Scripture: but temporal death is the effect of Adam's sin; "in Adam we all die," and the death that Adam's sin brought in, is such as could have a remedy or recompence by Christ; but eternal death hath no recompence, and shall never be destroyed; but temporal death shall. But that which I say is this; that for Adam's sin alone, no man but himself is or can justly be condemned to the bitter pains of eternal fire.

This depends also upon the former accounts, because mere nature brings not to hell, but choice. "Nihil ardet in inferno nisi propria voluntas," said St. Bernard; and since original sin is not properly ours, but only by imputation, if God should impute Adam's sin so as to damn any one for it, all our good we receive from God, is much less than that evil; and we should be infinitely to seek for justification of God's justice and glorification of his mercy, or testimonies of his goodness.

But now the matter is on this side so reasonable in itself, that let a man take what side he will, he should have parties enough; and no prejudices, or load of a consenting authority, can be against him, but that there shall be on the side of reason as great and leading persons, as there are of those who have been abused by error and prejudice. In the time of St. Austin, Vincentius, Victor, and some others, did believe, that infants dying without baptism should nevertheless be saved, although he believed them guilty of original sin: Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin, affirmed the same of the children of faithful parents, but Zuinglius affirmed it of all, and that no infant did lose heaven for his original stain and corruption.

Something less than this was the doctrine of the Pelagians, who exclude infants unbaptized from the kingdom of heaven, but promised to them an eternal and a natural beatitude; and for it St. Augustine[o] reckons them for heretics, as indeed being impatient of every thing almost which they said. But yet, the opinion was embraced lately by Ambrosius Catherinus, Albertus Pighius, and Hieronymus Savanarola. And though St. Austin sometimes calls as good men as himself by the name of Pelagians, calling all them so that assign a third place or state to infants; yet besides these now reckoned, St. Gregory Nazianzen[p] and his scholiast Nicetes did believe and teach it; and the same is affirmed also by St. Athanasius, or whoever is the author of the "Questions[q] to Antiochus, usually attributed to him, and also by St. Ambrose, or the author of the Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, who lived in the time of Pope Damasus, that is, before four hundred years after Christ: and even by St. Austin himself expressly in his third book "de Libero Arbitrio," cap. 23.—But when he was heated with his disputations against the Pelagians, he denied all, and said that a middle place or state was never heard of in the church.

For all this, the opinion of a middle state for unbaptized infants continued in the church, and was expressly affirmed by Pope Innocent the Third;[r] who although he says, infants shall not see the face of God, yet he expressly denies that they shall be tormented in hell: and he is generally followed by the schoolmen; who almost universally teach, that infants shall be deprived of the vision beatifical, but shall not suffer hell-torments; but yet they stoop so much towards St. Austin's harsh and fierce opinion, that they say, this deprivation is a part of hell, not of torment, but of banishment from God, and of abode in the place of torment. Among these they are also divided, some affirming that they have some pain of sense, but little and light: others saying they have none, even as they pleased to fancy; for they speak wholly without ground, and merely by chance and interest; and against the consent of antiquity, as I have already instanced. But Gregorius Ariminensis, Driedo, Luther, Melancthon, and

[o] Lib. de Hæresib. c. 18. [p] Orat. in Sanctum Baptis.
[q] Quæst. 111. in cap. 5. Rom.

[r] De Verb. Apost. serm. 25. Lib. 3. decretat. tit. de bapt. et ejus effectu: cap. majores.

Tilmanus Heshusius, are fallen into the worst of St. Austin's opinion, and sentence poor infants to the flames of hell for original sin, if they die before baptism.

To this I shall not say much more than what I have said otherwhere: but that no catholic writer for four hundred years after Christ did ever affirm it, but divers affirmed the contrary. And indeed if the unavoidable want of baptism should damn infants, for the fault which was also unavoidable, I do not understand how it can in any sense be true, that Christ died for all, if at least the children of christian parents shall not find the benefit of Christ's death, because that without the fault of any man they want the ceremony. Upon this account some good men, observing the great sadness and the injustice of such an accident, are willing upon any terms to admit infants to heaven, even without baptism, if any one of their relatives desire it for them, or if the church desires it; which in effect admits all christian infants to heaven; of this opinion were Gerson, Biel, Cajetan, and some others.[s] All which to my sense seems to declare, that if men would give themselves freedom of judgment, and speak what they think most reasonable, they would speak honour of God's mercy, and not impose such fierce and unintelligible things concerning his justice and goodness, since our blessed Saviour, concerning infants and those only who are like infants, affirms, that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." But now in the midst of this great variety of opinions it will be hard to pick out any thing that is certain. For my part I believe this only as certain, that nature alone cannot bring them to heaven; and that Adam left us in a state in which we could not hope for it; but this I know also, that as soon as this was done, Christ was promised, and that before there was any birth of man or woman; and that God's grace is greater and more communicative than sin, and Christ was more gracious and effective than Adam was hurtful; and that therefore it seems very agreeable to God's goodness to bring them to happiness by Christ, who were brought to misery by Adam, and that he will do this by himself alone, in ways of his own finding out.

And yet, if God will not give them heaven by Christ, he will not throw them into hell by Adam: if his goodness will not do the first, his goodness and his justice will not suffer him to do the second: and therefore I consent to antiquity and the schoolmen's opinion thus far; that the destitution or loss of God's sight is the effect of original sin, that is, by Adam's sin we were left so as that we cannot by it go to heaven. But here I differ: whereas they say this may be a final event; I find no warrant for that; and think it only to be an intermedial event; that is, though Adam's sin left us there, yet God did not leave us there; but instantly gave us Christ as a remedy; and now what in particular shall be the state of unbaptized infants, so dying, I do not profess to know or teach, because God hath kept it as a secret; I only know that he is a gracious Father, and from his goodness nothing but goodness is to be expected; and that is, since neither Scripture, nor any father, till about St. Austin's time, did teach the poor babes could die, not only once for Adam's sin, but twice and for ever, I can never think that I do my duty to God, if I think or speak any thing of him that seems so unjust, or so much against his goodness: and therefore, although by baptism, or by the ordinary ministry, infants are new born, and rescued from the state of Adam's account, which metonymically may be called a remitting of original sin, that is, a receiving them from the punishment of Adam's sin, or the state of evil, whither in him they are devolved; yet baptism does but consider that grace which God gives in Jesus Christ, and he gives it more ways than one, to them that desire baptism, to them that die for christianity; and the church, even in Origen's time, and before that, did account the babes, that died in Bethlehem by the sword of Herod, to be saints; and I do not doubt but he gives it many ways that we know not of.

And therefore St. Bernard, and many others, do suppose that the want of baptism is supplied by the baptism of the Holy Ghost. To which purpose the eighty-seventh epistle of St. Bernard is worth the reading. But this I add, that those who affirmed that infants without actual baptism could not be saved, affirmed the same also of them, if they wanted the holy eucharist, as is to be seen in Paulinus, epigr. 6. the writer of "Hypognosticôn," lib. 5. 8. St. Austin, hom. 10. serm. 8. de Verbis Apostoli; and the one hundred and seventh epistle to Vitalis.

And since no church did ever enjoin to any catechumen, any penance or repentance for original sin, it seems horrible and unreasonable, that any man can be damned for that, for which no man is bound to repent.

SECTION V.

The Doctrine of Antiquity in this whole Matter.

The sum of all is this.

18. I. Original sin is Adam's sin imputed to us to many evil effects.

II. It brings death and the evils of this life.

III. Our evils and necessity being brought upon us, bring in a flood of passions which are hard to be bridled, or mortified.

IV. It hath left us in pure naturals, disrobed of such aids extraordinary as Adam had.

V. It deprives us of all title to heaven or supernatural happiness, that is, it neither hath in it strength to live a spiritual life, nor title to a heavenly.

VI. It leaves in us our natural concupiscence, and makes it much worse.

Thus far I admit and explicate this Article.

But all that I desire of the usual propositions which are variously taught now-a-days, is this.

I. Original sin is not an inherent evil; not a sin properly, but metonymically; that is, it is the effect

[s] 17 tom. 3. serm. de Nativ. B. Mariæ in Concil. const. lib. 4. dist. 4. q. 2. in 3. Thom. q. 68. Art. 1. 2. 11.

of one sin, and the cause of many; a stain, but no sin.

II. It does not destroy our liberty, which we had naturally.

III. It does not introduce a natural necessity of sinning.

IV. It does not damn any infant to the eternal pains of hell.

And now how consonant my explication of the article is to the first and best antiquity, besides the testimonies I have already brought here concerning some parts of it, will appear by the following authorities, speaking to the other parts of it, and to the whole question.

St. Ignatius the martyr, in his epistle to the Magnesians, hath these words: Ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος· "If a man be a pious man, he is a man of God: if he be impious, he is of the devil: not made so by nature, but by his own choice and sentence;"[t] by which words he excludes nature, and affirms our natural liberty to be the cause of our good or evil; that is, we are in fault: but not Adam, so as we are.

And it is remarkable that Ignatius hath said nothing to the contrary of this, or to infirm the force of these words; and they who would fain have alleged him to contrary purposes, cite him calling Adam's sin παλαιὰν δυσσέβειαν, "the old iniquity;" which appellative is proper enough, but of no efficacy in this question.

Dionysius the Areopagite (if he be the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy[u]) does very well explicate this article: Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξολισθήσασαν ἡ πολυπαθεστάτη ζωὴ διαδέχεται καὶ τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ θανάτου πέρας. "When in the beginning human nature foolishly fell from the state of good things which God gave it, it was then entered into a life of passions, and the end of the corruption of death." This sentence of his differs not from that of St. Chrysostom before alleged; for when man grew miserable by Adam's fall, and was disrobed of his aids, he grew passionate, and peevish, and tempted, and sick, and died. This is all his account of Adam's story: and it is a very true one. But the writer was of a later date, not much before St. Austin's time, as it is supposed; but a learned and a catholic believer.[x]

19. Concerning Justin Martyr, I have already given this account, that he did not think the liberty of choice impaired by Adam's sin; but in his "dialogue with Tryphon the Jew," he gives no account of original sin but this, that "Christ was not crucified or born as if himself did need it, but for the sake of mankind, which by Adam fell into death, and the deception of the serpent, besides all that which men commit wickedly upon their own stock of impiety." —So that the effect of Adam's sin was death, and being abused by the devil; for this very reason to rescue us from the effects of this deception, and death, and to redeem us from our impiety, Christ was born and died. But all this meddles not with any thing of the present questions; for to this all interests excepting the Pelagians' and Socinians', will subscribe. It is material which is spoken by him, or some under his name, in the "Questions and Answers to the Orthodox:" Οὐδεὶς πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν ἢ ἀνομεῖν, ὃς οὐχ ἥμαρτεν ἢ οὐχ ἠνόμησεν. Πέφυκε δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ὁ κατὰ τὴν αὐθαίρετον προαίρεσιν ἄγων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἃ βούλεται, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε φαῦλα. Τὸ δὲ βρέφος, ἅτε οὔπω ὂν τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ πέφυκεν ἁμαρτάνειν. "There is no man who is by nature born to sin and do wickedly, but hath sinned and done wickedly. But he is by nature born to sin, who by the choice of his free-will is author to himself of doing what he will, whether it be good or bad. But an infant, as being not endued with any such power, it appears sufficiently that he is not by nature born to sin."[y]—These words, when they had been handled as men pleased, and turned to such senses as they thought they could escape by, at last they appear to be the words of one, who understood nothing of original sin, as it is commonly explicated at this day. For all that this author (for it was indeed some later catholic author, but not Justin) did know of original sin, was that which he relates in the answer to the one hundred and second question. Περιτεμνόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἐκδυόμενοι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, δι' ὃν ἁμαρτωλοὶ γεγονότες τεθνήκαμεν, καὶ ἐνδυόμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν, δι' ὃν δικαιωθέντες ἀνιστάμεθα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἐν ᾧ (φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος) περιετμήθητε περιτομὴν ἀχειροποίητον τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος ὑμῶν. "We also are circumcised with the circumcision of Christ by baptism, putting off Adam, by whom we being made sinners did die, and putting on Christ, by whom being justified, we are risen from the dead: in whom (saith the apostle) we were circumcised with the circumcision which is made without hands, while you have put off your body."—That is, Adam's sin made us to become sinners, that is, was imputed to us, so that in him we die; but by Christ being justified we are made alive; that is, in him we are admitted to another life, a life after our resurrection; and this is by baptism; for there we die to Adam and live to Christ, we are initiated in a new birth to a new and more perfect state of things. But all this leaves infants in a state of so much innocence, "that they are not formally guilty of a sin, but imperfect and insufficient to righteousness, and every one hath his liberty left him to do as he please:"[z] so far is affirmed by the author of these answers. But the sentence of Justin Martyr in this article may best be conjectured by his discourse, at large undertaking to prove τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐλεύθερὰν πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ καλά, "a freedom of election to fly evil things, and to choose that which is good;" set down in his second Apology for the Christians.

Theophilus Antiochenus affirms that which destroys the new φαινόμενα, about Adam's perfection and rare knowledge in the state of innocence. Τῇ δὲ οὔσῃ ἡλικίᾳ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἔτι νήπιος ἦν, διὸ οὔπω

[t] St. Ignatius. [u] Dionysius Areopag. cap. 3. part 3. [x] Justin Martyr. [y] Quest. 88. [z] Ibid.

ἐδύνατο τὴν γνῶσιν κατ' ἀξίαν χωρεῖν. "Adam in that age was yet as an infant, and therefore did not understand that secret, viz., that the fruit which he ate, had in it nothing but knowledge:" and a little after reckoning the evil consequents of Adam's sin, he names these only, πόνος, ὀδύνη καὶ τὸ τέλος θάνατος, "grief, sorrow, and death at last."[a]

20. Clemens of Alexandria, having affirmed ὅτι φύσει μὲν ἐπιτήδειοι γεγόναμεν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, that "by nature we are born apt to virtue; not that we have virtue from our birth, but that we are apt to require it from thence,"[b] takes opportunity to discuss this question, "whether Adam was formed perfect or imperfect?—If imperfect, how comes it to pass that the works of God, especially man, should be imperfect? If perfect, how came he to break the commandments?"—He answers, that Adam was not made perfect in his constitution, but prepared indeed for virtue. Ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν βούλεται σώζεσθαι· αὐτὴ οὖν φύσις ψυχῆς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ὁρμᾷν. For "God would have us by ourselves, that is, by our own choice, to be saved: for it is the nature of the soul to be driven and stirred up by itself."—Many more things to the same purpose he affirms in perfect contradiction to them, who believe Adam's sin so to have debauched our faculties, that we have lost all our powers of election: our powers of election grow stronger, not weaker, according as our knowledge increases. Τοῦτο ἦν ἀπανδρούμενον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμενον. "That which was in Adam, (meaning his free will,) that was it which grew with the increase of a man."[c] Therefore it was not lost by Adam. But more pertinent to the present questions are these words: "An innocent martyr suffers like an infant." Τὸ νήπιον οὐ προημαρτηκὸς, ἢ ἐνεργῶς μὲν ἡμαρτηκὸς οὐδ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ· "An infant neither committed actual sin, or sin in himself; neither hath he sinned beforehand;"[d] that is, properly in Adam, to whose sin he gave no consent; for else there can be no antithesis or opposition in the parts of his distinction; "he sinned not actually in himself,"—being one member; the other προημαρτηκὸς, or "sinning before,"—being opposed to actual sin, ἐνεργῶς or ἐν ἑαυτῷ, "in himself,"—must mean "original" and "in another." And this he also expressly affirms: Λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν ποῦ ἐπόρνευσεν τὸ γενηθὲν παιδίον, ἢ πῶς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀδὰμ ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρὰν τὸ μηδὲν ἐνέργασαν.[e] When Tatianus and the Encratites did design to prove marriage to be unlawful, because it produced nothing but sinners; and to that purpose urged those words of Job, "There is no man free from pollution," οὐδ' εἰ μία ἡμέρα ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, "though his life be but of one day." For so antiquity did generally quote Job xxv. 4. following the LXX, which interprets the place; there being neither the same words nor the like sense in the Hebrew. But that very quotation had no small influence into the forward persuasions of the article concerning original sin, as is visible to them that have read the writings of the ancient doctors. But to the things here objected, Clemens replied, "Let them tell us, then, how an infant newly born hath fornicated or polluted himself, or how he is fallen under the curse of Adam, he who hath done nothing?" He had no other way to extricate himself. For if marriage produces none but sinners, persons hated by God, formally guilty of sin, then as the fruit is, such is the tree. He answers, "True, if it were so; but marriage produces infants that are innocent, and having done nothing evil yet, they never deserved to fall under Adam's curse. The effect of which is this, that to them, sickness and death is a misery, but not formally a punishment; because they are innocent, and formally are no sinners." Some, to elude this testimony, would make these words to be the words of the Encratites or Julius Cassianus: but then, they are no sense, but a direct objection to themselves. But the case is clear to them that read and understand; and therefore the learned and good man Johannes Gerardus Vossius confesses downright, "Clementem Alexandrinum non satis intellexisse peccatum originale:" "That he did not understand the doctrine of original sin."—This only I add, that he takes from the objector that place of David, "In sin hath my mother conceived me;" affirming that by "my mother," he means "Eve," and that she "peccatrix concepit sed non peccatorem;" "she was in sin when she conceived him, but he was not in sin when he was conceived."—But the meaning of Clemens Alexandrinus is easily to be understood to be consonant to truth, and the usual doctrine of the first ages, which makes Adam's sin to be ours by imputation, but that no sin upon that title is inherent in us; and Clemens Alexandrinus understood the question very well, though not to the purposes of our new opinions.

21. Tertullian speaks of the sin of Adam several times, but affirms not that we have any "formal, proper, and inherent sin:" but "that the soul of man is a sinner, because it is unclean," just as it was amongst the rites of Moses's law, where legal impurity was called "sin," and that we derive from Adam a shame rather than a sin, an ignominy or reproach, like that of being born of dishonourable parents,—or rather, "from the society of the flesh," as he expresses it; and that this dishonour lasts upon us till we enter upon a new relation in Christ. "Ita omnis anima eòusque, in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur, tamdiu immunda quamdiù recenseatur. Peccatrix autem quia immunda, recipiens ignominiam suam ex carnis societate."[f] And this which he here calls "a reproach," he otherwhere calls an "imperfection" or a "shame," saying, "By Satan man at first was circumvented, and therefore given up unto death, and from thence all the kind was, from his seed, infected; he made a traduction of his sentence or damnation:"[g] to wit, unto death, which was his condemnation; and therefore speaking of the woman, he says, "The sentence remaining upon her in this life, it is neces-

[a] Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolycum, l. 2.
[b] Clemens Alexandrinus. Stromat. lib. 6.
[c] Stromat. lib. 4. pag. 535. edit. Morellianæ.
[d] Pag. 506.
[e] Stromat. lib. 4. pag. 468. edit. Morellianæ.
[f] Lib. de Animâ, cap. 39, 40.
[g] Lib. de Testimon. Anim. adv. Gentes, c. 3.

sary that the guilt also should remain;"[h] which words are rough and hard to be understood, because after baptism the guilt does not remain; but by the following words we may guess that he means, that women still are that which Eve was, "even snares to men, gates for the devil to enter," and that they, as Eve did, "dare and can prevail with men, when the devil by any other means cannot." I know nothing else that he says of this article, save only, that according to the constant sense of antiquity he affirms, that "the natural faculties of the soul were not impaired." "Omnia naturalia animæ, ut substantiva ejus, ipsi inesse, et cum ipsâ procedere atque proficere."[i] And again: "Hominis anima, velut surculus quidam, ex matrice Adam in propaginem deducta, et genitalibus fœminæ foveis commendata, cum omni suâ pariturâ pullulabit, tam in intellectu quam in sensu:"[k] "The soul, like a sprig from Adam derived into his offspring, and put into the bed of its production, shall, with all its appendages, spring or increase both in sense and understanding."—And that there is "liberty of choice" (*τὸ αὐτεξούσιον* which supposes liberty) he proved against Marcion and Hermogenes, as himself affirms in chap. 21. of the same book.

St. Cyprian, proving the effect of baptism upon all, and consequently the usefulness to infants, argues thus: "If pardon of sins is given to the greatest sinners, and them that before sinned much against God, and afterwards believed, and none is forbidden to come to baptism and grace,—how much more must not an infant be forbidden, 'qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod, secundum Adam carnalitèr natus, contagium mortis antiquæ primâ nativitate contraxit; qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata,' 'who being new born hath not sinned at all, but only being born carnally of Adam, he hath, in his first birth, contracted the contagion of the old death: which comes to the remission of sin the more easily, because not his own sins, but the sins of another, are forgiven him.'"[l] In which it is plainly affirmed, that the infant is innocent, that he hath sinned himself, that there is in him no sin inherent, that Adam's sin therefore only is imputed, that all the effect of it upon him is the contagion of death, that is, mortality, and its affections; and according as the sins are, so is the remission, they are the infants' improperly and metonymically, therefore so is the remission.

But Arnobius speaks yet more plainly: "Omne peccatum corde concipitur, et ore consummatur. Hic autem qui nascitur, sententiam Adæ habet, peccatum verò suum non habet:" "He that is born of Adam hath the sentence of Adam upon him, but not the sin;"[m] that is, he hath no sin inherent, but the punishment inflicted by occasion of it.

The author of the Short Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul attributed to St. Ambrose, speaks so much, that some have used the authority of this writer, to prove that there is no original sin: as Sixtus Senensis relates. His words are these; "Mors autem dissolutio corporis est, cum anima à corpore separatur: est et alia mors quæ secunda dicitur, in gehenna; quam non peccato Adæ patimur, sed, ejus occasione, propriis peccatis acquiritur:" "Death is the dissolution of the body, when the soul is separated from it. There is also another death in hell which is called the second death, which we suffer not from Adam's sin, but by occasion of it, it is acquired by our own sins."[n] These words need no explication; for when he had in the precedent words affirmed that we all sinned in the mass of Adam, this following discourse states the question right, and declares that though Adam's sin be imputed to us, to certain purposes, yet no man can be damned to the second death for it: it is a testimony so plain for the main part of my affirmation in this article, that as there is not any thing against it within the first four hundred years,—so he could not be accounted a catholic author, if the contrary had been the sense or the prevailing opinion of the church.

22. To these I shall add the clearest testimonies of St. Chrysostom: "It seems to have in it no small question, that it is said, that by the disobedience of one many become sinners. For sinning and being made mortal, it is not unlikely that they which spring from him should be so too. But that another should be made a sinner by his disobedience, what agreement or consequent, I beseech you, can it have? what therefore doth this word "sinner" in this place signify? It seems to me to signify, the same that "liable to punishment, guilty of death," does signify, because Adam dying, all are made mortal by him."[o] And again, "Thou sayest, What shall I do? By him, that is, by Adam, I perish. No, not for him. For hast thou remained without sin? For though thou hast not committed the same sin, yet another thou hast."[p]—And in the twenty-ninth homily upon the same epistle, he argues thus: "What therefore, tell me, are all dead in Adam by the death of sin? How then was Noah a just man in his generation? How were Abraham and Job? If this be to be understood of the body, the sentence will be certain, but if it be understood of justice and sin, it will not."—But to sum up all; he answers the great argument used by St. Austin to prove infants to be in a state of damnation and sin properly, "because the church baptizes them, and baptism is for the remission of sins. Thou seest how many benefits there are of baptism; but many think that the grace of baptism consists only in the remission of sins: but we have reckoned ten honours of baptism. For this cause we baptize infants; although they are not polluted with sin, to wit, that to them may be added sanctity, justice, adoption, inheritance, and the fraternity of Christ."[q] Divers other things might be transcribed to the same purposes out of St. Chrysostom, but these are abundantly sufficient to prove, that I have said nothing new in this article.

Theodoret does very often consent with St. Chry-

[h] De Habitu Muliebri, c. 1. [i] Lib. de Animâ, c. 20.
[k] Cap. 9. [l] St. Cyprian. lib. 3. Ep. 8. ad Fidum.
[m] In comment. in Psal. 1.
[n] Lib. 6. Biblioth. Sanct. annot. 136.
[o] St. Chrysostom. homil. 10. in Rom.
[p] Hom. 17. in 1 Cor. [q] Homil. ad. Neophytos.

sostom, even when he differs from others, and in this article he consents with him and the rest now reckoned: "When God made Adam and adorned him with reason, he gave him one commandment that he might exercise his reason: he being deceived broke the commandment, and was exposed to the sentence of death, and so he begat Cain, and Seth, and others: but all these, as being begotten of him, had a mortal nature. This kind of nature wants many things, meat and drink and clothes, and dwelling and divers arts: the use of these things oftentimes provokes to excess; and the excess begets sin. Therefore the divine apostle saith, that when Adam had sinned, and was made mortal for his sin, both came to his stock, that is, death and sin: for 'death came upon all, inasmuch as all men have sinned.' For every man suffers the decree of death, not for the sin of the first man, but for his own."[r] Much more to the same purpose he hath upon the same chapter: but this is enough to all the purposes of this question.

Now if any man thinks, that though these give testimony in behalf of my explication of this article, yet that it were easy to bring very many more to the contrary;[s] I answer, and profess ingenuously, that I know of none till about St. Austin's time; for that the first ages taught the doctrine of original sin I do no ways doubt, but affirm it all the way; but that it is a sin improperly, that is, a stain and a reproach rather than a sin, that is, the effect of one sin, and the cause of many, that it brought in sickness and death, mortality and passions, that it made us naked of those supernatural aids that Adam had, and so more liable to the temptations of the devil; this is all I find in antiquity, and sufficient for the explication of this question, which the more simply it is handled, the more true and reasonable it is. But that I may use the words of Solomon, according to the vulgar translation; "Hoc inveni, quod fecerit Deus hominem rectum, et ipse se infinitis miscuerit quæstionibus;" "God made man upright, and he hath made himself more deformed than he is, by mingling with innumerable questions."

23. I think I have said enough to vindicate my sentence from novelty, and though that also be sufficient to quit me from singularity, yet I have something more to add as to that particular, and that is, that it is very hard for a man to be singular in this article if he would. For first, in the primitive church, when Valentinus and Marcion, Tatianus, Julius Cassianus, and the Encratites, condemned marriage upon this account, because "it produces that only which is impure," many good men and right believers did, to justify marriages, undervalue the matter of original sin; this begat new questions in the manner of speaking, and at last, real differences were entertained, and the Pelagian heresy grew up upon this stock. But they changed their propositions so often, that it was hard to tell what was the heresy; but the first draught of it was so rude, so confused, and so unreasonable, that when any of the followers of it spake more warily, and more learnedly, yet by this time the name Pelagian was of so ill a sound, that they would not be believed if they spake well, nor trusted in their very recantations, nor understood in their explications, but cried out against in all things, right or wrong; and in the fierce prosecution of this, St. Austin and his followers, Fulgentius, Prosper, and others, did "excedere in dogmate, et pati aliquid humanum." St. Austin called them all Pelagians who were of the middle opinion concerning infants; and yet many catholics, both before and since his time, do profess it. The Augustan confession calls them Pelagians, who say that concupiscence is only the effect of Adam's sin, and yet all the Roman churches say it confidently; and every man that is angry in this question, calls his enemy Pelagian, if he be not a Stoic, or a Manichee, a Valentinian, or an Encratite. But the Pelagians say so many things in their controversy, that like them that talk much, they must needs say some things well, though very many things amiss; but if every thing which was said against St. Austin in these controversies, be Pelagianism, then all antiquity were Pelagians, and himself besides; for he, before his disputes in these questions, said much against what he said after, as every learned man knows. But yet it is certain, that even after the Pelagian heresy was conquered, there were many good men, who, because they from every part take the good and leave the poison, were called Pelagians by them that were angry at them for being of another opinion in some of their questions. Cassian was a good and holy man, and became the great rule of Monastines, yet because he spake reason in his exhortations to piety, and justified God, and blamed man, he is called Pelagian; and the epistle "ad Demetriadem," and "the Little Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles," were read and commended highly by all men, so long as they were supposed to be St. Jerome's; but when some fancied that Faustus was the author, they suspect the writings for the man's sake; and however St. Austin was triumphant in the main article against those heretics, and there was great reason he should, yet that he took in too much, and confuted more than he should, appears in this,—that though the world followed him in the condemnation of Pelagianism, yet the world left him in many things which he was pleased to call Pelagianism. And therefore when Archbishop Bradwardin wrote his books "de Causa Dei," against the liberty of will, and for the fiercer way of absolute decrees; he complains in his preface, "that the whole world was against him, and gone after Pelagius" "in causâ liberi arbitrii." Not that they really were made so, but that it is a usual thing to affright men from their reasons by names and words, and to confute an argument by slandering him that uses it.

Now this is it that I and all men else ought to be troubled at, if my doctrine be accused of singularity,—I cannot acquit myself of the charge, but by running into a greater. For if I say that one proposition is taught by all the Roman schools, and therefore I am not singular in it; they reply, It

[r] Theodoret. in 5. Rom.

[s] Vide eundem in exposit. Psal. l.

is true, but then it is popery which you defend. If I tell, that the Lutherans defend another part of it, then the Calvinists hate it, therefore because their enemies avow it; either it is popery, or Pelagianism; you are an Arminian, or a Socinian. And either you must say that which nobody says, and then you are singular; or if you do say as others say, you shall feel the reproach of the party that you own, which is also disowned by all but itself.

That therefore which I shall choose to say, is this, that the doctrine of original sin, as I explicate it, is wholly against the Pelagians, for they wholly deny original sin, affirming, that Adam did us no hurt by his sin, except only by his example. These men are also followed by the anabaptists, who say, that death is so natural, that it is not by Adam's fall so much as made actual. The Albigenses were of the same opinion. The Socinians affirm, that Adam's sin was the occasion of bringing eternal death into the world, but that it no way relates to us, not so much as by imputation. But I having showed in what sense Adam's sin is imputed to us, am so far, either from agreeing with any of these, or from being singular, that I have the acknowledgment of an adversary, even of Bellarmine himself,[t] that it is the doctrine of the church; and he laboriously endeavours to prove, that original sin is merely ours by imputation. Add to this, that he also affirms, that when Zuinglius says that "original sin is not properly a sin, but metonymically," that is, "the effect of one sin, and the cause of many," that in so saying he agrees with the catholics. Now these being the main affirmatives of my discourse, it is plain that I am not alone, but more are with me than against me. Now though he is pleased afterwards[u] to contradict himself, and say it is "veri nominis peccatum," yet because I understood not how to reconcile the opposite parts of a contradiction, or tell how the same thing should be really a sin, and yet be so but by a figure only,—how it should be properly a sin, and yet only metonymically,—and how it should be the effect of sin, and yet that sin whereof it is an effect,—I confess here I stick to my reason and my proposition, and leave Bellarmine and his catholics to themselves.

25. And indeed they that say original sin is any thing really, any thing besides Adam's sin imputed to us to certain purposes, that is, effecting in us certain evils, which dispose to worse, they are, according to the nature of error, infinitely divided, and agree in nothing but in this, that none of them can prove what they say. Anselme, Bonaventure, Gabriel, and others, say, that "original sin is nothing but a want of original righteousness." Others say, that they say something of truth, but not enough; for "a privation can never be a positive sin, and if it be not positive, it cannot be inherent;" and therefore that it is necessary that they add "indignitatem habendi:" "a certain unworthiness to have it" being in every man, that is the sin. But then if it be asked, What makes them unworthy, if it be not the want of original righteousness,—and that then they are not two things but one, seemingly, and none really;—they are not yet agreed upon an answer. Aquinas and his scholars say, original sin is "a certain spot upon the soul." Melancthon, considering that concupiscence, or the faculty of desiring, or the tendency to an object, could not be a sin, fancied original sin to be "an actual depraved desire.—Illyricus says, it is "the substantial image of the devil." Scotus and Durandus say, it is nothing but a "mere guilt," that is, an obligation passed upon us, to suffer the evil effects of it: which indeed is most moderate of all the opinions of the school, and differs not at all, or scarce discernibly, from that of Albertus Pighius, and Catharinus, who say that "original sin is nothing but the disobedience of Adam imputed to us." But the Lutherans affirm it to be the "depravation of human nature without relation to the sin of Adam, but a vileness that is in us;" the church of Rome of late says, that, "besides the want of original righteousness with an habitual aversion from God, it is a guiltiness and a spot; but it is nothing of concupiscence, that being the effect of it only."—But the protestants of Mr. Calvin's persuasion affirm, that "concupiscence is the main of it, and is a sin before and after baptism;" but amongst all this infinite uncertainty, the church of England speaks moderate words, apt to be construed to the purposes of all peaceable men that desire her communion.

26. Thus every one talks of original sin, and agree that there is such a thing, but what it is they agree not; and therefore in such infinite variety, he were of a strange imperious spirit that would confine others to his particular fancy; for my own part, now that I have shown what the doctrine of the purest ages was, what uncertainty there is of late in the question, what great consent there is in some of the main parts of what I affirm, and that in the contrary particulars men cannot agree, I shall not be ashamed to profess what company I now keep in my opinion of the article; no worse men than Zuinglius, Stapulensis, the great Erasmus, and the incomparable Hugo Grotius,[x] who also says there are "multi in Galliâ, qui eandem sententiam magnis sane argumentis tuentur," "many in France, which with great argument defend the same sentence;" that is, who explicate the article entirely as I do; and as St. Chrysostom and Theodoret did of old, in compliance with those holy fathers that went before them: with whom although I do not desire to err, yet I suppose their great names are guard sufficient against prejudices and trifling noises, and an amulet against the names of Arminian, Socinian, Pelagian. and I cannot tell what monsters of appellatives; but these are but boys' tricks, and arguments of women; I expect from all that are wiser, to examine whether this opinion does not, or whether the contrary does better, explicate the truth, with greater reason, and to better purposes of piety; let it be examined which best glorifies God, and does honour to his justice and the reputation of his good-

[t] Tom. 4. l. 5. c. 17. de Amiss. Gratiæ et.
[u] Ibid. c. 2. sect. unum hoc loco et ex his tribus.
[x] Lib. de Bapt. tract. 3. in cap. 5. hom.

ness; which does with more advantage serve the interest of holy living, and which is more apt to patronize carelessness and sin: these are the measures of wise and good men; the other are the measures of fairs and markets; where fancy and noise do govern.

SECTION VI.

An Exposition of the Ninth Article of the Church of England concerning Original Sin; according to Scripture and Reason.

27. After all this, it is pretended and talked of, that my doctrine of original sin is against the ninth article of the church of England; and that my attempt to reconcile them was ineffective. Now although this be nothing to the truth or falsehood of my doctrine, yet it is much concerning the reputation of it. Concerning which, I cannot be so much displeased that any man should so undervalue my reason, as I am highly content that they do so very much value her authority. But then to acquit myself and my doctrine from being contrary to the article, all that I can do is to expound the article, and make it appear, that not only the words of it are capable of a fair construction, but also that it is reasonable they should be expounded so as to agree with Scripture and reason, and as may best glorify God, and that they require it. I will not pretend to believe that those doctors who first framed the article, did all of them mean as I mean; I am not sure they did or that they did not,—but this I am sure, that they framed the words with much caution and prudence, and so as might abstain from grieving the contrary minds of differing men. And I find that in the "Harmony of Confessions" printed in Cambridge 1586, and allowed by public authority, there is no other account given of the English confession in this article, but that "every person is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin, and that nobody is able truly to say his heart is clean. That the most righteous person is but an unprofitable servant: that the law of God is perfect, and requireth of us perfect and full obedience: that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life: that there is no mortal creature which can be justified by his own deserts in God's sight." Now this was taken out of the English confession inserted in the "General Apology" written in the year 1562, in the very year the articles were framed. I therefore have reason to believe, that the excellent men of our church, bishops and priests, did with more candour and moderation opine in this question; and therefore, when by the violence and noises of some parties they were forced to declare something, they spake warily, and so as might be expounded to that doctrine which in the "General Apology" was their allowed sense. However, it is not unusual for churches, in matters of difficulty, to frame their articles so as to serve the ends of peace, and yet not to endanger truth, or to destroy liberty of improving truth, or a further reformation. And since there are so very many questions and opinions in this point, either all the dissenters must be allowed to reconcile the article and their opinion, or must refuse her communion; which whosoever shall enforce, is a great schismatic and an uncharitable man. This only is certain, that to tie the article and our doctrine together, is an excellent art of peace, and a certain signification of obedience; and yet is a security of truth, and that just liberty of understanding, which, because it is only God's subject, is then sufficiently submitted to men, when we consent in the same form of words.

The Article is this,

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk.

28. "The following of Adam," that is, the doing as he did, is actual sin, and in no sense can it be original sin; for that is as vain as if the Pelagians had said the "second" is the "first;" and it is as impossible that what we do should be Adam's sin, as it is unreasonable to say that his should be really and formally our sin; imitation supposes a copy, and those are two terms of a relation, and cannot be coincident, as "*like* is not the *same*." But then if we speak of original sin as we have our share in it, yet cannot our imitation of Adam be it, possibly it may be an effect of it, or a consequent. But therefore Adam's sin did not introduce a necessity of sinning upon us: for if it did, original sin would be a fatal curse, by which is brought to pass, not only that we do, but that we cannot choose but, follow him: and then the following of Adam would be the greatest part of original sin, expressly against the article.

29. "But it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man."—

"The fault:" "vitium naturæ:" so it is in the Latin copies, not *a sin* properly, "non talia sunt vitia, quæ jam peccata dicenda sunt,"[y] but a disease of the soul, as blindness, or crookedness; that is, it is an imperfection or state of deficiency from the end whither God did design us: we cannot with this nature alone go to heaven; for it having been debauched by Adam, and disrobed of all its extraordinaries and graces whereby it was, or might have been, made fit for heaven,—it is returned to its own state, which is perfect in its kind, that is, in order to all natural purposes, but imperfect in order to supernatural, whither it was designed. The case is this. The eldest son of Crœsus, the Lydian, was born dumb, and by the fault of his nature was unfit to govern the kingdom; therefore his father, passing him by, appointed the crown to his younger brother; but he in a battle seeing his father in danger to be slain, in zeal to save his father's life, strained the ligatures of his tongue, till that broke which bound him; by returning to his speech, he returned to his title. We are born thus imperfect, unfit to reign with God for ever, and can never return to a title to our inheritance, till we by the grace

[y] S. Aug.

of God be redintegrate and made perfect like Adam: that is, freed from this state of imperfection by supernatural aids, and by the grace of God be born again.

"Corruption." This word is exegetical of the other, and though it ought not to signify the diminution of the powers of the soul,—not only because the powers of the soul are not corruptible, but because if they were, yet Adam's sin could not do it, since it is impossible that an act proper to a faculty should spoil it, of which it is rather perfective: and an act of the will can no more spoil the will, than an act of understanding can lessen the understanding:—yet this word "corruption" may mean a spoiling or disrobing our nature of all its extraordinary investitures, that is, supernatural gifts and graces, "a comparative corruption:" so as Moses's face, when the light was taken from it; or a diamond, which is more glorious by a reflex ray of the sun, when the light was taken off, falls into darkness, and yet loses nothing of its nature. But "corruption" relates to the body, not to the soul, and in this article may very properly and aptly be taken in the same sense as it is used by St. Paul;[z] "The body is sown in corruption," that is, in all the effects of its mortality; and this indeed is a part of original sin, or the effect of Adam's sin,—it introduced natural corruption, or the affections of mortality, the solemnities of death; for indeed this is the greatest part of original sin; fault and corruption, mean the concupiscence and mortality.

"Of the nature of every man." This gives light to the other, and makes it clear it cannot be in us properly a sin,—for sin is an affection of persons, not of the whole nature: for a universal cannot be the subject of circumstances, and particular actions, and personal proprieties; as human nature cannot be said to be drunk, or to commit adultery; now because sin is an action or omission, and it is made up of many particularities, it cannot be subjected in human nature: for if it were otherwise, then a universal should be more particular than that which is individual, and a whole should be less than a part; "actiones sunt suppositorum," and so for omissions; now every sin is either one or other: and therefore it is impossible that this, which is an affection of a universal, viz. of human nature, can be a sin, for a sin is a breach of some law, to which not natures, but persons, are obliged; and which natures cannot break, because not natures, but persons only, do or neglect.

30. "That naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam."—

This clause is inserted to exclude Christ from the participation of Adam's sin. But if concupiscence, which is in every man's nature, be a sin, it is certain Christ had no concupiscence or natural desires, for he had no sin. But if he had no concupiscence or natural desires, how he should be a man, or how capable of law, or how he should serve God with choice, where there could be no "potentia ad oppositum," I think will be very hard to be understood: Christ felt all our infirmities, yet without sin: all our infirmities are the effects of the sin of Adam, and part of that which we call original sin; therefore all these our infirmities which Christ felt as in him they were for ever without sin, so as long as they are only natural, and unconsented to, must be in us without sin. For whatsoever is naturall in us, is naturally in him; but a man is not a man without natural desires; therefore these were in him, in him without sin; and therefore so in us without sin, I mean properly, really, and formally.

But there is a catachresis also in these words, of an ἔλλειψις, "naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam:" Cain, and Abel, and Seth, and all the sons of Adam, who were the first offspring, and not engendered of the offspring of Adam, were as guilty as we: but they came from Adam, but not from Adam's offspring, therefore the article is to be expounded to the sense of these words, "naturally engendered," or *are* "of the offspring of Adam."

31. "Whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness."—

That is, men are devolved to their natural condition, divested of all those gifts and graces which God gave to Adam, in order to his supernatural end, and by the help of which he stood in God's favour, and innocent, until the fatal period of his fall: this original righteousness or innocence, we have not naturally, for our natural innocence is but negative, that is, we have not consented to sin. The righteousness he had before his fall, I suppose was not only that, but also his doing many actions of obedience, and intercourse with God, even all which passed between God and himself till his eating the forbidden fruit: for he had this advantage over us. He was created in a full use of reason; we his descendants enter into the world in the greatest imperfection, and are born under a law, which we break before we can understand, and it is imputed to us as our understanding increases: and our desires are strongest when our understanding is weakest: and therefore by this very economy, which is natural to us, we must needs, in the condition of our nature, be very far from Adam's original righteousness, who had perfect reason before he had a law, and had understanding as soon as he had desires. This clause thus understood is most reasonable and true, but the effect of it can be nothing in prejudice of the main business, and if any thing else be meant by it, I cannot understand it to have any ground in Scripture or reason; and I am sure our church does not determine for it.

32. "And is inclined to evil."—

That every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true: and it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly. Because that which is unavoidable is not a sin. 2. Because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential. 3. It is superinduced to nature, and is after it, and comes by reason of the laws which God made after he made our nature; he brought us laws to check our nature, to cross and displease, that by so doing we may prefer God before ourselves: this also with some variety; for in some laws there is more liberty than in others, and

[z] 1 Cor. xv.

therefore less natural inclination to disobedience. 4. Because our nature is inclined to good and not to evil in some instances, that is, in those which are according to nature, and there is no greater endearment of virtue, than the law and inclination of nature in all the instances of that law. 5. Because that which is intended for the occasion of virtue and reward, is not naturally and essentially the principle of evil. 6. In the instances in which naturally we incline to evil, the inclination is naturally good, because it is to its proper object, but that it becomes morally evil, must be personal, for the law is before our persons; it cannot be natural, because the law by which that desire can become evil is after it.

33. "So that the flesh lusteth against the spirit."—

This clause declares what kind of inclination to evil is esteemed criminal; that which is approved, that which passeth to act, that which is personally delighted in, in the contention which is after regeneration or reception of the Holy Spirit; for the flesh cannot lust against the spirit in them that have not the Spirit; unless both the principles be within, there can be no contention between them, as a man cannot fight a duel alone: so that this is not the sin of nature, but of persons; for though potentially it is sin, yet actually and really it is none, until it resist the Spirit of God, which is the principle put into us to restore us to as good a state at least, as that was which we were receded from in Adam. By the way, it is observable that the article makes only concupiscence or lusting to be the effect of Adam's sin, but affirms nothing of the loss of the will's liberty, or diminution of the understanding, or the rebellion of the passions against reason, but only against the Spirit, which certainly is natural to it, and in Adam did rebel against God's commandments when it was the inlet to the sin, and therefore could not be a punishment of it.

"And therefore:"—The illative conjunction expressly declares, that the sense of the church of England is, that this corruption of our nature, in no other sense, and for no other reason, is criminal, but because it does resist the Holy Spirit: therefore it is not evil till it does so, and therefore if it does not, it is not evil. For if the very inclination were a sin, then when this inclination is contested against,—at the same time, and in the same things, the man sins and does well, and he can never have a temptation but he offends God; and then how we should understand St. James's rule, that "we should count it all joy when we enter into temptation," is beyond my reach and apprehension. The natural inclination hath in it nothing moral, and therefore as it is good in nature, so it is not ill in manners; the supervening consent or dissent makes it morally good or evil.

34. "In every person born into the world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."—

Viz. When it is so consented to, when it resists and overcomes the Spirit of grace. For we, being divested of the grace given to the first Adam, are to be renewed by the Spirit of grace, the effect of the second Adam; which grace when we resist, we do as Adam did, and reduce ourselves back into the state where Adam left us. That was his sin and not ours, but this is our sin and not his; both of them deserve God's wrath and damnation, but by one he deserved it, and by the other we deserve it. But then it is true, that this corrupted nature deserves God's wrath, but we and Adam deserve not in the same formality, but in the same material part we do. He left our nature naked, and for it he deserved God's wrath; if we divest our nature of the new grace, we return to the same state of nature, but then we deserve God's wrath; so that still the object of God's wrath is our mere nature so as left by Adam; but though he sinned in the first disrobing, and we were imperfect by it, yet we sin not till the second disrobing, and then we return to the same imperfection, and make it worse. But I consider, that although some churches in their confessions express it, yet the church of England does not: they add the word "eternal" to "damnation;" but our church abstains from that: therefore "God's wrath and damnation" can signify the same that "damnation" does in St. Paul;—all the effects of God's anger. Temporal death, and the miseries of mortality, were the effect of Adam's sin, and of our being reduced to the natural and corrupted, or worsted state: or secondly, they may signify the same that "hatred" does in St. Paul, and in Malachi; "Esau have I hated," that is, "loved him less," or did not give him what he was born to: he lost the primogeniture, and the priesthood, and the blessing. So do we naturally fall short of heaven. This is hatred or the wrath of God, and his judgment upon the sin of Adam to condemn us to a state of imperfection, and misery, and death, and deficiency from supernatural happiness, all which I grant to be the effect of Adam's sin, and that our imperfect nature deserves this, that is, it can deserve no better.

35. "And this infection of nature."—

Viz. This imperfection,—not any inherent quality that by contact pollutes the relatives and descendants, but this abuse and reproach of our nature, this stain of our nature, by taking off the supernatural grace and beauties put into it, like the cutting off the beards of David's ambassadors, or stripping a man of his robe, and turning him abroad in his natural shame, leaving him naked as Adam and we were. But the word "infection," being metaphorical, may aptly signify any thing that is analogical to it: and may mean a natural habitude or inclination to forbidden instances; but yet it signifies a very great evil, for in the best authors, to be such "by nature," means an aggravation of it. So Carion in Aristophanes: Ἄνθρωπος οὗτός ἐστιν ἄθλιος φύσει. "This man is very miserable," or "miserable by nature:" and again;

Πάντως γὰρ ἄνθρωπον φύσει τοιοῦτον εἰς τὰ πάντα
Ἡγεῖσθέ μ' εἶναι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν νομίζεσθ' ὑγιὲς εἰπεῖν;

"Do you believe me to be such a man *by nature*, that I can speak nothing well?"

36. "Doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated."—

That is, all the baptized and unbaptized receive

from Adam nothing but what is inclined to forbidden instances, which is a principle, against which, and above which, the Spirit of God does operate. For this is it which is called "the lust of the flesh;" for so it follows, "whereby the lust of the flesh;" that is, the desires and pronenesses to natural objects, which by God's will came to be limited, ordered and chastised, curbed and restrained.

37. "Called in Greek, *φρόνημα σαρκός*."—

Here it is plain that the church of England, though she found it necessary to declare something in the fierce contention of the time, in order to peace and unity of expression, yet she was not willing too minutely to declare and descend to the particulars on either side, and therefore she was pleased to make use of the Greek word, of the sense of which there were so many disputes, and recites the most usual redditions of the word.

38. "Which some do expound, the wisdom, some the sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God."—

These several expositions reciting several things, and the church of England reciting all indefinitely, but definitely declaring for none of them, does only in the generality affirm, that the flesh and spirit are contrary principles, that the flesh resists the law of God, but the spirit obeys it,—that is, by the flesh alone we cannot obey God's law, naturally we cannot become the sons of God, and heirs of heaven, but it must be a new birth by a spiritual regeneration. The "wisdom of the flesh," that is, natural and secular principles, are not apt dispositions to make us obedient to the law of God: "sensuality," that signifies "an habitual lustfulness." "Desires signify "actual lustings." "Affections" signify the "natural inclination:" now which of these is here meant the church hath not declared, but by the other words of the article, it is most probable, she rather inclines to render *φρόνημα σαρκός*, by "desires and sensuality," rather than by "affection or wisdom," though of these also, in their own sense, it is true to affirm that they are not subject to the law of God: there being some foolish principles, which the flesh and the world are apt to entertain, which are hinderances to holiness: and the affection, that is, inclination to some certain objects, being that very thing which the laws of God have restrained more or less in several periods of the world, may, without inconvenience to the question, be admitted to expound *φρόνημα σαρκός*.

39. "And although there is no condemnation to them that believe and are baptized:"—

That is, this concupiscence, or inclination to forbidden instances, is not imputed to the baptized nor to the regenerate, that is, when the new principle of grace and of the Spirit is put into us, we are reduced to as great a condition, and as certain an order and capacity, of entering into heaven, as Adam was before his fall; for then we are drawn from that mere natural state where Adam left us: and therefore although these do die, yet it is but the condition of nature, not the punishment of the sin. For Adam's sin brought in death, and baptism and regeneration do not hinder that, but it takes awa the formality of it, it is not a punishment to suc but a condition of nature, as it is to infants; fo that even to them also there is no condemnation fo their original concupiscence, is undeniable and d monstratively certain upon this account. Becaus even the actual desires and little concupiscences c children are innocent, and therefore, much mor their natural tendencies and inclinations. For if principle be criminal, if a faculty be a sin, muc more are the acts of that faculty also a sin, but these be innocent, then much more is that.

40. "Yet the apostle does confess, that concupis cence or lust hath of itself the nature of sin."—

"Of itself:" That is, it is in the whole kind t be reproved, it is not a sin to all persons, not to un consenting persons: for if it be no sin to them tha resist, then, neither is it a sin to them that canno consent. But it hath the "nature of sin," that is it is the material part of sin, a principle and roo from whence evil may spring, according to St Austin's words: "Modo quodam loquendi vocatu peccatum quod peccato factum est, et peccati, s vicerit, facit reum."[a] Just as if a man have a natura thirst, it may tempt him and is apt to incline hin to drunkenness; if he be of a sanguine disposition it disposes him to lust; if choleric, to anger; an is so much a sin as the fuel is a part of the fire but because this can be there, where damnation shal not enter, this nature of sin is such as does no make a proper guiltiness; for it is a contradictio to say, the sin remains and the guilt is taken away for he that hath a sin, is guilty of punishment, tha is, he is liable to it, if God pleases: he may pardo if he pleases; but if he pardons he takes away the sin: for in the justified, no sin can be inherent o habitual; "Quomodo justificati, et sanctificati sumus si peccatum aliquod in nobis relinquitur?"[b] I concupiscence be an inherent sin in us before bap tism, it must either be taken away by baptism, o imputed to us after baptism: for if the malice re mains, the guilt cannot go away; for God will by no means justify the remaining sinner.

41. These things I have chose to say and publish, because I find that the usual doctrines about ori ginal sin are not only false, and presumed without any competent proof, but because, as they are commonly believed, they are no friends to piety, but pretences of idleness, and dishonourable to the reputation of God's goodness and justice, for which we ought to be very zealous, when a greater indifference would better become us in the matter of our opinion, or the doctrine of our sect; and there fore it is not to be blamed in me, that I move the thoughts of men in the proposition; for it is not a useless one, but hath its immediate effects upon the honour of God, and the next, upon the lives of men. And therefore this hath in it many degrees of neces sary doctrine, and the fruits of it must needs do more than make recompence for the trouble I put them to, in making new inquiries into that doctrine, con cerning which they were so long at ease.

But if men of a contrary judgment can secure the

[a] Lib. 1. de Nup. et Concup. c. 23.

[b] Hieron. ad Oceanum.

interests and advantages of piety, and can reconcile their usual doctrines of original sin with God's justice and goodness and truth, I shall be well pleased with it, and think better of their doctrine than now I can: but until that be done, they may please to consider that there is in Holy Scripture no sign of it, nor intimation, that at the day of judgment Christ shall say to any, Go, ye cursed sons of Adam, into everlasting fire, because your father sinned; and though I will pardon millions of sins which men did choose and delight in, yet I will severely exact this of you, which you never did choose, nor could delight in: this, I say, is not likely to be in the event of things, and in the wise and merciful dispensation of God, especially since Jesus Christ himself, so far as appears, never spake one word of it, there is not any tittle of it in all the four Gospels; it is a thing of which no warning was or could be given to any of Adam's children; it is not mentioned in the Old Testament (for that place of David in the fifty-first Psalm, Clemens Alexandrinus and others of the fathers snatch from any pretence to it); and that one time where it is spoken of in the New Testament, there is nothing said of it, but that it is imputed to us to this purpose only, that it brought in death temporal: and why such tragedies should be made of it, and other places of Scripture drawn by violence to give countenance to it, and all the systems of divinity of late made to lean upon this article, which yet was never thought to be fundamental, or belonging to the foundation, was never put into the creed of any church, but is made the great support of new and strange propositions, even of the fearful decree of absolute reprobation, and yet was never consented in, or agreed upon what it was, or how it can be conveyed, and was (in the late and modern sense of it) as unknown to the primitive church, as it was to the doctors of the Jews, that is, wholly unknown to them both; why, I say, men should be so fierce in their new sense of this article, and so impatient of contradiction, it is not easy to give a reasonable account.

For my own particular, I hope I have done my duty, having produced scriptures, and reasons, and the best authority, against it. "Qui potest capere, capiat."

For—"I had a good spirit: yea, rather being good, I came into a body undefiled." Wisd. viii. 19, 20.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF SINS OF INFIRMITY.

SECTION I.

1. ALL mankind hath for ever complained of their irremediable calamity, their "propensity to sin." For though by the dictates of nature all people were instructed in the general notices of virtue and vice, right reason being our rule; insomuch that the old philosophers, as Plutarch reports, said that virtue was nothing else but *τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσίς τις καὶ δύναμις γεγενημένη ὑπὸ λόγου*,[a] "a disposition and force of reason." And this reason having guided the wisest, was formed into laws for others; yet this reason served to little other purposes, but to upbraid our follies and infelicities, and to make our actions punishable, by representing them to be unreasonable; for they did certainly sin, and they could no more help it, than they could prevent their being sick, or hungry, or angry, or thirsty. Nature had made organs for some, and senses for others, and conversation and example brought in all. So that if you reproved a criminal, he heard and understood you, but could not help it: as Laius in the tragedy;

Ἀλλὰ γνῶναι οὐδὲν τῶν δέ μ', ὧν σὺ νουθετεῖς,
Γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται. EURIP.

[a] Περὶ ἠθικῆς ἀρετ.

"Reason taught him well, but nature constrained him to the contrary; his affections were stronger than his reason."

2. And it is no wonder that while flesh and blood are the prevailing ingredient, while men are in the state of conjunction, and the soul serves the body, and the necessities of this are more felt than the discourses of that,—that men should be angry and lustful, proud and revengeful, and that they should follow what they lust after, not what they are bidden to do. For passions and affections are our first governors, and they being clearly possessed of all mankind in their first years, have almost secured to themselves the soul of man, before reason is heard to speak: and when she does speak, she speaks at first so little and so low, that the common noises of fancy and company drown her voice. This, I say, is "the state of nature." And therefore Lactantius brings in a pagan complaining, "Volo equidem non peccare, sed vincor. Indutus enim sum carne fragili, et imbecillâ. Hæc est quæ concupiscit, quæ irascitur, quæ dolet, quæ mori timet. Itaque ducor incertus, et pecco non quia volo, sed quia cogor. Sentio me et ipse peccare; sed necessitas fragilitatis impellit, cui repugnare non possum:" "I would fain avoid sin, but I am compelled. I am invested with a frail and weak flesh: this is it which lusteth, which is angry, which grieves, which

fears to die. Therefore I am led uncertainly, and I sin, not because I will, but because I am constrained. I perceive that I do ill, but the necessity of my weakness drives me on, and I cannot resist it."[b]

Καὶ μανθάνω μέν, οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά,
Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. EURIP. Med.

I know well and perceive the evils that I go upon, and they are horrid ones, but my anger is greater than my reason." So Medea in the tragedy. This is the state of a natural man in his mere naturals, especially as they are made worse by evil customs, and vile usages of the world.

3. Now this is a state of infirmity; and all sins against which there is any reluctancy and contrary desires of actual reason, are sins of infirmity. But this infirmity excuses no man: for this state of infirmity is also a state of death; for by this St. Paul[c] expressed that state from which Christ came to redeem us: ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν, "when we were yet" in infirmity, or "without strength, in due time Christ died for us;" that is, when we were ἀσεβεῖς, impious, or, "sinners," such as the world was before it was redeemed, before Christ came. These are the sick and weak, whom Christ, the great Physician of our souls, came to save. This infirmity is the shadow of death; and it signifies that state of mankind which is the state of nature, not of original and birth, but in its whole constitution, as it signifies not only the natural imperfection, but the superinduced evil from any principle; all that which is opposed to grace.

4. To this state of nature being so pitiable, God began to find a remedy, and renewed the measures of virtue, and by a law made them more distinct and legible, and imposed punishments on the transgressors. For by little and little, the notices of natural reason were made obscure, some were lost, some not attended to, all neglected some way or other; till God by a law made express prohibition of what was unreasonable, forbidding us to desire what before was unfit and unnatural, and threatening them that did things unlawful. But this way, by reason of the peevishness of men, succeeded not well, but men became worse by it. For what the law did forbid without the threatening of any penalty, they took for an advice only, and no severe injunction; and those commandments which were established with a threatening to the transgressors, they expounded only by the letter, and in the particular instance, and in the outward act.

5. Before the law, men allowed to themselves many impieties, which reason indeed marked out to be such, but no law had forbidden them in express letter. They thought it lawful to seduce and tempt another man's wife, and invite her to his house and conjugation, so he did not steal, or force her away: but if they found a coldness between her and her husband, they would blow the coals, and enkindle an evil flame. It is supposed that Herod did so to Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, even after the law. They would not by violence snatch the estate from a young prodigal heir, but if he were apt, they would lend him money, and nurse his vice, and entangle his estate, and at last devour it. They would not directly deny to pay the price of a purchase; but they would detain it, or divert it, or pay it in trifling sums, or in undesired commodities. This was "concupiscere rem alienam." They did not steal, but coveted it, and so entered indirectly: and this God seeing, forbade it by a law: "For I had not known lust or desires to be a sin," saith St. Paul,[d] "but that the law said, Thou shalt not covet."

6. But because the law only forbade lustings, but imposed no penalty, they despised it; and those things which were forbidden with an appendant penalty, they would act them privately. For if they avoided the notice of the criminal judge, they feared not the face of an angry God: and this Lactantius observed of them. "Metus legum non scelere comprimebat, sed licentiam submovebat. Poterant enim leges delicta punire, conscientiam munire non poterant. Itaque quæ antè palàm fiebant, clam fieri cœperunt: circumscribi etiam jura:" "For all the threatenings of the law they were wicked still, though not scandalous; vile in private, and wary in public; they did circumscribe their laws," and thought themselves bound only to the letter, and obliged by nothing but the penalty, which if they escaped, they reckoned themselves innocent. Thus far the law instructed them, and made them afraid. But for the first, they grew the more greedy to do what now they were forbidden to desire. The prohibition of the law being like a dam to the waters, the desire swells the higher for being checked; and the wisdom of Romulus in not casting up a bank against parricide, had this effect, that until the end of the second Punic war, which was almost six hundred years, there was no example of one that killed his father. Lucius Ostius was the first. And it is certain that the Easterlings neither were, nor had they reason to be, fond of circumcision; it was part of that load which was complained of by the apostles in behalf of the Jewish nation, which neither they nor their fathers could bear; and yet as soon as Christ took off the yoke, and that it was forbidden to his disciples, the Jews were as fond of it as of their pleasures; and fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in immediate succession, were all circumcised, and no arguments, no authority, could hinder them. And for their fear, it only produced caution, and sneaking from the face of men, and both together set them on work to corrupt the spirit of the law by expositions too much according to the letter: so that by this means, their natural desires, their lustings and concupiscence, were not cured.

7. For as Lactantius brought in the heathen complaining, so does St. Paul bring in the Jew: "That which I do I allow not; for what I would, that I do not, but what I hate, that I do."[e] I say, this is the state of a man under the law; a man who is not regenerate and made free by the Spirit of Christ; that is, a man who abides in the infirmities of nature: of which the law of nature warned him first, and the superinduced law of God warned

[b] Lib. iv. Inst. c. 24. [c] Rom. v. 6. [d] Rom. vii. 7. [e] Rom. vii. 15, 19.

him more; but there was not in these covenants or laws sufficient either to endear or to secure obedience; they did not minister strength enough to conquer sin, to overthrow its power, to destroy the kingdom and reign of sin: this was reserved for the great day of triumph; it was the glory of the gospel, the power of Christ, the strength of the Spirit, which alone was able to do it; and by this with its appendages, that is, the pardon of sin and a victory over it, a conquest by the prevailing and rule of the Spirit, by this alone the gospel is the most excellent above all the covenants, and states, and institutions of the world.

8. But then the christian must not complain thus; if he be advanced into the secrets of the kingdom, if he be a christian in any thing beyond the name; he cannot say that sin gives him laws, that it reigns in his mortal body, that he is led captive by Satan at his will, that he sins against his will frequently, and habitually, and cannot help it. But so it is, men do thus complain; and, which is worse, they make this to be their excuse and their encouragement. If they have sinned foully, they say, It is true; but "it is not I, but sin that dwelleth in me. For that which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; and what I hate, that do I."[g] And if they be tempted to a sin, they cannot be dissuaded from it, or encouraged to a noble and pertinacious resistance, because they have this in excuse ready; "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do."[h] That is, "It is my infirmity, give me leave to do it, I am the child of God for all my sin; for I do it with an unwilling willingness. I shall do this always, and shall never be quit of this tyranny of sin: it was thus with St. Paul himself, and I ought not to hope to be otherwise than he, and a person more free from sin."—We find in the life of Andronicus, written by Nicetas Choniates, the same pretence made in excuse for sin; "they could not help it:" and we find it so in our daily experience, and the thing itself warranted by many interpreters of Scripture, who suppose that St. Paul, in the seventh chapter to the Romans, from the fourteenth verse to the end, describes his own state of infirmity and disability, or, which is all one, the state of a regenerate man, that it is no other but an ineffective striving and struggling against sin, a contention, in which he is most commonly worsted; and that this striving is all that he can show of holiness to be a testimony of his regeneration.

SECTION II.

9. How necessary it is to free the words of St. Paul from so dangerous a sense, we may easily believe, if we consider, that to suppose a man who is regenerate by the Spirit of Christ, to be still a slave under sin, and within its power, and that he fain would but cannot help it, is very injurious to the power of Christ and the mightiness of the Spirit of grace; when all its effect is only said to be, that it strives, but can do nothing; that is, sin abounds more than grace, and the man that is redeemed by Christ, is still unredeemed, and a captive under sin and Satan; this is not only an encouragement of evil life, but a reproach and scorn cast upon the Holy Spirit; it is "verbum dictum contra Spiritum Sanctum," "a word spoken against the Holy Ghost:"—and as St. Austin calls it, it is "tuba hostis, non nostra, unde ille incitetur, non unde vincatur;" "the devil's trumpet, to encourage him in his war against poor mankind; but by this means he shall never be overcome."[i] And therefore he gives us caution of it; for speaking of these words, "the good which I would, that do I not; but the evil that I would not, that I do,"—he advises thus, "Lectio divina, quæ de apostoli Pauli epistolâ recitata est, quotiescunque legitur, timendum est, ne malè intellecta det hominibus quærentibus occasionem:" "Whenever these words of St. Paul are read, we must fear lest the misunderstanding of them should minister an occasion of sin to them that seek it. For men are prone to sin, and scarce restrain themselves. When therefore they hear the apostle saying, I do not the good which I would, but I do the evil which I hate, they do evil, and as it were displeasing themselves because they do it, think themselves like the apostle."—In pursuance of this caution, I shall examine the expositions which are pretended.

10. I. These words, "I do not the good which I would, but I do the evil which I hate,"[k] are not the words or character of a regenerate person in respect of actual good or bad. A regenerate man cannot say, that he does frequently or habitually commit the sin that he hates, and is against his conscience. 1. Because "no man can serve two masters;" if he be a servant of sin, he is not a servant of the Spirit. "No man can serve Christ and Belial." If therefore he be brought into captivity to the law of sin, he is the servant of sin; and such was he whom St. Paul describes in this chapter.[l] Therefore this person is not a servant of Christ; he that is a servant of righteousness, is freed from sin; and he who "is a servant of sin, is not a servant of, but freed from, righteousness."[m] A regenerate person, therefore, is a servant of the Spirit, and so cannot at the same time be a servant or a slave and a captive under sin.

11. II. When the complaint is made, "I do the evil which I hate,"—the meaning is, "I do it seldom, or I do it commonly and frequently:" if it means, "I do it seldom," then a man cannot use these words so well as the contrary; he can say, "The good which I would, I do regularly and ordinarily,—and the evil which I hate, I do avoid; sometimes indeed I am surprised, and when I do neglect to use the aids and strengths of the Spirit of grace, I fall; but this is because I will not, and not because I cannot help it; and in this case the man is not a servant or captive of sin, but a

[g] Rom. vii. 15. [h] Ver. 18.
[i] Serm. 43. et 45. de Tempore.
[k] Rom. vii. 15. [l] Ver. 23.
[m] Rom. vi. 20.

servant of Christ, though weak and imperfect."—But if it means, "I do it commonly, or constantly, or frequently," which is certainly the complaint here made, then to be a regenerate person is to be a vile person, sold under sin, and not God's servant. For if any man shall suppose these words to mean only thus; "I do not do so much good as I would, and do sometimes fall into evil, though I would fain be entirely innocent," indeed this man teaches no false doctrine as to the state or duty of the regenerate, which in this life will for ever be imperfect; but he speaks not according to the sense and design of the apostle here. For his purpose is to describe that state of evil in which we are by nature, and from which we could not be recovered by the law, and from which we can only be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ; and this is a state of death, of being killed by sin, of being captivated and sold under sin, after the manner of slaves; as will further appear in the sequel.

12. III. Every regenerate man, and servant of Christ, "hath the Spirit of Christ."[n] But "where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty;"[o] therefore no slavery; therefore sin reigns not there. Both the propositions are the words of the apostle; the conclusion therefore infers, that the man whom St. Paul describes in this chapter, is not the regenerate man, for he hath not liberty, but is "in captivity to the law of sin,"[p]—from which every one that is Christ's, every one that hath the Spirit of Christ, is freed.

13. IV. And this is that which St. Paul calls "being under the law," that is, a being carnal, and in the state of the flesh; not but that the "law itself is spiritual;" but that we, being carnal of ourselves, are not cured by the law, but by reason of "the infirmity of the flesh" made much worse; curbed, but not sweetly won; admonished, but assisted by no spirit but the "spirit of bondage and fear."[q] This state is opposed to the spiritual state. The giving of the law is called the "ministry of death;"[r] the gospel is called the "ministry of the Spirit," and that is "the ministration of life;" and therefore if "we be led by the Spirit, we are not under the law:"[s] but if we be under the law, we are dead, and sin is revived; and "sin by the law brings forth fruit unto death."[t] From hence the argument of the apostle is clear. The man whom he here describes, is such a one who is under the law; but such a man is dead by reason of sin, and therefore hath not in him the Spirit of God, for that is the ministration of life. A regenerate person is alive unto God; he lives the life of righteousness: but he that is under the law is killed by sin; and such is the man that is here described, as appears verse 9, and I shall in the sequel further prove; therefore this man is not the regenerate.

14. V. To which, for the likeness of the argument, I add this; that the man who can say, "I do that which I hate," is a man in whom sin is not mortified, and therefore he lives after the flesh: but then he is not regenerate; for if "ye live after the flesh, ye shall die, (saith St. Paul,) but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."[u]

These arguments are taken from consideration of the rule and dominion of sin in the man whom St. Paul describes, who therefore cannot be a regenerate person. To the same effect and conclusion are other expressions in the same chapter.

15. VI. The man whom St. Paul here describes, who complains, "that he does not the good which he would, but the evil that he would not,"—is such a one in whom "sin does inhabit: It is no more I but sin that dwelleth in me."[x] But in the regenerate sin does not inhabit: "My Father and I will come unto him, and make our abode with him."[y] So Christ promised to his servants, to them who should be regenerate; and "the Spirit of God dwelleth in them;" "the Spirit of him that raised Jesus from the dead;"[z] and therefore the regenerate are called the "habitation of God through the Spirit."[a] Now if God the Father, if Christ, if the Spirit of Christ dwells in a man, there sin does not dwell. The strong man that is armed, keeps possession; but if a stronger than he comes, he dispossesses him. If the Spirit of God does not drive the devil forth, himself will leave the place. They cannot both dwell together. Sin may be in the regenerate and grieve God's Spirit, but it shall not abide or dwell there, for that extinguishes him. One or the other must depart. And this also is noted by St. Paul in this very place; "sin dwelleth in me," and, "no good thing dwelleth in me."[b] I one does, the other does not; but yet as in the unregenerate there might be some good, such as are good desires, knowledge of good and evil, single actions of virtue, beginnings and dispositions to grace, acknowledging of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, some lightnings and flashes of the Holy Ghost, a knowing of the way of righteousness; but sanctifying, saving good does not dwell, that is does not abide, with them, and rule; so in the regenerate there is sin, but because it does not dwell there, they are under the empire of the Spirit, and in Christ's kingdom; or, as St. Paul expresses it "Christ liveth in them:"[c] and that cannot be, unless "sin be crucified and dead in them." The sum of which is thus in St. Paul's words: "Reckon yourselves indeed to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. For sin shall not have dominion over you, because we are not under the law but under grace."[d]

16. VII. Lastly: the man whom St. Paul describes is "carnal,"[e] but the "regenerate" is never called "carnal" in the Scripture, but is "spiritual,"

[n] Rom. viii. 9. [o] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [p] Rom. vii. 23.
[q] Rom. viii. 15. [r] 2 Cor. iii. 6–8. [s] Gal. v. 18.
[t] Rom. vii. 5. [u] Rom. viii. 13. [x] Rom. vii. 20.
[y] John xiv. 23. [z] Rom. viii. 11.
[a] 1 Cor. iii. 16. Eph. iii. 17. ii. 22. 2 Tim. i. 14.
[b] Rom. vii. 17, 18. [c] Gal. ii. 20.
[d] Rom. vi. 11, 12, 14. [e] Rom. vii. 14.

opposed to "carnal." A man not only in pure naturals, but even placed under the law, is called "carnal;" that is, until he be redeemed by the Spirit of Christ, he cannot be called "spiritual," but is yet in the flesh. Now that the regenerate cannot be the carnal man, is plain in the words of St. Paul: "The carnal mind is enmity against God;" and, "they that are in the flesh cannot please God."[f] To which he adds, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you."[g] But the Spirit of God does dwell in all the servants of God, in all the regenerate. "For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Now as these are in Scripture distinguished in their appellatives and in their character, so also in their operations. "They that are carnal, κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, according to the flesh, do mind, or relish, the things of the flesh: they that are after the Spirit, do mind the things of the Spirit."[h] —And, "they that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."[i] Now they that have crucified the flesh, cannot in any sense of Scripture or religion, be called "carnal." That there is something of carnality in the regenerate, is too true, because our regeneration and spirituality in this life are imperfect. But when carnal and spiritual are opposed in Scripture; and the question is, whether of these two is to be attributed to the servants and sons of God, to the regenerate? it is certain, by the analogy of the thing, and the perpetual manner of speaking in Scripture, that by this word "carnal," the Spirit of God never means "the sons of God," or the "spiritual;" that is, the "regenerate:"—"The sons of God are led by the Spirit of God;"[k] therefore not by the flesh, which they have crucified. Whatsoever is essential to regeneration, to new birth, to the being the sons of God, all that is in the regenerate; for they cannot be that thing, of which they want an essential part; as a thing cannot be a body unless it be divisible, nor a living creature if it have not life. Therefore regeneration is perfect in respect of its essentials or necessary parts of constitution. But in the degrees there is imperfection, and therefore the abatement is made by the intermixture of carnality. For it is in our new and spiritual birth, as in our natural. The child is a man in all essential parts, but he is as a beast in some of his operations; he hath all the faculties of a man, but not the strengths of a man, but grows to it by the progression and increase of every day. So is the spiritual man regenerate in his mind, his will, his affections; and therefore when carnal and spiritual are opposed in their whole nature and definitions, the spiritual man is not the carnal, though he still retain some of the weaknesses of the flesh, against which he contends every day. To this purpose are those words of St. Leo: "Quamvis spe salvi facti sumus, et corruptionem adhuc carnemque mortalem gestamus; rectè tamen dicimur in carne non esse, si carnales nobis non dominentur affectus; et meritò ejus deponimus nuncupationem, cujus non sequimur voluntatem:" "We are not to be called carnal, though we bear about us flesh and its infirmities; yet if carnal affections do not rule over us, well are we to quit the name, when we do not obey the thing."[l] Now if any man shall contend that a man may be called carnal, if the flesh strives against the Spirit, "though sin does not rule;" I shall not draw the saw of contention with him, but only say that it is not usually so in Scripture; and in this place of which we now dispute the sense and use, it is not so: for by "carnal" St. Paul means such a person, upon whom "sin reigns."—"I am carnal, sold under sin,"[m] therefore this person is not the spiritual, not the regenerate or the son of God. St. Paul[n] uses the word "carnal" in a comparative locution, for babes and infants, or unskilful persons in the religion; but then this carnality he proves to be in them, wholly by their inordinate walking, by their strifes and contentions, by their being schismatics; and therefore he reproves them, which he had reason to do, if himself also had been carnal in that sense which he reproves.

17. The conclusion from all these premises is, I suppose, sufficiently demonstrated; that St. Paul does not, in the seventh chapter to the Romans, describe the state of himself really, or of a regenerate person, neither is this state "of doing sin frequently, though against our will," a state of unavoidable infirmity, but a state of death and unregeneration.

SECTION III.

18. St. Austin did for ever reject that interpretation, and indeed so did the whole primitive church; but yet, he having once expounded this chapter of the unregenerate,[o] or a man under the law, not redeemed by the Spirit of Christ from his vain conversation, he retracted this exposition, and construed those words in question thus: "Non ergo quod vult agit apostolus, quia vult non concupiscere; et tamen concupiscit, ideo non quod vult agit:" "The apostle does not do what he would, because he would fain not desire; but yet because he desires, he does what he would not. Did that desire lead him captive to fornication? God forbid: he did strive, but was not mastered; but because he would not have had that concupiscence left, against which he should contend, therefore he said, What I would not, that I do; meaning, I would not lust, but I do lust."[p]—The same also I find in Epiphanius;[q] "Nam quod dictum est, 'Quod operor non cognosco, et facio quod odio habeo,' non de eo quod operati sumus ac perfecimus malum, accipiendum est, sed de eo quod solum cogitavimus." Now this interpretation hath in it no impiety as the other hath; for these doctors allow nothing to be unavoidable, or a sin of infirmity, and consistent with the state of grace and regeneration, but the mere ineffective, unprocured desirings or lustings after evil things, to which no consent is given, and in which no delight is taken; "Extraneæ cogitationes quas cogitavimus aliquando, et non volentes et non scientes ex quâ causâ," as Epiphanius ex-

[f] Rom. viii. 7, 8. [g] Ver. 9. [h] Ver. 5.
[i] Gal. v. 24. [k] Rom. viii. 14. [l] De Resur. Dom.
[m] Rom. vii. 14. [n] 1 Cor. iii. 1—3. [o] Rom. vii. 15, 19.
[p] Serm. 43. et 15. de Temp. [q] Hæres. 64. contra Origen.

presses this article.[r] But St. Austin may be thought to have had some design in choosing this sense, as supposing it would serve for an argument against the Pelagians, and their sense of free-will. For by representing the inevitability of sin, he destroyed their doctrine of the sufficiency of our natural powers in order to heaven; and therefore, by granting that St. Paul complains thus of his own infirmity, he believed himself to have concluded firmly for the absolute necessity of God's grace to help us. But by limiting this inevitability of sinning to the matter of desires or concupiscence, he gave no allowance or pretence to any man to speak any evil words, or to delight or consent to any evil thoughts, or to commit any sinful actions, upon the pretence of their being sins of an unavoidable infirmity. So that though he was desirous to serve the ends of his present question, yet he was careful that he did not disserve the interests of religion and a holy life. But besides that the Holy Scriptures abound in nothing more than in affirming our needs, and the excellency of the Divine grace, and St. Austin needed not to have been put to his shifts in this question, it is considerable that his first exposition had done his business better. For if these words of St. Paul be, as indeed they are, to be expounded of an unregenerate man, one under the law, but not under grace; nothing could more have magnified God's grace, than that an unregenerate person could not, by all the force of nature, nor the aids of the law, nor the spirit of fear, nor temporal hopes, be redeemed from the slavery and tyranny of sin; and that from this state there is no redemption but by the Spirit of God, and the grace of the Lord Jesus; which is expressly affirmed and proved by St. Paul, if you admit this sense of the words. And therefore Irenæus,[s] who did so, cites these words to the same effect, viz. for the magnifying the grace of God. "Ipse Dominus erat qui salvabat eos, quia per semetipsos non habebant salvari. Et propter hoc Paulus infirmitatem hominis annuncians, ait, 'Scio enim quoniam non habitat in carne meâ bonum:' significans quoniam non à nobis sed à Deo est bonum salutis."—Et iterum: "'Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus?' Deinde infert liberatorem: 'gratia Jesu Christi Domini nostri:'" "St. Paul's complaint shows our own infirmity, and that of ourselves we cannot be saved; but that our salvation is of God, and the grace of our Redeemer Jesus Christ."—But whatever St. Austin's design might be in making the worse choice, it matters not much: only to the interpretation itself I have these considerations to oppose.

19. I. Because the phrase is insolent, and the exposition violent to render *πράσσειν* by "concupiscere;"[t] *to do* is more than *to desire:* "factum, dictum, concupitum," are the several kinds and degrees of sinning assigned by St. Austin himself, and therefore they cannot be confounded, and one made to expound the other. *Ποιεῖν* is also used here by the apostle, which in Scripture signifies sometimes to sin habitually, never less than actually; and the other word is *κατεργάζεσθαι*, which signifies "perficere, patrare," "to finish the act at least, or to do a sin thoroughly," and can in no sense be reasonably expounded by natural, ineffective, and unavoidable desires. And it is observable that when St. Austin, in prosecution of this device, is to expound those words, "To will is present with me," *τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ καλὸν*, "but to perform what is good I find not,"[u] he makes the word to signify, to do it perfectly; which is as much beyond, as the other sense of the same word is short, "What I do," *ὃ κατεργάζομαι*, "I approve not:"—therefore the man does not do his sin perfectly; he does the thing imperfectly, for he does it against his conscience, and with an imperfect choice; but he does the thing however. So *κατεργάζεσθαι καλὸν*, must signify "to do the good imperfectly," the action itself only; for such was this man's impotency, that he could not obtain power to do even imperfectly the good he desired. The evil he did, though against his mind; but the good he could not, because it was against the law of sin which reigned in him. But then the same word must not, to serve ends, be brought to signify a perfect work, and yet not to signify so much as a perfect desire.

20. II. The sin which St. Paul, under another person, complains of, is such a sin as did "first deceive him, and then slew him;"[x] but concupiscence does not kill till it proceeds further,—as St. James expressly affirms, "that concupiscence, when it hath conceived, brings forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, brings forth death:"[y] which is the just parallel to what St. Paul says in this very chapter: "The passions[z] of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death:[a] "peccatum perpetratum," when the desires are acted, then sin is deadly; the *παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, "the passions or first motions of sin" which come upon us, "nobis non volentibus nec scientibus," "whether we will or no,"—these are not imputed to us unto death, but are the matter of virtue when they are resisted and contradicted; but when they are consented to and delighted in, then it is *ἁμαρτία συλλαβοῦσα*, "sin in conception" with death, and will proceed to action, unless it be hindered from without; and therefore it is then the same sin by interpretation: "adulterium cordis;" so our blessed Saviour called it in that instance, "the adultery of the heart:" but till it be an actual sin some way or other, it does not bring forth death.

21. III. It is an improper and ungrammatical manner of speaking, to say, "Nolo concupiscere," or "Volo non concupiscere," "I will lust, or I will not lust," i. e. I will, or I will not, desire or will. For, this lust or first motions of desire are before an act of will; the first act of which is, when these *παθήματα*, these motions and "passions" are consented to or rejected. These motions are natural and involuntary, and are no way in our power, but when they are occasioned by an act of the will collaterally and indirectly, or by applying the proper incentives to the faculty. "Vellem non concupis-

[r] Hæres. 61. contra Origen. [s] Lib. 3. c. 22.
[t] Rom. vii. 15. *Πράσσειν, ποιεῖν, κατεργάζεσθαι.*
[u] Rom. vii. 18. [x] Ver. 11. [y] James i. 15.
[z] *Παθήματα.* [a] Rom. vii. 5.

cere;" every good man must say, "I would fain be free from concupiscence;" but because he cannot, it is not subject to his will, and he cannot say, "Volo," "I will be free:" and therefore St. Paul's "Volo" and "Nolo" are not intended of "concupiscence" or desires.

22. IV. The good which St. Austin says the apostle fain would, but could not, perfect, or do it perfectly, is, "non concupiscere," "not to have concupiscence."—"Volo, non perficio;" but "concupiscere" is but "velle:" it is not so much, and therefore cannot be more. So that when he says, "To will is present with me,"[b] he must mean, "To desire well is present with me, but to do this I find not;" that is, if St. Austin's interpretation be true, "Though I do desire well yet I do lust, and do not desire well, for still 'concupisco;' 'I lust,' and I lust not,—I have concupiscence, and I have it not;"—which is a contradiction.

23. Many more things might be observed from the words of the apostle to overthrow this exposition; but the truth when it is proved, will sufficiently reprove what is not true: and therefore I shall apply myself to consider the proper intention and design of the apostle in those so-much-mistaken periods.

SECTION IV.

24. CONCERNING which, these things are to be cleared, upon which the whole issue will depend. 1. That St. Paul speaks not in his own person as an apostle, or a christian, a man who is regenerate; but in the person of a Jew, one under the law, one that is not regenerate. 2. That this state which he describes, is the state of a carnal man, under the corruption of his nature, upon whom the law had done some change, but had not cured him. 3. That from this state of evil we are redeemed by the Spirit of Christ, by the grace of the gospel; and now, a child of God cannot complain this complaint.

25. I. That he puts on the person of another, by a *μετασχηματισμὸς*, or "translation," (as was usual with St. Paul in[c] very many places of his epistles,) is evident by his affirming that of the man whom he here describes, which of himself were not true. "I was alive without the law once."[d]—Of St. Paul's own person this was not true; for he was bred and born under the law, "circumcised the eighth day, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the law a Pharisee:" he never was alive without the law. But the Israelites were, whom he therefore represents indefinitely under a single person; the whole nation, before and under the law: "I was alive once without the law; but when the commandment came," that is, when the law was given, "sin revived, and I died;" that is, by occasion of the law, sin grew stronger and prevailed. 2. But concerning the christian and his present condition, he expressly makes it separate from that of being under the law, and consequently under sin. "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter."—*We are delivered:* it is plain that some sort of men are freed from that sad condition of things of which he there complains; and if any be, it must be the regenerate. And so it is. For the scope of the apostle in this chapter is to represent and prove, that salvation is not to be had by the law, but by Jesus Christ; and that by that discipline men cannot be contained in their duty, and therefore that it was necessary to forsake the law, and to come to Christ. To this purpose he brings in a person complaining, that under the discipline of the law, he was still under the power of sin. Now if this had been also true of a regenerate person, of a christian renewed by the Spirit of grace, then it had been no advantage to have gone from the law to Christ, as to this argument; for still the christian would be under the same slavery, which to be the condition of one under the law, St. Paul was to urge as an argument to call them from Moses to Christ.

26. II. That this state which he now describes, is the state of a carnal man, under the corruption of his nature, appears, by his saying, "that sin had wrought in him all manner of concupiscence;"[e] that "sin revived, and he died;"[f] that "the motions of sin which were by the law, did work in the members to bring forth fruit unto death;"[g] and that this was "when we were in the flesh;" that he is "carnal, sold under sin;"[h] that he is "carried into captivity to the law of sin;" that "sin dwells in him,"[i] and is like another person, doing or constraining him to do things against his mind; that it is a state, and a government, a law, and a tyranny; "for that which I do, I allow not:"[k] plainly saying, that this doing what we would not, that is, doing against our conscience upon the strength of passion, and in obedience to the law of sin, was the state of them who indeed were under the law, but the effect of carnality, and the viciousness of their natural and ungracious condition. Here then is the description of a natural and carnal man: He sins frequently,—he sins against his conscience,—he is carnal and sold under sin,—sin dwells in him,—and gives him laws,—he is a slave to sin,—and led into captivity. —Now if this could be the complaint of a regenerate man, from what did Christ come to redeem us? How did he "take away our sins?" Did he only take off the punishment, and still leave us to wallow in the impurities and baser pleasures, perpetually to rail upon our sins, and yet perpetually to do them? How did he come to "bless us in turning every one of us from our iniquity?"[l] How and in what sense could it be true, which the apostle affirms; "He did bear our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead unto sin, should live unto righteousness?"[m] But this proposition I suppose myself to have sufficiently proved in the reproof of the first exposition of these words in question: only I shall

[b] Rom. vii. 18.
[c] 1 Cor. x. 29, 30. iv. 6. vi. 12. xiii. 2. Gal. ii. 18.
[d] Rom. vii. 9. [e] Ver. 8. [f] Ver. 9.
[g] Ver. 5. [h] Ver. 14. [i] Ver. 20.
[k] Ver. 15. [l] Acts iii. 26. [m] 1 Pet. ii. 24.

in present add the concurrent testimony of some doctors of the primitive church.

Tertullian hath these words: "Nam etsi habitare bonum in carne suâ negavit, sed secundum legem literæ in quâ fuit, secundum autem legem Spiritus cui nos annectit, liberat ab infirmitate carnis. Lex enim (inquit) Spiritus vitæ manumisit te à lege delinquentiæ et mortis. Licet enim ex parte, ex Judaismo disputare videatur, sed in nos dirigit integritatem et plenitudinem disciplinarum, propter quos laborantes in lege per carnem miserit Deus filium suum in similitudinem carnis delinquentix, et propter delinquentiam damnaverit delinquentiam in carne:" "Plainly he expounds this chapter to be meant of a man under the law,—according to the law of the letter, under which himself had been, he denied any good to dwell in his flesh; but according to the law of the Spirit, under which we are placed, he frees us from the infirmity of the flesh: for he saith, The law of the Spirit of life hath freed us from the law of sin and death."[n]

Origen affirms, "that when St. Paul says, I am carnal, sold under sin, 'tanquam doctor ecclesiæ personam in semetipsum suscipit infirmorum;' 'he takes upon him the person of the infirm,' that is, of the carnal, and says those words, which themselves, by way of excuse or apology, use to speak. But yet (says he) this person which St. Paul puts on, although Christ does not dwell in him, neither is his body the temple of the Holy Ghost, yet he is not wholly a stranger from good,—but by his will, and by his purpose, he begins to look after good things. But he cannot yet obtain to do them. For there is such an infirmity in those who begin to be converted, (that is, whose mind is convinced, but their affections are not mastered,) that when they would presently do all good, yet an effect did not follow their desires."[o]

St. Chrysostom hath a large commentary upon this chapter, and his sense is perfectly the same: "Propterea et subnexuit dicens, 'Ego verò carnalis sum,' hominem describens sub lege, et ante legem degentem:" "St. Paul describes not himself, but a man living under and before the law, and of such a one he says, 'But I am carnal.'" Who please to see more authorities to the same purpose, may find them in St. Basil,[p] Theodoret,[q] St. Cyril,[r] Macarius,[s] St. Ambrose,[t] St. Jerome,[u] and Theophylact;[x] the words of the apostle, the very purpose and design, the whole economy and analogy, of the sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters, do so plainly manifest it, that the heaping up more testimonies cannot be useful in so clear a case. The results are these:

I. The state of men, under the law, was but a state of carnality and of nature better instructed, and soundly threatened, and set forward in some instances by the spirit of fear only, but not cured, but in many men made much worse accidentally.

II. That to be pleased in the inner man, that is, in the conscience to be convinced, and to consent to the excellency of virtue,—and yet by the flesh, that is, by the passions of the lower man, or the members of the body, to serve sin, is the state of unregeneration.

III. To do the evil that I would not, and to omit the good that I fain would do, when it is in my hand to do what is in my heart to think, is the property of a carnal, unregenerate man. And this is the state of men in nature, and was the state of men under the law. For to be under the law, and not to be led by the Spirit, are all one in St. Paul's account; "For if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law," saith he:[y] and therefore to be under the law, being a state of not being under the Spirit, must be under the government of the flesh; that is, they were not then sanctified by the Spirit of grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, they were not yet "redeemed from their vain conversation." Not that this was the state of all the sons of Israel, of them that lived before the law, or after; but that the law could do no more for them, or upon them; God's Spirit did in many of them work his own works, but this was by the grace of Jesus Christ, who was "the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world:" this was not by the works of the law, but by the same instruments and grace, by which Abraham, and all they who are his children by promise, were justified. But this is the consequent of the third proposition which I was to consider.

27. III. From this state of evil we are redeemed by Christ, and by the Spirit of his grace. "Wretched man that I am, 'quis liberabit?' 'who shall deliver' me from the body of this death?" He answers, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ;" so St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, St. Jerome, the Greek Scholiast, and the ordinary Greek copies, do commonly read the words; in which words there is an ἔλλειψις, and they are thus to be supplied, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ we are delivered," or "there is a remedy found out for us."—But Irenæus, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and St. Jerome himself, at another time, and the Vulgar Latin Bibles, instead of εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ, read χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, "gratia Domini Jesu Christi," "the grace of God through Jesus Christ." That is our remedy, he is our deliverer, from him comes our redemption. For he not only gave us a better law, but also the Spirit of grace, he hath pardoned all our old sins, and by his Spirit enables us for the future, that we may obey him in all sincerity, in heartiness of endeavour, and real events. From hence I draw this argument:—That state from which we are redeemed by Jesus Christ, and freed by the Spirit of his grace, is a state of carnality, of unregeneration, that is, of sin and death: but by Jesus Christ we are redeemed from that state in which we were in subjection to sin, commanded by the law of sin, and obeyed it against our reason, and against our conscience; therefore this state, which is

[n] Lib. de Pudicit. c. 17.
[o] In cap. 7. ad Rom.
[p] Lib. 1. de Baptism. et in moral. sum. 23. c. 2. et quæst. 16. quæst. expl. compend.
[q] In hunc locum, et in cap. 8. ad Rom.
[r] Contra Julian. lib. 3. et de rectâ fide ad Regin. lib. 1. et in epist. prior. ad Successum.
[s] Homil. 1.
[t] In hunc locum.
[u] In cap. 9. Dan.
[x] In hunc locum.
[y] Gal. v. 18.

indeed the state St. Paul here describes, is the state of carnality and unregeneration, and therefore not competent to the servants of Christ, to the elect people of God, to them who are redeemed and sanctified by the Spirit of Christ. The parts of this argument are the words of St. Paul, and proved in the foregoing periods. From hence I shall descend to something that is more immediately practical, and clothed with circumstances.

SECTION V.

How far an unregenerate Man may go in the Ways of Piety and Religion.

28. To this inquiry it is necessary that this be premised:—That between the regenerate and a wicked person there is a middle state: so that it is not presently true, that if the man be not wicked, he is presently regenerate. Between the two states of so vast a distance, it is impossible but there should be many intermedial degrees; between the carnal and spiritual man there is a moral man; not that this man shall have a different event of things if he does abide there, but that he must pass from extreme to extreme by this middle state of participation. The first is a slave of sin; the second is a servant of righteousness; the third is such a one as liveth according to natural reason, so much of it as is left him, and is not abused; that is, lives a probable life, but is not renewed by the Spirit of grace: one that does something, but not all; not enough for the obtaining salvation. For a man may have gone many steps from his former baseness and degenerous practices, and yet not arrive at godliness, or the state of pardon; like the children of Israel, who were not presently in Canaan, as soon as they were out of Egypt, but abode long in the wilderness: ἄρχονται παιδεύεσθαι, "they begin to be instructed," that is their state. "Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven," said our blessed Saviour to a well-disposed person; but he was not arrived thither; he was not a subject of the kingdom. These are such whom our blessed Lord calls, "the weary and the heavy laden," that is, such, who groan under the heavy pressure of their sins, whom therefore he invites to come to him to be eased. Such are those whom St. Paul here describes to be "under the law;" convinced of sin, pressed, vexed, troubled with it, complaining of it, desirous to be eased. These the Holy Scripture calls τεταγμένους εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ordained, "disposed to life eternal,"[a] but these were not yet the "fideles" or "believers," but, from that fair disposition, became believers upon the preaching of the apostles.

29. In this third state of men, I account those that sin and repent, and yet repent and sin again; for ever troubled when they have sinned, and yet for ever or most frequently sinning when the temptation does return: ἁμαρτάνουσι καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐγκαλοῦσι, "They sin, and accuse, and hate themselves for sinning." Now because these men mean well, and fain would be quit of their sin at their own rate, and are not scandalous and impious, they flatter themselves, and think all is well with them,—that they are regenerate, and in the state of the Divine favour,—and if they die so, their accounts are balanced, and they doubt not but they shall reign as kings for ever. To reprove this state of folly and danger, we are to observe, that there are a great many steps of this progression, which are to be passed through, and the end is not yet; the man is not yet arrived at the state of regeneration.

30. I. An unregenerate man may be convinced and clearly instructed in his duty, and approve the law, and confess the obligation, and consent that it ought to be done: which St. Paul calls "a consenting to the law that it is good," and a being "delighted in it according to the inward man:" even the gentiles which have not the law, yet "show the work of the law written in their hearts; their thoughts in the mean time accusing or excusing one another."[b] The Jews did more; "they did rest in the law, and glory in God, knowing his will, and approving the things that are more excellent."[c] And there are too many who, being called christians, "know their Master's will, and do it not:" and this consenting to the law and approving it, is so far from being a sign of regeneration, that the vilest and the basest of men are those who sin most against their knowledge and against their consciences. In this world a man may have faith great enough to remove mountains, and yet be without charity; and in the world to come, some shall be rejected from the presence of God, though they shall allege for themselves, that they have prophesied in the name of Christ. This delight in the law which is in the unregenerate, is only in the understanding. The man considers what an excellent thing it is to be virtuous, the just proportions of duty, the fitness of being subordinate to God, the rectitude of the soul, the acquiescence and appendant peace; and this delight is just like that which is in finding out proportions in arithmetic and geometry, or the zest in discovering the secrets of a mysterious proposition: a man hath great pleasure in satisfactory notices, and the end of his disquisition. So also it is in moral things: a good man is beloved by every one; and there is a secret excellency and measure, a music and proportion, between a man's mind and wise counsels, which impious and profane persons cannot perceive, because they are so full of false measures, and weak discourses, and vile appetites, and a rude inconsideration of the reasonableness and wisdom of sobriety and severe courses. But

——— virtus laudatur et alget,

this is all that some men do, and there is in them nothing but a preparation of the understanding to the things of God, a faith seated in the rational part, a conviction of the mind; which as it was intended to lead on the will to action, and the other faculties to obedience, so now, that the effect is not acquired, it serves only to upbraid the man for a

[a] Acts xiii. 48.

[b] Rom. ii. 14. [c] Ver. 17.

knowing and discerning criminal, he hath not now the excuse of ignorance. He that complies with a usurper out of fear and interest, in actions prejudicial to the lawful prince, and tells the honest party, that he is right in his heart, though he be forced to comply, helps the other with an argument to convince him that he is a false man. He that does it heartily, and according to a present conscience, hath some excuse; but he that confesses that he is right in his persuasion, and wrong in his practice, is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, "condemned by himself," and professes himself a guilty person, a man whom interest and not conscience governs. Better is it not to know at all, than not to pursue the good we know. They that know not God, are infinitely far from him; but they who know him, and yet do not obey him, are sometimes the nearer for their knowledge, sometimes the further off, but as yet they are not arrived whither it is intended they should go.

31. II. An unregenerate man may with his will delight in goodness, and desire it earnestly. For in an unregenerate man there is a double appetite, and there may be the apprehension of two amabilities. The things of Spirit please his mind, and his will may consequently desire that this good were done, because it seems beauteous to the rational part, to his mind: but because he hath also relishes and gusts in the flesh, and they also seem sapid and delightful, he desires them also. So that this man fain would and he would not; and he does sin willingly and unwillingly at the same time. We see, by a sad experience, some men all their lifetime stand at gaze, and dare not enter upon that course of life, which themselves by a constant sentence judge to be the best, and of the most considerable advantage. But as the boy in the apologue listened to the disputes of Labour and Idleness, the one persuading him to rise, the other to lie in bed; but while he considered what to do, he still lay in bed and considered; so these men dispute and argue for virtue and the service of God, and stand beholding and admiring it, but they stand on the other side while they behold it. There is a strife between the law of the mind and the law of the members. But this prevails over that. For the case is thus: there are in men three laws: 1. The law of the members. 2. The law of the mind. 3. The law of the Spirit. 1. The law of the members, that is, the habit and proneness to sin, the dominion of sin, giving a law to the lower man, and reigning there as in its proper seat. This law is also called by St. Paul, *φρόνημα* and *νοῦς σαρκὸς*, "the mind of the flesh,"[d] the wisdom, the relish, the gust and savour, of the flesh,—that is, that deliciousness and comport, that enticing and correspondences to the appetite, by which it tempts and prevails; all its own principles and propositions which minister to sin and folly. This subjects the man to the law of sin, or is that principle of evil by which sin does give us laws. 2. To this law of the flesh, the law of the mind[e] is opposed, and is in the regenerate and unregenerate indifferently: and it is nothing else but the conscience of good and evil, subject to the law of God, which the other cannot be. This accuses and convinces the unregenerate, it calls upon him to do his duty, it makes him unquiet when he does not; but this alone is so invalidated by the infirmity of the flesh, by the economy of the law, by the disadvantages of the world, that it cannot prevail, or free him from the captivity of sin. But 3. The law of the Spirit is the grace of Jesus Christ, and this frees the man from the "law of the members,"[f] from the captivity of sin, from the tenure of death. Here then are three combatants, the flesh, the conscience, the Spirit. The flesh endeavours to subject the man to the law of sin; the other two endeavour to subject him to the law of God. The flesh and the conscience or mind contend; but this contention is no sign of being regenerate, because the flesh prevails most commonly against the mind, where there is nothing else to help it: the man is still a captive to the law of sin. But the mind being worsted, God sends in the auxiliaries of the Spirit; and when that enters and possesses, that overcomes the flesh, it rules and gives laws. But as in the unregenerate the mind did strive though it was overpowered, yet still it contended but ineffectively for the most part; so now, when the Spirit rules, the flesh strives, but it prevails but seldom, it is overpowered by the Spirit. Now this contention is a sign of regeneration, when the "flesh lusteth against the Spirit;" not when the "flesh lusteth against the mind or conscience." For the difference is very great, and highly to be remarked. And it is represented in two places of St. Paul's epistles: the one is that which I have already explicated in this chapter; "I consent to the law of God according to the inner man: but I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin that is in my members:"[g] where there is a redundancy in the words: but the apostle plainly signifies, that the law of sin which is in his members, prevails; that is, sin rules the man in despite of all the contention and reluctancy of his conscience, or "the law of his mind." So that this strife of flesh and conscience is no sign of the regenerate, because the mind of a man is in subordination to the flesh of the man, sometimes willingly and perfectly, sometimes unwillingly and imperfectly.

32. I deny not but the mind is sometimes called "spirit;" and by consequence improperly it may be said, that even in these men "their spirit lusteth against the flesh:" that is, the more rational faculties contend against the brute parts, reason against passion, law against sin. Thus the word spirit is taken for the *ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος*, "the inner man," the whole mind together with its affections. (Matt. xxvi. 4. Acts xix. 21.) But in this question, the word[h] spirit is distinguished from mind; and is taken for "the mind renewed by the Spirit of God:" and as these words are distinguished, so must their several

[d] Col. ii. 18. Rom. viii. 7.—Ab Hebr. נפש anima sensitiva.
[e] Ἡγεμονικὸν Græc. Hebræis רוח [f] Rom. viii. 2.
[g] Rom. vii. 22, 23. [h] Rom. vii. 22, 23. viii. 5, 7, 9.

contentions be remarked. For when the mind or conscience, and the flesh, fight,—the flesh prevails; but when the Spirit and the flesh fight, the Spirit prevails. And by that we shall best know who are the litigants, that, like the two sons of Rebecca, strive within us. If the flesh prevails, then there was in us nothing but the law of the mind; nothing but the conscience of an unregenerate person: I mean, if the flesh prevails frequently or habitually. But if the Spirit of God did rule us, if that principle had possession of us, then the flesh is crucified, it is mortified, it is killed, and prevails not at all but when we will not use the force and arms of the Spirit, but it does not prevail habitually, not frequently, or regularly, or by observation. This is clearly taught by those excellent words of St. Paul, which, as many other periods of his epistles have had the ill luck to be very much misunderstood. "This I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh: for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, so that ye cannot [that ye do not, or may not do, ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε] the things that ye would. But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law."[i] The word in the Greek may either signify "duty" or "event"—"Walk in the Spirit, and fulfil not (or, ye *shall not fulfil*) the lusts of the flesh." If we understand it in the imperative sense, then it is exegetical of the former words: He that walks in the Spirit, "hoc ipso," does not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. To do one, is not to do the other: whoever fulfils the lusts of the flesh, and is ruled by that law, he is not ruled by the grace of Christ, he is not regenerate by the Spirit. But the other sense is the best reddition of the word; τελέσητε, as if he had said, "Walk in the Spirit, and then the event will be, that the flesh shall not prevail over you, or give you laws; you shall not then fulfil the lusts thereof." And this is best agreeable to the purpose of the apostle. For having exhorted the Galatians, that they should not make "their christian liberty a pretence to the flesh,"[k] as the best remedy against their enemy the flesh, he prescribes this "walking in the Spirit," which is a certain deletory and prevalency over the flesh. And the reason follows; "for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would;" that is, though ye be inclined to, and desirous of, satisfying your carnal desires, yet being under the empire and conduct of the Spirit, ye cannot do those desires; the Spirit overrules you, and you must, you will, contradict your carnal appetites. For else this could not be (as the apostle designs it) a reason of his exhortation. For if he had meant, that in this contention of flesh and Spirit, we could not do the good things that we would, then the reason had contradicted the proposition. For suppose it thus; "Walk in the Spirit, and fulfil not the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh and the Spirit lust against each other, so that ye cannot do the good ye would;"—this, I say, is not sense, for the latter part contradicts the former. For, this thing, "that the flesh hinders us from doing the things of the Spirit," is so far from being a reason why we should "walk in the Spirit," that it perfectly discourages that design; and it is to little purpose "to walk in the Spirit," if this will not secure us against the domineering and tyranny of the flesh. But the contrary is most clear and consequent: "'If ye walk in the Spirit, ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh;' for though 'the flesh lusteth against the Spirit,' and would fain prevail, yet it cannot; for 'the Spirit also lusteth against the flesh,' and is stronger, so that ye *may* not, or that ye *do* not, or that ye *can* not (for any of these readings, as it may properly render the words of ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε, so are not against the design of the apostle) do what ye otherwise would fain do; and therefore, if ye will walk in the Spirit, ye are secure against the flesh."

33. The result is this. 1. An impious, profane person sins without any contention; that is, with a clear, ready, and a prepared will, he dies and disputes not. 2. An animal man, or a mere moral man, that is, one under the law, one instructed and convinced by the letter, but not sanctified by the Spirit, he sins willingly, because he considers and chooses it; but he also sins unwillingly, that is, his inclinations to vice, and his first choices, are abated, and the pleasures allayed, and his peace disturbed, and his sleeps broken; but for all that, he sins on when the next violent temptation comes. The contention in him is between reason and passion, the law of the mind and the law of the members, between conscience and sin, that weak, this prevailing. 3. But the regenerate hath the same contention within him, and the temptation is sometimes strong within him, yet he overcomes it, and seldom fails in any material and considerable instances: because the Spirit is the prevailing ingredient in the new creature, in the constitution of the regenerate, and will prevail. For "whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith;"[l] that is, by the faith of Jesus Christ, by him you shall have victory and redemption: and again; "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you;"[m] "For he that is within you, is stronger than he that is in the world;"[n] and, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may stand against the snares of the devil, that ye may resist in the evil day, and having done all, to stand;"[o] for, "All things are possible to him that believes;"[p] and "Through Christ that strengthens me I can do all things;"[q] and therefore "in all these things we are more than conquerors:" for "God is able to do above all that we can ask or think;"[r] "he can keep us from all sin, and present us unblamable in the sight of his glory."[s] So that to deny the power of the Spirit, in breaking the tyranny and subduing the lusts of the flesh, besides that it contradicts all these and divers other scriptures, it denies the omnipotency of God, and of the Spirit of his grace, making sin to be stronger than it,—and if grace abound, to make sin super-abound: but to deny the willingness of the Spirit to redeem

[i] Gal. v. 16—18. [k] Ver. 13. [l] 1 John v. 4, 5.
[m] James iv. 7. [n] 1 John iv. 4. [o] Eph. vi. 11, 13.
[p] Mark ix. 23. [q] Phil. iv. 13.
[r] Eph. iii. 20. [s] Rom. viii. 13, 37. Jude 24.

us from the captivity of sin, is to lessen the reputation of his goodness, and to destroy the possibility, and consequently the necessity, of living holily.

34. But how happens it then, that even the regenerate sins often, and the flesh prevails upon the ruin, or the declensions, of the Spirit? I answer, it is not because that holy principle which is in the regenerate, cannot or will not secure him, but because the man is either prepossessed with the temptation, and overcome before he begins to oppose the arms of the Spirit, that is, because he is surprised, or incogitant, or, it may be, careless; "the good man is asleep," and then the "enemy" takes his advantage and "sows tares;" for if he were awake, and considering, and would make use of the strengths of the Spirit, he would not be overcome by sin. For there are powers enough, that is, arguments and endearments, helps and sufficient motives, to enable us to resist the strongest temptation in the world; and this one alone, of resurrection to eternal life, which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ, and ministered in the gospel, is an argument greater than all the promises and enticements of sin, if we will attend to its efficacy and consequence. But if we throw away our arms, and begin a fight in the Spirit, and end it in the flesh, the ill success of the day is to be imputed to us, not to the Spirit of God, to whom if we had attended, we should certainly have prevailed. The relics and remains of sin are in the regenerate; but that is a sign that sin is overcome, and the kingdom of it broken; and that is a demonstration, that whenever sin does prevail in any single instances, it is not for want of power, but of using that power; for since the Spirit hath prevailed upon the flesh in its strengths, and hath crucified it, there is no question but it can also prevail upon all its weaknesses.

35. For we must be curious to avoid a mistake here. The dominion of the Spirit, and the remains of the flesh, may consist together in the regenerate; as some remains of cold with the prevailing heat; but the dominion of one and the other are, in every degree, inconsistent; as both cold and heat cannot in any sense be both said to be the prevailing ingredient. A man cannot be said to be both free from sin and a slave to sin; if he hath prevailed in any degree upon sin, then he is not at all a servant of that portion from whence he is set free; but if he be a captive of any one sin, or regular degree of it, he is not God's freedman; for the Spirit prevails upon all as well as upon one; and that is not an infinite power that cannot redeem us from all our slavery: but to be a slave of sin, and at the same time to be a servant of righteousness, is not only against the analogy of Scripture, and the express signification of so many excellent periods, but against common sense; it is as if one should say, that a man hath more heat than cold in his hand, and yet that the cold should prevail upon, and be stronger than, the heat; that is, that the weaker should overcome the stronger, and the less should be greater than that which is bigger than it.

36. But as the choice of virtue is abated, and (as the temptation grows more violent, and urges more vehemently) is made less pleasant in the regenerate person; so is the choice of vice in the moral or animal man. The contention abates the pleasure in both their choices; but in the one it ends in sin, in the other it ends in victory. So that there is an unwillingness to sin in all but in the impious and profane person, in the far-distant stranger. But the unwillingness to sin, that is, in the animal, or moral man, is nothing else but a serving sin like a grumbling servant, or like the younger son of the farmer in the gospel; he said he would not, but did it for all his angry words. And therefore, that the unregenerate man acts the sin against his mind, and after a long contention against it, does not in all cases lessen it; but sometimes increases it. "Nec leviat crimen eorum, magis verò auget, quòd eos diù restitisse dixistis," said Pope Pelagius:[1] "To resist long, and then to consent, hath in it some aggravations of the crime," as being a conviction of the man's baseness, a violence to reason, a breach of former resolutions, a recession from fair beginnings, and wholly without excuse. But if ever it comes to pass, that in the contention of flesh and Spirit, the regenerate man does sin, he does it unwillingly, that is, by ignorance or inadvertency; the unregenerate sins unwillingly too, but it is by reason of the dominion and rule that sin bears over him: but still this difference distinguishes them in the event of things, that when it comes to the question whether sin shall be done or no, the one wills, and the other wills not, though it may happen that the consent or dissent respectively may be with the same unwillingness, by reason of the contention and strife from the adverse, though weaker party. The unregenerate man may be unwilling to obey sin, but he obeys it for all that; and the unwillingness is a sign of the greater slavery; but there can be no sign of his regeneration, but by not obeying the sin in the day of its own power and temptation. A servant is still a servant, whether he obeys with or against his will. "His servants we are to whom we obey," saith St. Paul; all therefore that is to be considered in the question of regeneration, is, whether the man obeys or not obeys? for whether he be willing or unwilling, is not here considerable. Let no man therefore flatter himself that he is a regenerate person, because though he is a servant to sin, and acts at the command of his lust, and cannot resist in the evil day, or stand the shock of a temptation, yet he finds an unwillingness within him, and a strife against sin. Hugo de St. Victore, or else St. Austin in the book "de Continentiâ," gave beginning or countenance to this error. "Hanc pugnam non experiuntur in semetipsis nisi bellatores virtutum, debellatoresque vitiorum:" "This fight none find in themselves, but they that fight on virtue's side, and destroy vice."—Which words, though something crudely set down, and so not true, yet are explicable by the following period; "Non expugnat concupiscentiæ malum, nisi continentiæ bonum:" "Only holy and continent persons do overcome their concupiscence;" and in that sense it is true: only the regenerate feel this fight which ends in victory. But he whose conten-

[1] Caus. 24. q. 1. c. Schisma.

tion ends in sin, and after a brave onset, yields basely, frequently I mean, or habitually, every such person is a servant of sin, and therefore not a servant of the Spirit, but free from, that is, not ruled by, the law of righteousness. And this is so certain, that this unwillingness to sin, which ends in obeying it, is so far from being a note of a regenerate person, that it is evidently true, that no man can come from the servitude or slavery of sin,—but the first step of his going from it is the sense and hatred of his fetters, and then his desire of being free: but therefore he is not free, because he complains of his bands, and finds them heavy and intolerable, and therefore seeks for remedy. For if an unregenerate person did always sin willingly, that is, without this reluctancy and strife within; and the regenerate did sin as infallibly, but yet sore against his will; then the regenerate person were the verier slave of the two: for he that obeys willingly, is less a slave than he that obeys in spite of his heart.

———Libertatis servaveris umbram,
Si, quicquid jubeare, velis———

He that delights in his fetters hath at least the shadow, and some of the pleasure, of liberty; but he hath nothing of it who is kept fast, and groans because "his feet are in the stocks, and the iron entereth into his soul." It was the sad state and complaint of the Romans, when, by the iniquity of war, and the evil success of their armies, they were forced to entertain their bondage.

——tot rebus iniquis
Paruimus victi: venia est hæc sola pudoris,
Degenerisque metus, nil jam potuisse negari. LUCAN.

It was a conquest that gave them laws; and their ineffective struggling, and daily murmurs, were but ill arguments of their liberty, which were so great demonstrations of their servitude.

37. III. An unregenerate man may not only will and desire to do natural or moral good things, but even spiritual and evangelical; that is, not only that good which he is taught by natural reason, or by civil sanctions, or by use and experience of things, but even that also which is only taught us by the Spirit of grace. For if he can desire the first, much more may he desire the latter, when he once comes to know it: because there is in spiritual good things much more amability; they are more perfective of our mind, and a greater advancer of our hopes, and a security to our greatest interest. Neither can this be prejudiced by those words of St. Paul; "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."[u] For the natural man St. Paul speaks of, is one unconverted to christianity, the gentile philosophers, who relied upon such principles of nature as they understood; but studied not the prophets, knew not of the miracles of Christ and his apostles, nor of those excellent verifications of the things of the Spirit; and therefore these men could not arrive at spiritual notices, because they did not go that way which was the only competent and proper instrument of finding them.

Scio incapacem te sacramenti, impie,
Non posse cæcis mentibus mysterium
Haurire nostrum.——— PRUDENT.

They that are impious, and they that go upon distinct principles, neither obeying the proposition nor loving the commandment, they indeed, viz. remaining in that indisposition, cannot receive, that is, entertain him. And this is also the sense of the words of our blessed Saviour; "The world cannot receive him;"[x] that is, the unbelievers, such who will not be persuaded by arguments evangelical. But a man may be a spiritual man in his notices, and yet be carnal in his affections, and still under the bondage of sin. Such are they of whom St. Peter affirms, it is "better they had never known the way of righteousness, than having known it to fall away:"[y] such are they of whom St. Paul says, "They detain the truth in unrighteousness."[z] Now concerning this man it is that I affirm, that upon the same account as any vicious man can commend virtue, this man also may commend holiness, and desire to be a holy man, and wishes it with all his heart, there being the same proportion between his mind and the things of the Spirit, as between a Jew and the moral law, or a gentile and moral virtue; that is, he may desire it with passion and great wishings. But here is the difference; a regenerate man does what the unregenerate man does but desire.

38. IV. An unregenerate man may leave many sins which he is commanded to forsake. For it is not ordinarily possible, that so perfect a conviction as such men may have of the excellency of religion, should be, in all instances and periods, totally ineffective. Something they will give to reputation, something to fancy, something to fame, something to peace, something to their own deception, that by quitting one or two lusts, they may have some kind of peace in all the rest, and think all is well. These men sometimes would fain obey the law, but they will not crucify the flesh; any thing that does not smart. Their temper and constitution will allow them easily to quit such superinduced follies, which out of a gay or an impertinent spirit they have contracted, or which came to them by company, or by chance, or confidence, or violence; but if they must mortify the flesh to quit a lust, that is too hard, and beyond their powers, which are in captivity to the law of sin. Some men will commute a duty; and if you will allow them covetousness, they will quit their lust, or their intemperance, according as it happens. Herod did many things at the preaching of John the Baptist, and heard him gladly. Balaam did some things handsomely; though he was covetous and ambitious, yet he had a limit; he would obey the voice of the angel, and could not be tempted to speak a curse when God spake a blessing. Ahab was an imperfect penitent; he did some things, but not enough. And if there be any root of bitterness, there is no regeneration; coloquintida "and death is in the pot."

[u] 1 Cor. ii. 14. [x] John xiv. 17. [y] 2 Pet. ii. 21. [z] Rom. i. 18.

39. V. An unregenerate man may leave some sins, not only for temporal interest, but out of reverence of the Divine law, out of fear and reverence. Under the law there were many such: and there is no peradventure but that many men, who, like Felix, have trembled at a sermon, have with such a shaking-fit left off something that was fit to be laid aside. To leave a sin out of fear of the Divine judgment, is not sinful, or totally unacceptable. All that left sin in obedience and reverence to the law, did it in fear of punishment, because fear was the sanction of the law: and even under the gospel, to obey out of fear of punishment, though it be less perfect, yet it is not criminal, nay, rather on the other side; the worse that men are, so much the less they are afraid of the Divine anger and judgments. To abstain out of fear, is to abstain out of a very proper motive: and God, when he sends a judgment with a design of emendation, or threatens a criminal, or denounces woes and cursings, intends that fear should be the beginning of wisdom. "Knowing therefore the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men," saith St. Paúl.[c] And the whole design of delivering criminals over to Satan, was but a pursuance of this argument of fear; that by feeling something they might fear a worse, and for the present be affrighted from their sin. And this was no other than the argument which our blessed Saviour used to the poor paralytic: "Go and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen to thee." But besides that this good fear may work much in an unregenerate person, or a man under the law, such a person may do some things in obedience to God, or thankfulness, and perfect, mere choice. So Jehu obeyed God a great way: but there was a turning, and a high stile, beyond which he would not go, and his principles could not carry him through. Few women can accuse themselves of adultery; in the great lines of chastity they choose to obey God, and the voice of honour; but can they say that their eye is not wanton, that they do not spend great portions of their time in vanity, that they are not idle, and useless, or busy-bodies, that they do not make it much of their employment to talk of fashions and trifles, or that they do make it their business to practise religion, to hear and attend to severe and sober counsels? If they be under the conduct of the Spirit, he hath certainly carried them into all the regions of duty. But to go a great way, and not to finish the journey, is the imperfection of the unregenerate. For in some persons, fear or love of God is not of itself strong enough to weigh down the scales; but there must be thrown in something from without, some generosity of spirit, or revenge, or gloriousness and bravery, or natural pity, or interest; and so far as these, or any of them, go along with the better principle, this will prevail; but when it must go alone, it is not strong enough. But this is a great way off from the state of sanctification or a new birth.

40. VI. An unregenerate man, besides the abstinence from much evil, may also do many good things for heaven, and yet never come thither. He may be sensible of his danger and sad condition, and pray to be delivered from it; and his prayer shall not be heard, because he does not reduce his prayers to action, and endeavour to be what he desires to be. Almost every man desires to be saved but this desire is not with every one of that persuasion and effect as to make them willing to want the pleasures of the world for it, or to perform the labours of charity and repentance. A man may strive and contend in or towards the ways of godliness and yet fall short. Many men pray often, and fast much, and pay tithes, and do justice, and keep the commandments of the second table with great integrity; and so are good moral men, as the word is used in opposition to, or rather in destitution of religion. Some are religious, and not just: some want sincerity in both; and of this, the Pharisees were a great example. But the words of our blessed Saviour are the greatest testimony in this article; "Many shall strive to enter in, and shall not be able."[d] Either they shall contend too late, like the five foolish virgins, and as they whom St. Paul by way of caution, likens to Esau; or else they contend with incompetent and insufficient strengths they strive, but put not force enough to the work. An unregenerate man hath not strength enough, that is, he wants the spirit, and activity, and perfectness of resolution. Not that he wants such aids as are necessary and sufficient, but that himself hath not purposes pertinacious, and resolutions strong enough. All that is necessary to his assistance from without, all that he hath or may have, but that which is necessary on his own part he hath not; but that is his own fault; that he might also have; and it is in his duty, and therefore certainly in his power, to have it. For a man is not capable of a law which he hath not powers sufficient to obey; he must be free and quit from all its contraries, from the power and dominion of them; or at least must be so free, that he may be quit of them if he please. For there can be no liberty, but where all the impediments are removed, or may be, if the man will.

41. VII. An unregenerate man may have received the Spirit of God, and yet be in a state of distance from God. For to have received the Holy Ghost, is not an inseparable propriety of the regenerate. The Spirit of God is an internal agent; that is, the effects and graces of the Spirit, by which we are assisted, are within us before they operate. For although all assistances from without are graces of God, the effects of Christ's passion purchased for us by his blood and by his intercession; and all good company, wise counsels, apt notices, prevailing arguments, moving objects, and opportunities and endearments of virtue, "are from above, from the Father of lights;" yet the Spirit of God does also work more inwardly, and creates in us aptnesses and inclinations, consentings, and the acts of conviction and adherence, "working in us to will and to do according" to our desire, or according "to God's good pleasure:" yet this Holy Spirit is oftentimes *grieved*, sometimes *provoked* and at last *extinguished*; which, because it is done

[c] 2 Cor. v. 11.

[d] Luke xiii. 24.

only by them who are enemies of the Spirit, and not the servants of God, it follows, that the Spirit of God, by his aids and assistances, is in them that are not so, with a design to make them so: and if the Holy Spirit were not in any degree or sense in the unregenerate, how could a man be born again by the Spirit? for since no man can be regenerate by his own strengths, his new birth must be wrought by the Spirit of God; and especially in the beginnings of our conversion, is his assistance necessary: which assistance, because it works within as well, and rather than without, must needs be in a man before he operates within. And therefore to have received the Holy Spirit, is not the propriety of the regenerate; but to be led by him, to be conducted by the Spirit in all our ways and counsels, to obey his motions, to entertain his doctrine, to do his pleasure: this is that which gives the distinction and the denomination. And this is called by St. Paul, "the inhabitation of the Spirit of God in us,"[e] in opposition to the "inhabitans peccatum," "the sin that dwelleth" in the unregenerate. The Spirit may be in us, calling and urging us to holiness; but unless the Spirit of God dwell in us, and abide in us, and love to do so, and rule, and give us laws, and be not grieved and cast out, but entertained, and cherished, and obeyed; unless, I say, the Spirit of God be thus in us, Christ is not in us; and if Christ be not in us, we are none of his.

SECTION VI.

The Character of the Regenerate Estate, or Person.

42. FROM hence it is not hard to describe what are the proper indications of the regenerate. I. A regenerate person is convinced of the goodness of the law, and "meditates in it day and night."[f] His delight is in God's law, not only with his mind approving, but with his will choosing, the duties and significations of the law.

II. The regenerate not only wishes that the good were done which God commands, but heartily sets about the doing of it.

III. He sometimes feels the rebellions of the flesh, but he fights against them always; and if he receive a fall, he rises instantly, and fights the more fiercely, and watches the more cautiously, and prays the more passionately, and arms himself more strongly, and prevails more prosperously. In a regenerate person there is flesh and spirit, but the spirit only rules. There is an outward and an inward man, but both of them are subject to the Spirit. There was "a law of the members," but it is abrogated and cancelled; the law is repealed, and does not any more enslave him "to the law of sin." "Nunc quamdiu concupiscit caro adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem, sat est nobis non consentire malis quæ sentimus in nobis:" "Every good man shall always feel the flesh lusting against the Spirit; that contention he shall never be quit of, but it is enough for us if we never consent to the suggested evils."[g]

IV. A regenerate person does not only approve that which is best, and desire to do it, but he does it actually, and delights to do it; he continues and abides in it, which the Scripture calls "a walking in the Spirit, and a living after it:" for he does his duty by the strengths of the Spirit; that is, upon considerations evangelical, in the love of God, in obedience to Christ, and by the aids he hath received from above beyond the powers of nature and education, and therefore he does his duty upon such considerations as are apt to make it integral and persevering. For,

V. A regenerate man does not only leave some sins but all, and willingly entertains none. He does not only quit a lust that is against his disposition, but that which he is most inclined to he is most severe against, and most watchful to destroy it; he plucks out his right eye, and cuts off his right hand, and parts with his biggest interest, rather than keep a lust: and therefore consequently chooses virtue by the same method by which he abstains from vice. "Nam ipsa continentia cum frænat, cohibetque libidines, simul et appetit bonum, ad cujus immortalitatem tendimus: et respuit malum, cum quo in hâc mortalitate contendimus;" that is, "He pursues all virtue, as he refuses all vice; for he tends to the immortality of good, as he strives against evil in all the days of his mortality."[h]—And therefore he does not choose to exercise that virtue only that will do him reputation, or consist with his interest, or please his humour, but entertains all virtue, whether it be with him or against him, pleasing or displeasing; he chooses all that God hath commanded him, because he does it for that reason.

VI. A regenerate person doth not only contradict his appetite in single instances, but endeavours to destroy the whole body of sin; he does not only displease his fond appetite, but he mortifies it, and never entertains conditions of peace with it; for it is a dangerous mistake, if we shall presume all is well, because we do some acts of spite to our dearest lust, and sometimes cross the most pleasing temptation, and oppose ourselves in single instances against every sin. This is not it; the regenerate man endeavours to destroy the whole body of sin, and having had an opportunity to contest his sin, and to contradict it this day, is glad he hath done something of his duty, and does so again to-morrow and ever, till he hath quite killed it; and never entertains conditions of peace with it, nor ever is at rest till the flesh be quiet and obedient. For sometimes it comes to pass that the old man, being used to obey, at last obeys willingly, and takes the conditions of the Gibeonites; it is content to do drudgery and the inferior ministries, if it may be suffered to abide in the land.

43. So that here is a new account upon which the former proposition is verifiable; viz. It is not the propriety of the regenerate to feel a contention within him concerning doing good or bad. For it is not only true, that the unregenerate oftentimes

[e] Rom. viii. 9. [f] Psal. i. 2. cxix. 77, 103.

[g] Aug. lib. de Contin. c. 2. [h] S. Aug. ibid.

feel the fight, and never see the triumph; but it is also true, that sometimes the regenerate do not feel this contention. Thy did once with great violence and trouble; but when they have gotten a clear victory, they have also great measures of peace. But this is but seldom, to few persons, and in them but in rare instances, in carnal sins and temptations: for in spiritual, they will never have an entire rest till they come into their country. It is angelical perfection to have no flesh at all, but it is the perfection of a christian to have the flesh obedient to the Spirit always, and in all things. But if this contention be not a sign of regeneration, but is common to good and bad, that which can only distinguish them, is victory, and perseverance; and those sins which are committed at the end of such contentions, are not sins of a pitiable and excusable infirmity; but the issues of death, and direct emanations from an unregenerate estate. Therefore,

44. VII. Lastly; the regenerate not only hath received the Spirit of God, but is wholly led by him; he attends his motions, he obeys his counsels, he delights in his commandments, and accepts his testimony, and consents to his truth, and rejoices in his comforts, and is nourished by his hopes up to a perfect man in Christ Jesus. This is the only condition of being the sons of God, and being saved. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God:"[i] none else. And therefore, "if ye live after the flesh ye shall die, but, if through the Spirit, ye do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."[k] This is your characteristic note: Our obedience to the Spirit, our walking by his light, and by his conduct. "This is the Spirit that witnesseth to our spirit, that we are the sons of God."[l] That is, if the Spirit be obeyed, if it reigns in us, if we live in it, if we walk after it, if it dwells in us, then we are sure that we are the sons of God. There is no other testimony to be expected, but the doing of our duty. All things else (unless an extraregular light spring from heaven and tell us of it) are but fancies and deceptions, or uncertainties at the best.

SECTION VII.

What are properly and truly Sins of Infirmity, and how far they can consist with the Regenerate Estate.

45. WE usually reckon ourselves too soon to be in God's favour. While the war lasts, it is hard telling who shall be the prince. When one part hath fought prosperously, there are hopes of his side; and yet if the adversary hath reserves of a vigorous force, or can raise new, and not only pretends his title, but makes great inroads into the country, and forages, and does mischief, and fights often, and prevails sometimes, the inheritance is still doubtful as the success. But if the usurper be beaten and driven out, and his forces quite broken, and the lawful prince is proclaimed, and rules, and gives laws, though the other rails in prison, or shoul by a sudden fury kill a single person, or plot an ir effective treason, no man then doubts concerning th present possession.

46. But men usually think their case is good so long as they are fighting, so long as they are no quite conquered, and every step towards grace, the call it "pardon" and "salvation" presently. A soon as ever a man begins heartily to mortify hi sin, his hopes begin, and if he proceeds they ar certain. But if in this fight he be overcome, he i not to ask, whether that ill day, and that deadl blow, can consist with the state of life? He tha fights, and conquers not, but sins frequently, and t yield or be killed is the end of the long contention this man is not yet alive. But when he prevails re gularly and daily over his sin, then he is in a stat of regeneration; but let him take heed, for ever voluntary or chosen sin is a mortal wound.

47. But because no man in this world hath s conquered but he may be smitten, and is sometime struck at; and most good men have cause to com plain of their calamity, that in their understanding there are doubtings, and strange mistakes, which because after a great confidence they are sometime discovered, there is cause to suspect there are som there still which are not discovered; that there ar in the will evil inclinations to forbidden instances that in the appetite there are carnal desires; tha in their natural actions there are sometimes to sensual applications; that in their good action there are mighty imperfections;—it will be of us that we separate the certain from the uncertain, se curity from danger, the apology from the accusation and the excuse from the crime, by describing wha are and what are not sins of infirmity.

48. For most men are pleased to call their de baucheries sins of infirmity, if they be done again their reason, and the actual murmur of their con sciences, and against their trifling resolutions, an ineffective purposes to the contrary. Now althoug all sins are the effects of infirmity natural or mora yet because I am to cure a popular mistake, I ar also to understand the word as men do commonly and by sins of infirmity to mean,

49. Such sins which, in the whole, and upon th matter, are unavoidable, and therefore excusable such which can consist with the state of grace, tha is, such which have so much irregularity in ther as to be sins, and yet so much excuse and pity, a that by the covenant and mercies of the gospel, the shall not be exacted in the worst of punishments, c punished with eternal pains, because they canno with the greatest moral diligence, wholly be avoided Concerning these so described, we are to take ac counts by the following measures.

50. I. Natural imperfections, and evil inclina tions, when they are not consented to or delighte in, either are no sins at all, or if they be, they ar but sins of infirmity. That in some things ou nature is cross to the Divine commandment, is no always imputable to us, because our natures wer before the commandment; and God hath therefor

[i] Rom. viii. 14. [k] Ver. 13. [l] Rom. viii. 16.

commanded us to do violence to our nature, that by such preternatural contentions we should offer to God a service that costs us something. But that in some things we are inclined otherwise than we are suffered to act, is so far from offending God, that it is that opportunity of serving him, by which we can most endear him. To be inclined to that whither nature bends, is of itself indifferent; but to love, to entertain, to act our inclinations, when the commandment is put between, that is the sin: and therefore if we resist them, and master them, that is our obedience. For it is equally certain; no man can be esteemed spiritual for his good wishes and desires of holiness, but for his actual and habitual obedience: so no man is to be esteemed carnal or criminal for his natural inclinations to what is forbidden. But that good men complain of their strange propensities to sin, it is a declaration of their fears, of their natural weakness, of the needs of grace, and the aids of God's Spirit. But because these desires, even when they are much restrained, do yet sometimes insensibly go too far; therefore it is, that such are sins of infirmity, because they are almost unavoidable. This remain is like the image of the ape which Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, left after the breaking of the other idols; a testimony of their folly; but as that was left for no other purpose but to reprove them, so is this to humble us, that we may not rely upon flesh and blood, but make God to be our confidence.

51. II. Sins of infirmity are rather observed in the imperfection of our duty, than in the commission of any criminal action. For in this it was that our blessed Saviour instanced these words; "The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak;"[m] the body is weary, the eyes heavy, the fancy restless, diversions many, businesses perpetually intervene, and all the powers of discourse and observation cannot hinder our mind from wandering in our prayers,

> ——— Odi artus, fragilemque hunc corporis usum
> Desertorem animi ———

But this being, in the whole, unavoidable, is therefore, in many of its parts and instances, very excusable, if we do not indulge to it; if we pray and strive against it: that is, so long as it is a natural infirmity. For although we cannot avoid wandering thoughts, yet we can avoid delighting in them, or a careless and negligent increasing them. For if they once seize upon the will, they are sins of choice and malice, and not of infirmity. So that the great scene of sins of infirmity, is in omission of degrees and portions of that excellency of duty which is required of us. We are imperfect, and we do imperfectly, and if we strive towards perfection, God will pity our imperfection. There is no other help for us; but blessed be God, that is sufficient for our need, and proportionable to our present state.

52. III. But in actions and matters of commission, the case is different. For though a man may forget himself against his will, or sleep, or fall, yet without his will he cannot throw himself down, or rise again. Every action is more or less voluntary; but every omission is not. A thing may be let alone upon a dead stock, or a negative principle, or an unavoidable defect; but an action cannot be done without some command or action of the will; therefore, although sins of defect are, in many cases, pitied and not exacted, yet sinful actions have not so easy a sentence: but they also have some abatements. Therefore,

53. IV. Imperfect actions, such which are incomplete in their whole capacity, are sins of infirmity, and ready and prepared for pity: of this sort are rash or ignorant actions, done by surprise; by inconsideration and inadvertency, by a sudden and great fear, in which the reason is in very many degrees made useless, and the action cannot be considered duly. In these there is some little mixture of choice, so much as to make the action imputable, if God should deal severely with us; but yet so little that it shall not be imputed under the mercies of the gospel; although the man that does them cannot pretend he is innocent, yet he can pretend that he does stand fair in the eye of mercy. A good man may sometimes be unwary; or he may speak, or be put to it to resolve or do, before he can well consider. If he does a thing rashly when he can consider and deliberate, he is not excused: but if he does it indiscreetly, when he must do it suddenly, it is his infirmity, and he shall be relieved at the chancery of the throne of grace. For it is remarkable that God's justice is in some cases ἀκριβὴς, "exact," full and severe: in other cases it is ἐπιεικὴς, "full of equity," gentleness, and wisdom, making abatement for infirmities, performing promises, interpreting things to the most equal and favourable purposes. So justice is taken in St. John; "If we confess our sins, he is righteous or just to forgive our sins;" that is, God's justice is such as to be content with what we can do, and not to exact all that is possible to be imposed. He is as just in forgiving the penitent, as in punishing the refractory; as just in abating reasonably, as in weighing scrupulously: such a justice it is, which in the same case David calls "mercy:" "For thou, Lord, art merciful: for thou rewardest every man according to his works." And if this were not so, no man could be saved. "Mortalis enim conditio non patitur esse hominem ab omni maculâ purum," said Lactantius.[n] For "in many things we offend all;" and our present state of imperfection will not suffer it to be otherwise; Χαλεπὸν γὰρ, ὥσπερ τοὺς δρομεῖς ἀρξαμένους ὁδοῦ, τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀπταίστως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ διενθῦναι τὸν δρόμον, ἐπεὶ μυρία ἐμποδὼν παντὶ τῷ γινομένῳ, said Philo.[o] For as a runner of races, at his first setting forth, rids his way briskly, and in a breath measures out many spaces; but by and by his spirit is faint, and his body is breathless, and he stumbles at every thing that lies in his way; so is the course of a christian: fierce in the beginnings of repentance, and active in his purposes; but in his progress, remiss and hindered, and starts at every accident, and stumbles at every scandal and stone of offence, and is some-

[m] Matt. xxvi. 41.

[n] Lib. 6. 13.

[o] De Agriculturâ.

times listless, and without observation at other times; and a bird out of a bush that was not looked for, makes him to start aside, and decline from the path and method of his journey. But then if he that stumbles mends his pace, and runs more warily, and goes on vigorously, his error, or misfortune, shall not be imputed; for here God's justice is equity, it is the justice of the chancery; we are not judged by the covenant of works, that is, of exact measures, but by the covenant of faith and remission, or repentance. But if he that falls, lies down despairingly or wilfully, or if he rises, goes back, or goes aside;—not only his declination from his way, but every error or fall, every stumbling and startling in that way, shall be accounted for. For here God's justice is ἀκριβὴς, "exact" and severe; it is the justice of the law, because he refused the method and conditions of the gospel.

54. V. Every sinful action that can pretend to pardon by being a sin of infirmity, must be in a small matter. The imperfect way of operating alone, is not sufficient for excuse and pardon, unless the matter also be little and contemptible; because if the matter be great, it cannot ordinarily be, but it must be considered and chosen. He that in a sudden anger strikes his friend to the heart, whom he hath loved as passionately as now he smote him, is guilty of murder, and cannot pretend infirmity for his excuse; because, in an action of so great consequence and effect, it is supposed, he had time to deliberate all the foregoing parts of his life, whether such an action ought to be done or not; or the very horror of the action was enough to arrest his spirit, as a great danger, or falling into a river, will make a drunken man sober; and by all the laws of God and man, he was immured from the probability of all transports into such violences; and the man must needs be a slave of passion, who could by it be brought to go so far from reason, and to do so great evil. If a man in the careless time of the day, when his spirit is loose with a less severe employment, or his heart made more open with an innocent refreshment, spies a sudden beauty that unluckily strikes his fancy; it is possible that he may be too ready to entertain a wanton thought, and to suffer it to stand at the doors of his first consent; but if the sin passes no further, the man enters not into the regions of death; because the devil entered on a sudden, and is as suddenly cast forth. But if from the first arrest of concupiscence, he pass on to an imperfect consent,—from an imperfect consent, to a perfect and deliberate,—and from thence to an act,—and so to a habit,—he ends in death; because, long before it is come thus far, "the salt water is taken in." The first concupiscence is but like rain water; it discolours the pure springs, but makes them not deadly. But when in the progression the will mingles with it, it is like the βόρβορος, or "waters of brimstone;" and the current for ever after is unwholesome, and carries you forth into the Dead sea, the lake of Sodom, "which is to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire:" but then the matter may be supposed little till the will comes. For though a man may be surprised with a wanton eye, yet he cannot fight a duel against his knowledge, or commit adultery against his will. A man can not, against his will, contrive the death of a man; but he may speak a rash word, or be suddenly angry, or triflingly peevish; and yet all this notwithstanding, be a good man still. These may be sins of infirmity, because they are imperfect actions in the whole; and such, in which as the man is for the present surprised, so they are such against which no watchfulness was a sufficient guard, as it ought to have been in any great matter, and might have been in sudden murders. A wise and a good man may easily be mistaken in a nice question, but can never suspect an article of his creed to be false; a good man may have many fears and doubtings in matters of smaller moment, but he never doubts of God's goodness, of his truth, of his mercy, or of any of his communicated perfections; he may fall into melancholy, and may suffer indefinite fears, or he knows not what himself; yet he can never explicitly doubt of any thing which God hath clearly revealed, and in which he is sufficiently instructed. A weak eye may, at a distance, mistake a man for a tree; but he who, sailing in a storm, takes the sea for dry land, or a mushroom for an oak, is stark blind. And so is he who can think adultery to be excusable; or that treason can be duty; or that, by persecuting God's prophets, he does God good service; or that he propagates religion by making the ministers of the altar poor, and robbing the churches. A good man so remaining cannot suffer infirmity in the plain and legible lines of duty, where he can see, and reason, and consider.

I have now told which are sins of infirmity; and I have told all their measures. For as for those other false opinions by which men flatter themselves into hell, by a pretence of sin of infirmity, they are as unreasonable as they are dangerous; and they are easily reproved upon the stock of the former truths. Therefore,

55. VI. Although our mere natural inclination to things forbidden, be of itself a natural and unavoidable infirmity, and such which cannot be cured by all the precepts and endeavours of perfection; yet this very inclination if it be heightened by carelessness or evil customs, is not a sin of infirmity. Tiberius, the emperor, being troubled with a fellow that wittily and boldly pretended himself to be a prince,—at last, when he could not by questions, he discovered him to be a mean person by the rusticity and hardness of his body: not by a callousness of his feet, or a wart upon a finger, but ὅλον τὸ σῶμα σκληρότερόν τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησε πᾶν τὸ σύνταγμα, "his whole body was hard and servile, and so he was discovered."—The natural superfluities and excrescences, that inevitably adhere to our natures, are not sufficient indications of a servile person, or a slave to sin; but when our natures are abused by choice and custom,—when the callousness is spread by evil and hard usages,—when the arms are brawny by the service of Egypt,—then it is no longer infirmity, but superinduced viciousness, and a direct hostility. When nature rules, grace does not. When the

flesh is in power, the Spirit is not. Therefore it matters not from what corner the blasting wind does come,—from whencesoever it is, it is deadly. Most of our sins are from natural inclinations; and the negative precepts of God, are, for the most part, restraints upon them. Therefore, to pretend nature, when ourselves have spoiled it, is no excuse, but that state of evil, from whence the Spirit of God is to rescue and redeem us.

56. VII. Yea, but although it be thus in nature, yet it is hoped by too many, that it shall be allowed to be infirmity, when the violence of our passions or desires overcomes our resolutions. Against this, I oppose this proposition:—when violence of desire or passion engages us in a sin, whither we see and observe ourselves entering, that violence or transportation is not our excuse, but our disease:—and that resolution is not accepted for innocence or repentance: but the not performing what we did resolve is our sin, and the violence of passion was the accursed principle.

57. For to resolve is a relative and imperfect duty, in order to something else. It had not been necessary to resolve, if it had not been necessary to do it: and if it be necessary to do it, it is not sufficient to resolve it. And for the understanding of this the better, we must observe, that to resolve, and to endeavour, are several things. To resolve, is to purpose to do what we may if we will; some way or other the thing is in our power; either we are able of ourselves, or we are helped. No man resolves to carry an elephant, or to be as wise as Solomon, or to destroy a vast army with his own hands. He may endeavour this: for, to endeavour sometimes supposes a state of excellency, beyond our power, but not beyond our aims. Thus we must endeavour to avoid all sin, and to master all our infirmities; because to do so is the nobleness of a christian courage, and that design which is the proper effect of charity, which is the best of christian graces. But we cannot resolve to do it, because it is beyond all our powers; but may endeavour it, and resolve to endeavour it, but that is all we can do. But if to resolve be a duty, then to perform it is a greater; and if a man cannot be the child of God without resolving against all the habits of sin, then neither can he be his child, unless he actually quit them all.

58. But then if from acting our resolution we be hindered by passion and violent desires, we are plainly in the state of immortification. Passion is the ruler: and as the first step of victory is to keep those passions and appetites from doing any criminal action abroad; so the worst they can do, is to engage and force the man to sin, and that against his will, even whether he list or no. But concerning this article, we are entirely determined by the words of St. Paul; "He that is in Christ, hath crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts;"[p] that is, the passions and desires of the flesh are mortified in all the regenerate: and therefore a state of passion is a state of death. But whatever the principle be, yet we must be infinitely careful we do not mistake a broken resolution for an entire piety. He that perpetually resolves, and yet perpetually breaks his resolution, does, all the way, sin against his conscience, and against his reason, against his experience, and against his observation; and it will be a strange offer at an excuse, for a man to hope for, or to pretend to pardon, because he sinned against his conscience.

59. There is in this article some little difference in the case of young persons, the violence of whose passions, as it transports them infallibly to evil, so it helps to excuse some of it; but this is upon a double account: 1. Because part of it is natural, "naturale vitium ætatis," "the defect and inherent inclination of their age." 2. And because their passions being ever strongest when their reason is weakest, the actions of young men are imperfect and incomplete. For deliberation being nothing else but an alternate succession of appetites, it is an unequal intercourse that a possessing, natural, promoted passion should contest against a weak, overborn, beginning, inexperienced, uninstructed reason; this alternation of appetites is like the dust of a balance weighing against a rock; the deliberation itself must needs be imperfect, because there is no equality. And therefore the Roman lawyers did not easily, upon a man under twenty-five years of age, inflict punishment, at least not extreme. They are the words of Tryphonius: "In delictis autem minor annis xxv. non meretur in integrum restitutionem, utique atrocioribus; nisi quatenus interdum miseratio ætatis ad mediocrem pœnam judicem produxerit."[q] This, I say, is only a lessening of their fault, not imputing it. God is ready to pity every thing that is pitiable; and, therefore, is apt to instruct them more, and to forbear them longer, and to expect and to assist their return, and strikes them not so soon, nor so severely; but what other degrees of pardon God will allow to their infirmities he hath no where told us. For as to the whole, it is true in all laws Divine and human; "In criminibus quidem, ætatis suffragio minores non juvantur: etenim malorum mores infirmitas animi non excusat:"[r] "Infirmity of mind does not excuse evil manners; and therefore in criminal actions, young persons are not excused by their age."—"In delictis, ætate neminem excusari constat," said Diocletian and Maximianus. The age excuses not; well may it lessen, but it does not quite extinguish, the guilt.

60. VIII. The greatness or violence of a temptation does not excuse our sin, or reconcile it to the state of grace, and an actual consistence with God's favour. The man that is highly tempted, and so falls, cannot say, it was by an unavoidable infirmity. For God never suffers any man to be tempted above his strength; and therefore when he suffers him to fall into a great trial, he hath beforehand prepared him with great aids: and a temptation is not such a formidable thing to a considering christian. All that it can say is nothing, but that sin is pleasant: and suppose that true; yet so is drink to an hydropic person, and salt meats to a fantastic stomach; and yet they that are concerned do easily abstain

[p] Gal. v. 24. [q] L. Auxil. sect. in delictis ff. de minoribus. [r] L. Unicâ Cod. si adversus delictum.

from these temptations, and remember that it is a greater pleasure to be in health, than with a little cold water or a broiled fish to please their palate: and therefore a temptation which can be overcome by an argument from so small an interest, cannot stand the shock of a noble and a christian resolution and discourse. But every temptation puts on its strength as the man is. Sometimes a full meal will not prejudice our health; and at another time half so much would be a surfeit: and some men take cold with leaving off a half-shirt, who at another time might leave off half their clothes. The indisposition is within: and if men did not love to be tempted, it would not prevail at all. Wine is no temptation to an abstemious man, nor all the beauties of Potiphar's wife to Joseph, the devil could not prevail with such trifles; but half such an offer would overthrow all the trifling purposes of the effeminate. To say, that such a temptation is great, is to say, that you love the sin too well to which you are tempted. For temptations prevail only by our passions and our appetites: leave to love the sin, and the temptation is answered; but if you love it, then complain of nothing but thyself, for thou makest the temptation great, by being in love with life and sin, by preferring vanity before eternal pleasures. In the apophthegms of the Egyptian Anachorets,[s] I read of one who had an apparition in the likeness of Christ. A vain and a proud person would have hugged himself and entertained the illusion. But he, shutting his eyes, said, "I shall see Christ in heaven; it is enough for me to hope and to believe while I am on earth." This or the like did and did not prevail by our weaknesses, not by their own strength: and to pretend the strength of a temptation, is to say, we are to be excused, because we love sin too well, and are too much delighted with baser objects, and we cannot help it, because we love to die.

61. IX. The smallest instance, if it be observed, ceases to be a sin of infirmity; because by being observed, it loses its pretence and excuse, for then it is done upon the account of the will. For here the rule is general, and it sums up this whole question.

62. X. A man's will hath no infirmity, but when it wants the grace of God; that is, whatsoever the will chooses, is imputed to it for good or bad. For the will can suffer no violence; it is subject to nothing, and to no person, but to God and his laws, and therefore whenever it does amiss, it sins directly against him. The will hath no necessity, but what God and herself impose; for it can choose in despite of all arguments and notices from the understanding. For if it can despise an argument from reason, it can also despise an argument from sense; if it can refuse a good argument, it can also refuse a foolish one; if it can choose and not yield to religion, it can also choose and not yield to interest. If it can reject profit, it can reject pleasure; if it can refuse every argument, it can refuse all, and will because it will; it can as well be malicious as do unreasonably: and there could be no sin at all, if the will never did amiss but when it were deceived: and even when the will chooses pleasure before heaven, it is not because that seems better, but because it will choose against all reason, only upon its own account. For it is certain, he that chooses any thing upon that which he knows is but a seeming and a fallacious reason, may, if he please, do it without all reason: and so the will can do, against reason, in despite of powers, and hopes, and interest, and threatening. And therefore whatsoever is voluntarily chosen, let it be taken care of, that it be good; for if it be not, there can no excuse come from thence.

63. The will is the only fountain and proper principle of sin, insomuch as the fact is no sin if it be involuntary; but the willing is a sin, though no act follows. "Latro est etiam antequam inquinet manus," said Seneca; "Fecit enim quisquam quantum voluit." If he hath willed it, he hath done it before God. To this purpose is that saying of Tertullian: "Voluntas facti origo est, quæ ne tunc quidem liberatur, cùm aliqua difficultas perpetrationem ejus intercepit. Ipsa enim sibi imputatur, nec excusari poterit per illam perficiendi infelicitatem, operata quod suum fuerat." Want of power excuses every thing but the will, because this always hath power to do its own work; and what cannot be done besides, as it is nothing to the will, so it is nothing to its excuse. "To will" is the formality of sin, and therefore whatever action had its commission from thence, is not a sin of infirmity. For nothing is a sin of infirmity, but what is, in some sense, involuntary.

64. The sum is this. Sin puts on its excuse, and becomes a sin of infirmity, upon no account, but upon the account of ignorance, or something analogical to it, such as are inadvertency, or surprise, which are to ignorance as acts are to habits. The "weak brother," in St. Paul's dialect,[t] is "he that hath no knowledge." For since nothing leads the will but the understanding, unless it goes alone, and moves by its own act or principle; if the understanding be inculpably misled, the will may be in error but not in sin; it is abused, but shall not be condemned. For no man can be tied to do more or better than he understands; for that would be to do more than he can. If the understanding abuse the will, there is evil in it, but no sin: but if the will abuse the understanding, then it is criminal. That is, where the man understands not, or cannot consider or deliberate, all his actions, by being less human, are less imputable. *Δύναται γὰρ ἴσον τῷ ὁρᾷν τὸ νοεῖν.*[u] But where there is no knowledge there is no power, and no choice, and no sin. They increase and decrease by each other's measures. St. James's rule is the full measure of this discourse. "To him that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin."[x]—The same with that of Philo. *Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται· ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει, προεαλωκὼς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συνειδότος δικαστηρίῳ.* To him that sins ignorantly, pardon is given, that is, easily; but he who sins knowingly hath no excuse. And therefore the Hebrews use

[s] Bibl. PP. tom. 9. p. 286. [t] Rom. xiv. 1, 10.

[u] Comœd. vet. Gr. [x] James iv. 17.

to oppose רשע "sin," to שננה "ignorance;" that is, the issues of a wicked from the issues of a weak mind: according to that saying of our blessed Saviour; "If ye were blind, ye should have no sin;"[y] that is, no great or very unpardonable sin. Ignorance, where of itself it is no sin, keeps the action innocent; but as the principle is polluted, so also is the emanation.

SECTION VIII.

Practical Advices to be added to the foregoing Considerations.

65. I. SINCE our weak nature is the original of our imperfections and sinful infirmities, it is of great concernment that we treat our natures so, as to make them aptly to minister to religion but not to vice. Nature must be preserved as a servant, but not indulged to as a mistress; for she is apt to be petulant, and after the manner of women,

——quæ faciunt graviora coactæ
Imperio sexus—— JUV.

She will insult impotently, and rule tyrannically. Nature's provisions of meat and drink are to be retrenched and moderate, that she may not be luxuriant and irregular; but she ought to be refreshed so as to be useful, and healthful, and cheerful, even in the days of expiation and sorrow. For he that fasts to kill his lust, and by fasting grows peevish, which to very many men is a natural effect of fasting, and was sadly experimented in St. Jerome, hath only altered the signification of his evil; and it is not easily known, whether the beast that is wanton, or the beast that is cursed, be aptest to gore; and if in such cases the first evil should be cured, yet the man is not.

66. But there are in nature some things, which are the instruments of virtue and vice too: some things, which, of themselves indeed, are culpable, but yet such which do minister to glorious events, and such, which as they are not easily corrigible, so they are not safe to be done away. "Dabo maximæ famæ viros, et inter admiranda propositos, quos si quis corrigit delet. Sic enim vitia virtutibus immixta sunt, ut illas secum tractura sint."[z] If the natural anger of some men be taken off, you will also extinguish their courage, or make them unfit for government. Vice and virtue sometimes go together: in these cases, that which we call vicious, is in many degrees of it, a natural infirmity, and must be tempered as well as it can; but it neither can, nor indeed ought to be, extinguished: and therefore, as we must take care that nature run not into extravagancies; so, for the unalterable portions of infirmity, they ought to be the matter of humility and watchfulness, but not of scruple and vexation. However, we must be careful, that nature be not God's enemy; for if a vice be incorporated into our nature, that is, if our natural imperfections be changed into evil customs, it is a threefold cord, that is not easily broken; it is a legion of devils, and not to be cast out without a mighty labour, and all the arts and contentions of the Spirit of God.

67. II. In prosecution of this propound to thyself, as the great business of thy life, to fight against thy passions. We see that sin is almost unavoidable to young men, because passion seizes upon their first years. The days of our youth is the reign of passion; and sin rides in triumph upon the wheels of desire, which run infinitely when the boy drives the chariot. But the religion of a christian is an open war against passion; and by the grace of meekness, if we list to study and to acquire that, hath placed us in the regions of safety.

68. III. Be not uncertain in thy resolutions, or in choosing thy state of life; because all uncertainties of mind, and vagabond resolutions, leave a man in the tyranny of all his follies and infirmities: every thing can transport him, and he can be forced by every temptation; and every fancy or new accident can ruin him. He that is not resolved and constant, is yet in a state of deliberation; and that supposes contrary appetites to be yet in the balance, and sin to be as strong as grace. But besides this, there are, in every state of life, many little things to be overcome, and objections to be mastered, and proper infirmities adherent, which are to be cured in the progression and growth of a man, and after experiment had of that state of life in which we are engaged; but therefore it is necessary that we begin speedily, lest we have no time to begin that work, which ought, in some measure, to be finished before we die.

Dum, quid sis, dubitas, jam potes esse nihil. MARTIAL.

He that is uncertain what to do, shall never do any thing well; and there is no infirmity greater, than that a man shall not be able to determine himself what he ought to do.

69. IV. In contentions against sin and infirmities, let your force and your care be applied to that part of the wall that is weakest, and where it is most likely the enemy will assault thee,—and if he does, that he will prevail. If a lustful person should bend all his prayers and his observations against envy, he hath cured nothing of his nature and infirmity. Some lusts our temper or our interest will part withal; but our infirmities are in those desires which are hardest to be mastered: that is, when after a long dispute, and perpetual contention, still there will abide some pertinacious string of an evil root; when the lust will be apt upon all occasions to revert, when every thing can give fire to it, and every heat can make it stir; that is the scene of our danger, and ought to be of greatest warfare and observation.

70. V. He that fights against that lust, which is the evil spring of his proper infirmities, must not do it by single instances, but by a constant and universal mortal fight. He that does single spites to a lust, as he that opposes now and then a fasting day against carnality, or some few alms against oppression or covetousness, will find that these single acts, if nothing else be done, can do nothing but cozen him: they are apt to persuade easy people, that they

[y] John x. 41.

[z] A. Gellius 19. 12. et 17. 15.

have done what is in them to cure their infirmity, and that their condition is good; but it will not do any thing of that work whither they are designed. We must remember that infirmities are but the relics and remains of an old lust, and are not cured but at the end of a lasting war. They abide even after the conquest, after their main body is broken, and therefore cannot at all be cured by those light velitations and pickeerings of single actions of hostility.

71. VI. When a violent temptation assaults thee, remember that this violence is not without, but within. Thou art weak, and that makes the burden great. Therefore whatever advices thou art pleased to follow in opposition to the temptation without, be sure that thou place the strongest guards within, and take care of thyself. And if thou dost die, or fall foully, seek not an excuse from the greatness of the temptation; for that accuses thee most of all: the bigger the temptation is, it is true that oftentimes thou art the more to blame; but at the best it is a reproof of thy imperfect piety. He whose religion is greater than the temptation of a hundred pounds, and yet falls in the temptation of a thousand, sets a price upon God and upon heaven; and though he will not sell heaven for a hundred pounds,—yet a thousand, he thinks, is a worthy purchase.

72. VII. Never think that a temptation is too strong for thee, if thou givest over fighting against it: for as long as thou didst continue thy contention, so long it prevailed not; but when thou yieldedst basely, or threwest away thy arms, then it foraged, and did mischief, and slew thee, or wounded thee dangerously. No man knows, but, if he had stood one assault more, the temptation would have left him. Be not therefore pusillanimous in a great trial: it is certain thou canst do all that which God requires of thee, if thou wilt but do all that thou canst do.

73. VIII. Contend every day against that which troubles thee every day. For there is no peace in this war; and there are not many infirmities, or principles of failing, greater than weariness of well-doing; for besides that it proclaims the weakness of thy resolution, and the infancy of thy piety, and thy undervaluing religion, and thy want of love, it is also a direct yielding to the enemy: for since the greatest scene of infirmities lies in the manner of our piety, he that is religious only by uncertain periods, and is weary of his duty, is not arrived so far as to plead the infirmities of willing people; for he is in the state of death and enmity.

74. IX. He that would master his infirmities, must do it at God's rate, and not at his own: he must not start back when the burden pinches him, nor refuse his repentances because they smart, nor omit his alms because they are expensive: for it is vain to propound to ourselves any end, and yet to decline the use of those means, and instruments, without which it is not to be obtained. He that will buy, must take it at the seller's price; and if God will not give thee safety or immunity, but upon the exchange of labour, and contradictions, fierce contentions, and mortification of our appetites, we must go to the cost, or quit the purchase.

75. X. He that will be strong in grace, and triumph in good measures over his infirmities, must attempt his remedy by an active prayer. For prayer without labour is like faith without charity, dead and ineffective. A working faith, and a working prayer, are the great instruments, and the great exercise, and the great demonstration, of holiness and christian perfection. Children can sit down in a storm, or in a danger, and weep and die: but men can labour against it, and struggle with the danger, and labour for that blessing which they beg. Thou dost not desire it, unless thou wilt labour for it. He that sits still and wishes, had rather have that thing than be without it; but if he will not use the means, he had rather lose his desire than lose his ease. That is scarce worth having, that is not worth labouring.

76. XI. In all contentions against sin and infirmity, remember that what was done yesterday may be done to-day; and by the same instruments by which then you were conqueror, you may also be so in every day of temptation. The Italian general that quitted his vanity and his employment, upon the sight of one that died suddenly, might, upon the same consideration, actually applied and fitted to the fancy, at any time resist his lust. And therefore Epictetus gives it in rule; *Θάνατος πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔστω σοι καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμήσῃ, οὐδὲ ἄγαν ἐπιθυμήσεις τινός.* "Let death be always before thy eyes, and then thou shalt never desire any base or low thing, nor desire any thing too much:"[c]—that is, the perpetual application of so great a consideration as is death, is certainly the greatest endearment of holiness and severity. And certain it is, that at some time or other, the greatest part of christians have had some horrible apprehensions of hell, of death, and consequent damnation; and it hath put into them holy thoughts, and resolutions of piety: and if ever they were in a severe sickness, and did really fear death, they may remember with how great a regret they did then look upon their sins; and then they thought heaven a considerable interest, and hell a formidable state, and would not then have committed a sin for the purchase of the world. Now every man hath always the same arguments and endearments of piety and religion: heaven and hell are always the same considerable things; and the truth is the same still: but then they are considered most, and therefore they prevail most; and this is a demonstration that the arguments themselves are sufficient, and would always do the work of grace for us, if we were not wanting to ourselves. It is impossible that any man can be moved by any argument in the world, or any interest, any hope or any fear, who cannot be moved by the consideration of heaven and hell. But that which I observe is this; that the argument that wisely and reasonably prevailed yesterday, can prevail to-day, unless thou thyself beest foolish and unreasonable.

77. XII. If a wicked man sins, it is never by a pitiable or pardonable infirmity, but from a state of death that it proceeds, or will be so imputed, and it

[c] Enchir. c. 28.

is all one as if it did. But if a good man sins, he hath the least reason to pretend infirmity for his excuse, because he hath the strengths of the Spirit, and did master sin in its strengths, and in despite of all its vigorousness and habit; and therefore certainly can do so much rather, when sin is weak and grace is strong. The result of which consideration is this, that no man should please himself in his sin, because it is a sin of infirmity. He that is pleased with it, because he thinks it is indulged to him, sins with pleasure, and therefore not of infirmity; for that is ever against our will, and besides our observation. No sin is a sin of infirmity, unless we hate it, and strive against it. He that hath gotten some strength, may pretend some infirmity; but he that hath none, is dead.

78. XIII. Let no man think, that the proper evil of age or state, or of his nation, is, in the latitude and nature of it, a sin of a pardonable infirmity. The lusts of youth, and the covetousness or pride of old age, and the peevishness of the afflicted, are states of evil, not sins of infirmity; for it is highly considerable, that sins of infirmity are but single ones. There is no such thing as a state of a pardonable infirmity. If by distemper of the body, or the vanity of years, or the evil customs of a nation, a vice does creep upon, and seize on, the man, it is that against which the man ought to watch, and pray, and labour; it is a state of danger and temptation. But that must not be called infirmity, which corrupts nations and states of life; but that only, which, in single instances, surprises even a watchful person, when his guards are most remiss.

79. XIV. Whatsoever sin comes regularly, or by observation, is not to be excused upon the pretence of infirmity; but is the indication of an evil habit. Therefore, never admit a sin upon hopes of excuse; for it is certain, no evil that a man chooses is excusable. No man sins with a pardon about his neck. But if the sin comes at a certain time, it comes from a certain cause; and then it cannot be infirmity: for all sins of infirmity are sins of chance, irregular and accidental.

80. XV. Be curious to avoid all proverbs and propositions, or odd sayings, by which evil life is encouraged, and the hands of the spirit weakened. It is strange to consider what a prejudice to a man's understanding of things is a contrary proverb. "Can any good thing come out of Galilee?" And "when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is."—Two or three proverbs did, in despite of all the miracles, and holy doctrines, and rare example of Christ, hinder many of the Jews from believing in him. The words of St. Paul, misunderstood and worse applied, have been so often abused to evil purposes, that they have almost passed into a proverbial excuse; "The evil that I would not, that I do." Such sayings as these are to be tried by the severest measures; and all such senses of them, which are enemies to holiness of life, are to be rejected, because they are against the whole economy and design of the gospel, of the life and death of Christ. But a proverb, being used by every man, is supposed to contain the opinion and belief, or experience of mankind: and then that evil sense that we are pleased to put to them, will be thought to be of the same authority. I have heard of divers persons, who have been strangely enticed on to finish their revellings, and drunken conventicles, by a catch, or a piece of a song, by a humour, and a word, by a bold saying, or a common proverb: and whoever take any measures of good or evil, but the severest discourses of reason and religion, will be like a ship turned every way by a little piece of wood; by chance, and by half a sentence, because they dwell upon the water, and a wave of the sea is their foundation.

81. XVI. Let every man take heed of a servile will and a commanding lust: for he that is so miserable, is in a state of infirmity and death; and will have a perpetual need of something to hide his folly, or to excuse it, but shall find nothing. He shall be forced to break his resolution, to sin against his conscience, to do after the manner of fools, who promise and pay not, who resolve and do not, who speak and remember not, who are fierce in their pretences and designs, but act them as dead men do their own wills. They make their will, but die and do nothing themselves.

82. XVII. Endeavour to do what can never be done; that is, to cure all thy infirmities. For this is thy victory, for ever to contend: and although God will leave a remnant of Canaanites in the land to be thy daily exercise, and endearment of care and of devotion; yet you must not let them alone, or entertain a treaty of peace with them. But when you have done something, go on to finish it: it is infinite pity that any good thing should be spent or thrown away upon a lust: but if we sincerely endeavour to be masters of every action, we shall be of most of them; and for the rest, they shall trouble thee, but do thee no other mischief. We must keep the banks, that the sea break not in upon us; but no man can be secure against the drops of rain, that fall upon the heads of all mankind: but yet every man must get as good shelter as he can.

The Prayer.

I.

O Almighty God, the Father of mercy and holiness, thou art the fountain of grace and strength, and thou blessest the sons of men by turning them from their iniquities; show the mightiness of thy power and the glories of thy grace, by giving me strength against all my enemies, and victory in all temptations, and watchfulness against all dangers, and caution in all difficulties, and hope in all my fears, and recollection of mind in all distractions of spirit and fancy; that I may not be a servant of chance or violence, of interest or passion, of fear or desire, but that my will may rule the lower man, and my understanding may guide my will, and thy Holy Spirit may conduct my understanding; that in all contentions thy Spirit may prevail, and in all doubts I may choose the better part, and in the midst of all contradictions,

and temptations, and infelicities, I may be thy servant infallibly and unalterably. Amen.

II.

Blessed Jesu, thou art our High-Priest, and encompassed with infirmities, but always without sin; relieve and pity me, O my gracious Lord, who am encompassed with infirmities, but seldom or never without sin. O my God, my ignorances are many, my passions violent, my temptations insnaring and deceitful, my observation little, my inadvertencies innumerable, my resolutions weak, my dangers round about me, my duty and obligations full of variety, and the instances very numerous; O be thou unto me wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Thou hast promised thy Holy Spirit to them that ask him; let thy Spirit help my infirmities, give to me his strengths, instruct me with his notices, encourage me with his promises, affright me with his terrors, confirm me with his courage, that I, being readily prepared and furnished for every good work, may grow with the increase of God to the full measure of the stature and fulness of thee my Saviour; that "though my outward man decay and decrease, yet my inner man may be renewed day by day;" that my infirmities may be weaker, and thy grace stronger, and at last may triumph over the decays of the old man. O be thou pleased to pity my infirmities, and pardon all those actions which proceed from weak principles; that when I do what I can, I may be accepted; and when I fail of that, I may be pitied and pardoned; and in all my fights and necessities may be defended and secured, prospered and conducted to the regions of victory and triumph, of strength and glory, through the mercies of God, and the grace of our Lord Jesus, and the blessed communication of the Spirit of God and our Lord Jesus. Amen.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE EFFECT OF REPENTANCE, VIZ. REMISSION OF SINS.

SECTION I.

1. The law written in the heart of man is a law of obedience; which because we prevaricated, we are taught another, which St. Austin says, is written "in the heart of angels:" "Ut nulla sit iniquitas impunita, nisi quam sanguis Mediatoris expiaverit."[d] For God the Father spares no sinner, but while he looks upon the face of his Son: but that in him our sins should be pardoned, and our person spared, is as necessary a consideration as any. "Nemo enim potest benè agere pœnitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam."[e] To what purpose does God call us to repentance, if, at the same time, he does not invite us to pardon? It is the state and misery of the damned, to repent without hope; and if this also could be the state of the penitent in this life, the sermons of repentance were useless and comfortless, God's mercies were none at all to sinners, the institution and office of preaching and reconciling penitents were impertinent, and man should die by the laws of angels, who never was enabled to live by their strength and measures; and consequently, all mankind were infinitely and eternally miserable, lost irrecoverably, perishing without a Saviour, tied to a law too hard for him, and condemned by unequal and intolerable sentences.

2. Tertullian, considering that God threatens all impenitent sinners, argues demonstratively: "Neque enim comminaretur non pœnitenti, si non ignosceret delinquenti."[f] If men repent not, God will be severely angry; it will be infinitely the worse for us if we do not; and shall it be so too if we do repent? God forbid. "Frustra mortuus est Christus, si aliquos vivificare non potest. Mentitur Johannes Baptista, et digito Christum et voce demonstrans, 'Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi,' si sunt adhuc in sæculo quorum Christus peccata non tulerit."—"In vain did Christ die, if he cannot give life to all. And the Baptist deceived us when he pointed out Christ unto us, saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world,' if there were any in the world whose sins Christ hath not borne."[g]

3. But God by the old prophets called upon them, who were under the covenant of works in open appearance, that they also should repent, and by antedating the mercies of the gospel, promised pardon to the penitent; he promised mercy by Moses and the prophets; he proclaimed his name to be mercy and forgiveness; he did solemnly swear he did "not desire the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live;" and the Holy Spirit of God hath respersed every book of Holy Scripture with great and legible lines of mercy, and sermons of repentance. In short, it was the sum of all the sermons, which were made by those whom God sent with his word in their mouths, that they should live innocently, or, when they had sinned, they should repent and be saved from their calamity.[h]

4. But when Christ came into the world, he

[d] Lib. 6. contr. Julian. c. 9.
[e] S. Ambr. de Pœnit. lib. 1. c. 2. [f] Lib. 2. de Pœnit.
[g] S. Hierom. Epist. ad Ocean.
[h] Exod. xxxiv. 6. Psal. ciii. per totum, cxxviii. Isa. lv. 7, 8. Jer. xviii. 7, 8. Ezek. xviii. 21, 22. xxxiii. 11. Dan iv. 27. Mal. iii. 7. Joel ii. 13. Jonah iv. 2. iii. 9.

opened the fountains of mercy, and broke down all the banks of restraint; he preached repentance, offered health, gave life, called all wearied and burdened persons to come to him for ease and remedy, he glorified his Father's mercies, and himself became the great instrument and channel of its emanation. He preached and commanded mercy by the example of God; he made his religion that he taught, to be wholly made up of doing and receiving good; this by faith, that by charity. He commanded an indefinite and unlimited forgiveness of our brother, repenting after injuries done to us seventy times seven times: and though there could be little question of that, yet he was pleased to signify to us, that as we needed more, so we should have, and find, more mercy at the hands of God. And therefore, he hath appointed a whole order of men, whom he maintains at his own charges, and furnishes with especial commissions,[i] and endues with a lasting power, and employs on his own errand, and instructs with his own Spirit; whose business is "to remit and retain," to "exhort and to restore," sinners by the means of repentance, and the word of their proper ministry." "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted;" that is their authority: and their office is, "to pray all men, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled to God." And, after all this, Christ himself labours to bring it to effect; not only assisting his ministers with the gifts of an excellent Spirit, and exacting of them "the account of souls;" but, that it may be prosperous and effectual, himself intercedes in heaven before the throne of grace, doing for sinners the office of an advocate and a reconciler. "If any man sins, we have an Advocate with the Father; and he is the propitiation for all our sins, and for the sins of the whole world:"[k] and therefore it is not only the matter of our hopes, but an article of our creed, that we may have forgiveness of our sins by the blood of Jesus. "Qui nullum excepit, in Christo donavit omnia:" "God hath excepted none, and therefore in Christ pardons all."

5. For there is not in scripture any catalogue of sins set down, for which Christ died, and others excluded from that state of mercy. All that believe and repent shall be pardoned, if they "go and sin no more."—"Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam sacerdotibus suis sine ullâ exceptione concessit," saith St. Ambrose: "God excepts none, but hath given power to his ministers to release all, absolutely all."[l]—And St. Bernard argues this article upon the account of those excellent examples, which the Spirit of God hath consigned to us in Holy Scripture. "If Peter, after so great a fall, did arrive to such an eminence of sanctity, hereafter who shall despair, provided that he will depart from his sins?"[m] For that God is ready to forgive the greatest criminals if they repent, appears in the instances of Ahab and Manasses, of Mary Magdalen and St. Paul, of the thief on the cross and the deprehended adulteress, and of the Jews themselves,—who, after they had crucified the Lord of life, were by messengers of his own invited, passionately invited to repent, and be purified with that blood, which they had sacrilegiously and impiously spilt. But, concerning this, who please may read St. Austin discoursing upon those words; "Mittet crystallum suum sicut buccellas;" which, saith he, mystically represent the readiness of God to break and make contrite even the hearts of them that have been hardened in impiety. "Quo loco consistent pœnitentiam agentes, ibi justi non poterunt stare," said the doctors of the Jews: "The just and innocent persons shall not be able to stand in the same place, where the penitent shall be."[n]—"Pacem, pacem remoto et propinquo, ait Dominus, ut sanem eum:" "Peace to him that is afar off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord, that I may heal him."—"Præponit remotum:" that is their observation; "He that is afar off is set before the other;"—that is, he that is at great distance from God, as if God did use the greater earnestness to reduce him. Upon which place their gloss adds; "Magna est virtus eorum qui pœnitentiam agunt, ita ut nulla creatura in septo illorum consistere queat:" "So great is the virtue of them that are true penitents, that no creature can stand within their enclosure." And all this is far better expressed by those excellent words of our blessed Saviour; "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-nine just persons, that need no repentance."[o]

6. I have been the longer in establishing and declaring the proper foundation of this article, upon which every one can declaim, but every one cannot believe it in the day of temptation; because I guess what an intolerable evil it is to despair of pardon, by having felt the trouble of some very great fears. And this were the less necessary, but that it is too commonly true, that they who repent least are most confident of their pardon, or rather, least consider any reasons against their security: but when a man truly apprehends the vileness of his sin, he ought also to consider the state of his danger, which is wholly upon the stock of what is past; that is, his danger is this, that he knows not when, or whether, or upon what terms, God will pardon him in particular. But of this I shall have a more apt occasion to speak in the following periods. For the present, the article in general is established upon the testimonies of the greatest certainty.

SECTION II.

Of Pardon of Sins committed after Baptism.

7. But, it may be, our easiness of life, and want of discipline, and our desires to reconcile our pleasures and temporal satisfactions with the hopes of heaven, hath made us apt to swallow all that seems

[i] Matt. xviii. 15, 16. John xx. 23. 2 Cor. vii. 10. Gal. vi. 1. Jam. i. 15, 16, 19, 20. 1 John ii. 11. i. 9. Rev. ii. 5. iii. 1–3, 19, 20.

[k] 1 John ii. 2, 3. [l] Lib. 1. de Pœnit. c. 2.
[m] In solemni Petri et Pauli, ser. 3.
[n] Gemara de Synedrio, c. 11. [o] Luke xv. 7.

to favour our hopes. But it is certain, that some christian doctors have taught the doctrine of repentance with greater severity, than is intimated in the premises. For all the examples of pardon, consigned to us in the Old Testament, are nothing to us, who live under the New, and are to be judged by other measures. And as for those instances which are recorded in the New Testament, and all the promises and affirmations of pardon,—they are sufficiently verified in that pardon of sins, which is first given to us in baptism, and at our first conversion to christianity. Thus when St. Stephen prayed for his persecutors,—and our blessed Lord himself, on his uneasy death-bed of the cross, prayed for them that crucified him,—it can only prove, that these great sins are pardonable in our first access to Christ, because they, for whom Christ and his martyr St. Stephen prayed, were not yet converted,—and so were to be saved by baptismal repentance. Then the power of the keys is exercised, and the gates of the kingdom are opened; then we enter into the covenant of mercy and pardon, and promise faith and perpetual obedience to the laws of Jesus; and upon that condition, forgiveness is promised and exhibited, offered and consigned, but never after: for it is in christianity for all great sins, as in the civil law for theft. "Qui eâ mente alienum quid contrectavit ut lucrifaceret, tametsi, mutato concilio, id Domino postea reddidit, fur est: nemo enim, tali peccato, pœnitentiâ suâ nocens esse desinit," said Ulpian and Gaius.[p] Repentance does not here take off the punishment, nor the stain. And so it seems to be in christianity, in which every baptized person, having stipulated for obedience, is upon those terms admitted to pardon, and consequently, if he fails of his duty, he shall fail of the grace.

8. But that this objection may proceed no further, it is certain that it is an infinite lessening of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, to confine pardon of sins only to the font. For that even lapsed christians may be restored by repentance, and be pardoned, appears in the story of the "incestuous Corinthian," and the precept of St. Paul to the spiritual man, or the curate of souls. "If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a man in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted."[q] The christian might fall, and the Corinthian did so,—and the minister himself, he who had the ministry of restitution and reconciliation, was also in danger: and yet they all might be restored. To the same sense is that of St. James; "Is any man sick among you? Let him send for the presbyters of the church, and let them pray over him. Κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖν πεποιηκὼς, 'Although he was a doer of sins,' they shall be forgiven him."[r] For there is an ἀδικία, "a sin" that is not unto death. And therefore when St. Austin, in his first book "de Sermone Dei," had said that there is some sin so great that it cannot be remitted, he retracts his words with this clause; "addendum fuit," &c. "I should have added, if in so great perverseness of mind he ends his life. For we must not despair of the worst sinner, we may not despair of any, since we ought to pray for all."

9. For it is beyond exception or doubt, that it was the great work of the apostles, and of the whole New Testament, to engage men in a perpetual repentance. For since all men do sin, all men must repent, or all men must perish. And very many periods of Scripture are directed to lapsed christians, baptized persons falling into grievous crimes, calling them to repentance. So Simon Peter to Simon Magus: Μετανόησον ἀπὸ κακίας, "Repent of thy wickedness;"[s] and to the Corinthian christians St. Paul urges the purpose of his legation; "We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." The Spirit of God reproved some of the Asian churches for foul misdemeanours, and even some of the "angels, the Asian bishops," calling upon to "return to their first love," and "to repent and to do their first works;" and to the very Gnostics, and filthiest heretics, he gave "space to repent," and threatened extermination to them, if they did not do it "speedily."[t] For,

10. Baptism is εἰς μετάνοιαν, the admission of us to the covenant of faith and repentance; or as Mark the Anchoret called it, πρόφασίς ἐστι τῆς μετανοίας, "the introduction to repentance," or that state of life that is full of labour and care, and "amendment of our faults;" for that is the best life that any man can live: and therefore repentance hath its progress after baptism, as it hath its beginning before: for first "repentance is unto baptism," and then "baptism unto repentance." And if it were otherwise, the church had but ill provided for the state of her sons and daughters by commanding the baptism of infants. For if repentance were not allowed after, then their early baptism would take from them all hopes of repentance, and destroy the mercies of the gospel, and make it now to all christendom a law of works in the greater instances; because since in our infancy we neither need, nor can perform, repentance,—if to them that sin after baptism, repentance be denied, it is in the whole denied to them for ever to repent.[u] But "God hath provided better things for us, and such which accompany salvation."

11. For besides those many things which have been already considered, our admission to the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper is a perpetual entertainment of our hopes: because then and there is really exhibited to us the body that was broken, and the blood that was "shed for remission of sins:" still it is applied, and that application could not be necessary to be done anew, if there were not new necessities; and still we are invited to do actions of repentance, "to examine ourselves, and so to eat:" all which, as things are ordered, would be infinitely useless to mankind, if it did not mean pardon to christians falling into foul sins even after baptism.

12. I shall add no more but the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians; "Lest when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall

[p] L. 65. D. de furtis, et l. 1. D. de Ædilitio edicto.
[q] Gal. vi. 1.
[r] James v. 14, 15.
[s] Acts viii. 22.
[t] Apocal. ii. 16, 5, 21.
[u] Vide Great Exempl. part 1, disc. of Bapt. vol. i. p. 119, &c.

lewail many who have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, which they have committed."[x] Here is a fierce accusation of some of them, for the foulest and the basest crimes; and a reproof of their not repenting, and a threatening them with censures ecclesiastical. I suppose this article to be sufficiently concluded from the premises. The necessity of which proof they only will best believe, who are severely penitent, and full of apprehension and fear of the Divine anger, because they have highly deserved it. However, I have served my own needs in it, and the need of those whose consciences have been, or shall be, so timorous as mine hath deserved to be. But against the universality of this doctrine there are two grand objections; the one is the severer practice and doctrine of the primitive church, denying repentance to some kind of sinners after baptism:—the other, the usual discourses and opinions concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost. Of these I shall give account in the two following sections.

SECTION III.

Of the Difficulty of obtaining Pardon: the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church in this Article.

13. NOVATIANUS and Novatus said, that the church had not power to minister pardon of sins, except only in baptism; which proposition, when they had well digested and considered, they did thus explicate. That there are some capital sins, crying and clamorous, into which if a christain did fall after baptism, the church hath nothing to do with him, she could not absolve him.

14. This opinion of theirs was a branch of the elder heresy of Montanus, which had abused Tertullian, who fiercely declaims against the decree of Pope Zephyrinus,[y] because, against the custom of his decessors, he admitted adulterers to repentance, while at the same time he refused idolaters and murderers. And this their severity did not seem to be put upon the account of a present necessity, or their own zeal, or for the avoiding scandal, or their love of holiness; but upon the nature of the thing itself, and the sentences of Scripture. An old man, of whom Irenæus[z] makes mention, said; "Non debemus superbi esse, neque reprehendere veteres, ne fortè, post agnitionem Dei, agentes aliquid quod non placet Deo, remissionem non habeamus ultrà delictorum, et excludamur à regno ejus:" "We must not be proud and reprove our fathers, lest, after the knowledge of God, we doing something that does not please God, we may no more have remission of our sins, but be excluded from his kingdom." To the same purpose is that canon made by the Gallic bishops against the false accusers of their brethren; "ut ad exitum ne communicent:" "that they should not be admitted to the communion or peace of the church, no, not at their death."—And Pacianus, bishop of Barcinona, gives a severe account of the doctrine of the Spanish churches even in his time, and of their refusing to admit idolaters, murderers, and adulterers to repentance. "Other sins may be cured by the exercise of good works; but these three kill like the breath of a basilisk, and are to be feared like a deadly arrow. They that were guilty of such crimes, did despair. What have I done to you? Was it not in your power to have let it alone? Did no man admonish you? Did none foretell the event? Was the church silent? Did the gospels say nothing? Did the apostles threaten nothing? Did the priest entreat nothing of you? Why do you seek for late comforts? Then you might have sought for them, when they were to be had. But they that pronounce such men happy, do but abuse you."[a]

15. This opinion, and the consequent practice, had its fate in several places to live longer or die sooner. And in Africa[b] the decree of Zephyrinus, for the admission of penitent adulterers, was not admitted even by the orthodox and catholics; but they dissented placidly and modestly, and governed their own churches by the old severity. For there was then no thought of any necessity that other churches should obey the sanctions of the pope, or the decrees of Rome, but they retained the old discipline. But yet the piety and the reasonableness of the decree of Zephyrinus prevailed by little and little, and adulterers were admitted; but the severity stuck longer upon idolaters or apostates: for they were not to be admitted to the peace of the church, although they should afterward suffer martyrdom for the name of Christ: and for this they pretended the words of St. Paul; "Non possunt admitti, secundum apostolum,"[c] as St. Cyprian expressly affirms;[d] and the same is the sentence of the first canon of the council of Eliberis.

16. When they began to remit of this rigour, which they did in or about St. Cyprian's time, they did admit these great criminals to repentance: *once*, but *no more;* as appears in Tertullian,[e] the council of [f]Eliberis, the synod at Syde in Pamphylia against the Messalians,[g] St. Ambrose,[h] St. Austin, and Macedonius;[i] which makes it suspicious that the words of Origen are interpolated, saying, "In gravioribus criminibus, semel tantùm vel rarò, pœnitentiæ conceditur locus." But *once* or *but seldom;* so the words are now; but the practice of that age was not so remiss, for they gave *once* and *no more;* as appears in the foregoing authors, and in the eleventh canon of the third council of Toledo. For as St. Clemens of Alexandria affirms; "Apparet, sed non est, pœnitentia sæpe petere de iis, quæ sæpe peccantur:" "It is but a seeming repentance, that falls often after a frequent return."[k]

17. But this gentleness (for it was the greatest they then had) they ministered to such only as desired it in their health, and in the days in which they could live the lives of penitents, and make

[x] 2 Cor. xii. 21.
[y] De Pudic. c. 5. 9.
[z] Lib. 4. c. 45.
[a] Paræn. ad Pœnit.
[b] St. Cyprian. ep. 52.
[c] Heb. vi. 4–6.
[d] Ubi supra.
[e] De Pœnit.
[f] Can. 7.
[g] Lib. 2. de Pœnit. c. 10.
[h] Ep. 51.
[i] Ep. 53. Hom. 15. in 25. cap. Levit.
[k] Stromat. lib. 2.

amends for their folly. For if men had lived wickedly, and on their death-bed desired to be admitted to repentance and pardon, they refused them utterly; as appears in that excellent epistle[l] of St. Cyprian to Antonianus: "Prohibendos omnino censuimus à spe communionis et pacis, si in infirmitate atque periculo cœperint deprecari;" "At no hand are those to be admitted to church-communion, who repent only in their danger and weakness," because "not repentance of their fault, but the hasty warning of instant or approaching death, compelled them: neither is he worthy in death to receive the comfort, who did not think he was to die." And consequently to this severity, in his sermon "de Lapsis," he advises that "every man should confess his sin, while his confession can be admitted, while his satisfaction may be acceptable, and his pardon ratified by God."—The same was decreed by the fathers in the synod of Arles.[m]

18. This was severe, if we judge of it by the manners and propositions of the present age. But iniquity did so abound, and was so far from being cured by this severe discipline, that it made this discipline to be intolerable and useless. And therefore even from this also they did quickly retire. For in the time of Innocentius[n] and St. Austin, they began not only to impose penances on dying penitents, but even after a wicked life to reconcile them. They then first began to do it: but as it usually happens in first attempts, and insolent actions, they were fearful, and knew not the event, and would warrant nothing. "To hinder them that are in peril of death, from the use of the last remedy, is hard and impious; but to promise any thing in so late a cure is temerarious:" so Salvian:—and St. Chrysostom to Theodorus would not have such persons despaired, so neither nourished up by hope: only it is better, "nihil inexpertum relinquere quàm morientem nolle curare," "to try every way, rather than that the dying penitent should fail for want of help." But Isidore said plainly, "He who living wickedly, repents in the time of his death, as his damnation is uncertain, so his pardon is doubtful."

19. This was the most dangerous indulgence, and easiness of doctrine, that had as yet entered into the church; but now it was tumbling, and therefore could not stop here, but presently down went all severity. All sinners, and at all times, and as often as they would, might be admitted to repentance and pardon, whether they could or could not perform the stations and injunctions of the penitents; and this took off the edge of public and ecclesiastical repentance; and to this succeeded private repentance, where none but God and the priest were witnesses; and because this was a recession from the old discipline, and of itself an abuse, or but the relics of discipline at the best, and therefore not necessary because it was but an imperfect supply of something that was better,—this also is in some places laid aside; in others, too much abused. But of that in its place.

20. But now that I may give an account concerning the first severity: concerning their not admitting those three sorts of criminals to repentance, but denying it to none else, I consider, 1. That there is no place of Scripture, that was pretended to exclude those three capital sins from hopes of pardon. For one of them there was, of which I shall give account in the following periods:[o] but for murder and adultery there were very many authorities of Scripture to prove them pardonable, but none to prove them unpardonable. 2. What can be pretended why idolatry, murder, and adultery, should be less pardonable, if repented of, that incest, treason, heresy, sodomy, or sacrilege? These were not denied; and yet some of them are greater criminals than some that were: but the value is set upon crimes as men please. 3. That, even in these three cases, the church did allow repentance in the very beginning, appears beyond exception in Irenæus,[p] who writes concerning the women seduced by the heretic Mark, and so guilty of both adulteries, carnal and spiritual, that they were admitted to repentance. 4. St. Clemens of Alexandria affirms indefinitely, concerning all persons lapsed after baptism, that they may be restored and pardoned. Ἰστέον μέν τοι τοὺς μετὰ τὸ λουτρὸν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι περιπίπτοντας, τούτους εἶναι τοὺς παιδευομένους· τὰ μὲν γὰρ προενεργηθέντα ἀφείθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐκκαθαίρεται· "They that fall into sins after baptism must be chastened; for those things which were committed before baptism are pardoned, but they which are committed afterward are to be purged."[q] For it is certain, that God did not shut up the fountain, which he opened in baptism: then he smote the rock, and the stream flowed out, and it became a river, and ran in dry places. 5. It is more than probable, that, in Egypt, it was very ordinary to admit lapsed persons, and even idolaters, to repentance, because of the strange levity of the nation,—and that even the bishops did, at the coming of Adrianus the emperor, devote themselves to Serapis. "Illi qui Serapim colunt, Christiani sunt: et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt:" so the emperor testifies in his letters to Servianus.[r] For it is not to be supposed that it was part of their persuasion that they might lawfully do it, or that it was solemn and usual so to do; but that, to avoid persecution, they did choose rather to seem inconstant and changeable than to be killed—especially in that nation which was "tota levis et pendula, et ad omnia famæ momenta volans," (as these letters say,) "light and inconstant, tossed about with every noise of fame and variety." These bishops, after the departure of Cæsar, without peradventure, did, many of them, return to their charges, and they and their priests pardoned each other; just as the "Libellatici" and the "Thurificati" did, in Carthage and all Africa, as St. Cyprian relates. 6. In Ephrem Syrus there is a form of confession and of prayer for the pardon of foul sins: Σπλαγχνίσθητι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου, ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ταῖς πλεονεξίαις, ταῖς

[l] Epist. 52.
[m] Arelat. 1. c. 23.
[n] Innocent. epist. ad Exuper.
[o] Sect. 4.
[p] Lib. 1. c. 9. Hæ sæpissime, conversæ ad ecclesiam Dei, confessæ sunt, et secundum corpus exterminatas se ab eo, velut cupidine, &c.
[q] Strom. 4.
[r] Apud Spartian.

καταλαλίαις, ταῖς αἰσχρολογίαις: "Have mercy on my sins, my injustices, my covetousness, (which some render *unnatural lusts,)* my adulteries and fornications, my idle and filthy speakings.—If these after baptism are pardonable, "Quid non speremus?" the former severity must be understood not to be their doctrine, but their discipline.

21. And the same is to be said concerning their giving repentance but to those, whom they did admit after baptism;—we find it expressly affirmed by the next ages, that the purpose of their fathers was only for discipline and caution. So St. Austin: "The church did cautiously and healthfully provide, that penitents should but once be admitted, lest a frequent remedy should become contemptible; yet who dares say, Why do ye again spare this man, who, after his first repentance, is again entangled in the snares of sin?" [s]

22. So that whereas some of them use to say of certain sins, that "after baptism, or after the first relapse, they are unpardonable,"—we must know, that in the style of the church, "unpardonable" signified such, to which, by the discipline and customs of the church, pardon was not ministered. They were called "unpardonable," not because God would not pardon them, but because he alone could: this we learn from those words of Tertullian, "Salvâ illâ pœnitentiæ specie post fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit aut majoribus et irremissibilibus à Deo solo." The lighter or lesser sins might obtain pardon from the ministry of the bishop;

Hoc satis est; ipsi cætera mando Deo;

The greatest and the unpardonable could obtain it of God alone: so that when they did deny to absolve some certain criminals after baptism, or after a relapse, they did not affirm the sins to be unpardonable, as we understand the word. Novatus himself did not; for, as Socrates [t] reports, he wrote to all the churches every where, that they should not admit them that had sacrificed to the mysteries; ἀλλὰ προτρέπειν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν, τὴν δὲ συγχώρησιν ἐπιτρέπειν θεῷ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἁμαρτήματα, "but to exhort them to repentance, and yet to leave their pardon and absolution to him who is able, and hath authority, to forgive sins."—And the same also was the doctrine of Acesius, his great disciple; for which Constantine in Eusebius reproved him. Some single men have despaired, but there was never any sect of men that sealed up the Divine mercy by the locks and bars of despair, much less did any good christians ever do it.

23. And this we find expressly verified by the French bishops in a synod there held about the time of Pope Zephyrinus. "Pœnitentia ab his, qui dæmonibus [u] *sanctificant*, agenda ad diem mortis, non sine spe tamen remissionis, quam ab eo planè sperare debebunt, qui ejus largitatem et solus obtinet, et tam dives misericordiæ est ut nemo desperet:" "Although the criminal must do penance to his dying day, (that is, the church will not absolve, or admit him to her communion,) yet he must not be without hope of pardon, which yet is not to be hoped for from the church, but from him, who is so rich in mercy, that no man may despair:" and not long after this, St. Cyprian said, "Though we leave them in their separation from us, yet we have and do exhort them to repent, if by any means they can receive indulgence from him who can perform it." [x]

24. Now if it be inquired, what real effect this had upon the persons or souls of the offending, relapsing persons;—the consideration is weighty and material. For to say the church could not absolve such persons, in plain speaking seems to mean, that since the church ministers nothing of her own, but is the minister of the Divine mercy,—she had no commission to promise pardon to such persons. If God had promised pardon to such criminals, it is certain the church was bound to preach it; but if she could not declare, preach, or exhibit any such promise,—then there was no such promise; and therefore their sending them to God was but a put-off, or a civil answer, saying, that God might do it if he pleased, but he had not signified his pleasure concerning them, and whether they who sinned so foully after baptism, were pardoned, was no where revealed;—and therefore, all the ministers of religion were bound to say, they were unpardonable,—that is, God never said he would pardon them, which is the full sense of the word "unpardonable." For he that says, any sin is "unpardonable," does not mean, that God cannot pardon it, but that he will not,—or that he hath not said he will.

25. And upon the same account it seemed unreasonable to St. Ambrose, that the church should impose penances, and not release the penitents. He complained of the Novatians for so doing; "Cùm utique, veniam negando, incentivum auferant pœnitentiæ." [y] The penitents could have little encouragement to perform the injunctions of their confessors, when, after they had done them, they should not be admitted to the church's communion. And indeed the case was hard, when it should be remembered, that whatsoever the church did bind on earth, was bound in heaven, and if they retained them below, God would do so above; and therefore we find in Scripture that δοῦναι μετάνοιαν, "to give repentance"—(being the purpose of Christ's coming, and the grace of the gospel,) does mean, "to give the effect of repentance,"—that is, pardon. And since God's method is such, (for by giving the grace, and admitting us to do the duty, he consequently brings us to that mercy which is the end of that duty,) it is fit, that such should also be the method of the church.

26. For the balancing of this consideration, we are further to consider, that though the church had power to pardon in all things, where God had declared he would, yet because in some sins the malice was so great, the scandal so intolerable, the effect so mischievous, the nature of them so contra-

[s] Epist. 54. [t] Lib. 4. cap. 14.
[u] Sacrificant, potiùs legend.

[x] Epist. 31. Quos separatos à nobis derelinquimus, &c.
[y] Lib. 1. de Pœnit. c. 2.

dictory to the excellent laws of christianity, the church many times could not give a competent judgment, whether any man, that had committed great sins, had made his amends, and done a sufficient penance: and the church, not knowing whether their repentance was worthy and acceptable to God, she could not pronounce their pardon, that is, she could not tell them, whether upon those terms God had or would pardon them, in the present disposition.

37. For after great crimes, the state of a sinner is very deplorable by reason of his uncertain pardon; not that it is uncertain whether God will pardon the truly penitent, but that it is uncertain who is so; and all the ingredients into the judgment that is to be made, are such things which men cannot well discern; they cannot tell in what measures God will exact the repentance, what sorrow is sufficient, what fruits acceptable, what is expiatory, and what rejected; according to the saying of Solomon, "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?"[z] They cannot tell how long God will forbear, at what time his anger is final, and when he will refuse to hear, or what aggravations of the crime God looks on; nor can they make an estimate which is greater, the example of the sin, or the example of the punishment. And therefore, in such great cases, the church had reason to refuse to give pardon, which she could minister neither certainly, nor prudently, nor (as the case then stood) safely, or piously.

28. But yet she enjoined penances, that is, all the solemnities of repentance, and to them the sinners stood bound in earth, and consequently in heaven, (according to the words of our blessed Saviour,) but she bound them no further. She intended charity and relief to them, not ruin and death eternal. On this she had no direct power; and if the penitents were obedient to her discipline, then neither could they be prejudiced by her indirect power, she sent them to God for pardon, and made them to prepare themselves accordingly. Her injunction of penances was medicinal, and her refusing to admit them to the communion, was an act of caution fitted to the present necessities of the church. "Nonnulli ideò poscunt pœnitentiam, ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quàm sacerdotem ligare:" "Some demand penances, that they may have speedy communion. These do not so much desire themselves to be loosed, as to have the priest bound;"[a] that is, such hasty proceedings do not any good to the penitent, but much hurt to him that ministers. This the primitive church avoided; and this was the whole effect which that discipline had upon the souls of the penitents. But for their doctrine St. Austin is a sufficient witness: "Sed neque de ipsis criminibus quamlibet magnis remittendis, in sanctâ ecclesiâ Dei desperanda est misericordia agentibus pœnitentiam secundum modum sui cujusque peccati:" "They ought not to despair of God's mercy, even to the greatest sinners, if they be the greatest penitents, that is, if they repent according to the measure of their sins."[b] Only in the making their judgments concerning the measures of repentance, they differed from our practices. Ecclesiastical repentance and absolution was not only an exercise of the duty and an assisting of the penitent in his return, but it was also a warranting or insuring the pardon; which because in many cases the church could not so well do, she did better in not undertaking it; that is, in not pronouncing absolution.

29. For the pardon of sins committed after baptism, not being described in full measures; and though it be sufficiently signified, that any sin may be pardoned, yet it not being told upon what conditions this or that great one shall,—the church did well and warily not to be too forward: for as St. Paul said, "I am conscious to myself in nothing, yet I am not hereby justified;" so we may say in repentance, "I have repented, and do so, but I am not hereby justified;" because that is a secret, which until the day of judgment we shall not understand, for every repenting is not sufficient. He that repents worthily, let his sin be what it will, shall certainly be pardoned; but after great crimes, who does repent worthily, is a matter of harder judgment than the manners of the present age will allow us to make; and so secret, that they thought it no amiss very often to be backward in pronouncing the criminal absolved.

30. But then, all this whole affair must needs be a mighty arrest to the gaieties of this sinful age. For although Christ's blood can expiate all sins and his Spirit can sanctify all sinners, and his church can restore all that are capable;—yet if we consider that the particulars of every naughty man's case are infinitely uncertain; that there are no minute-measures of repentance set down after baptism; that there are some state of sinners which God does reject; that the arrival to this state is by parts and undetermined steps of progression; that no man can tell, when any sin begins to be unpardonable to such a person; and that if we be careless of ourselves, and easy in our judgments, and comply with the false measures of any age, we may be in before we are aware, and cannot come out so soon as we expect; and lastly, if we consider that the primitive and apostolical churches,—who best knew how to estimate the mercies of the gospel, and the requisite of repentance, and the malignity and dangers of sin —did not promise pardon so easily, so readily, so quickly, as we do, we may think it fit to be more afraid and more contrite, more watchful and more severe.

31. I end this with the words of St. Jerome; "Cùm beatus Daniel, præscius futurorum, de sententiâ Dei dubitet, rem temerariam faciunt, qui audacter peccatoribus indulgentiam pollicentur:" "Though Daniel could foretell future things, yet he durst not pronounce concerning the king, whether God would pardon him or no; it is therefore a great rashness, boldly to promise pardon to them that have sinned." That is, it is not to be done suddenly; according to the caution which St. Paul gave to the bishop of Ephesus: "Lay hands sud

[z] Prov. xx. 9. [a] St. Ambros. lib. 2. de Pœnit. c. 9. [b] Enchir. 6. [c] Ad Dan [d] 1 Tim. v. 52.

denly on no man;"—that is, absolve him not without great trial and just dispositions.

32. For though this be not all to be wrested to a suspicion, that the sins in their kind are not pardonable, yet thus far I shall make use of it; that God who only hath the power, he only can make the judgment, whether the sinner be a worthy penitent or not. For there being no express stipulation made concerning the degrees of repentance, no "taxa pœnitentiaria," "penitential tables" and canons consigned by God, it cannot be told by man, when, after great sins and a long iniquity, the unhappy man shall be restored, because it wholly depends upon the Divine acceptance

33. In smaller offences, and the seldom returns of sin intervening in a good or a probable life, the curates of souls may make safe and prudent judgments. But when the case is high, and the sin is clamorous, or scandalous, or habitual, they ought not to be too easy in speaking peace to such persons, to whom God hath so fiercely threatened death eternal. But to hold their hands may possibly increase the sorrow, and contrition, and fear, of the penitent and returning man, and by that means make him the surer of it. But it is too great a confidence and presumption to dispense God's pardon, or the king's, upon easy terms, and without their commission.

34. For since all the rule and measures of dispensing it, is by analogies and proportions, by some reason and much conjecture; it were better, by being restrained in the ministries of favour, to produce fears and watchfulness, carefulness and godly sorrow, than by an open hand to make sinners bold and many, confident and easy. Those holy and wise men, who were our fathers in Christ, did well weigh the dangers into which a sinning man had entered, and did dreadfully fear the issues of the Divine anger; and therefore, although they openly taught, that God hath set open the gates of mercy to all worthy penitents, yet concerning repentance they had other thoughts than we have; and that, in the pardon of sinners there are many more things to be considered, besides the possibility of having the sin pardoned.

SECTION IV.

Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost; and in what Sense it is or may be unpardonable.

35. UPON what account the primitive church did refuse to admit certain criminals to repentance, I have already discoursed; but because there are some places of Scripture, which seem to have encouraged such severity by denying repentance also to some sinners, it is necessary that they be considered also, lest by being misunderstood, some persons, in the days of their sorrow, be tempted to despair.

36. The Novatians denying repentance to lapsed christians, pretended for their warrant those words of St. Paul;[e] "It is impossible for those, who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away,—to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame:" and parallel to this are those other words; "For if we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall consume the adversaries."[f] The sense of which words will be clear upon the explicating what is meant by *παραπεσόντες*, what by *ἀνακαινίζειν*, and what by *ἀδύνατον*.

37. "If they shall fall away,"[g] viz. from that state of excellent things in which they had received all the present endearments of the gospel, a full conviction, pardon of sins, the earnest of the Spirit, the comfort of the promises, an antepast of heaven itself; if these men shall fall away from all this, it cannot be by infirmity, by ignorance, by surprise; this is that which St. Paul calls *ἑκουσίως ἁμαρτάνειν*, "'to sin wilfully' after they have received the knowledge of the truth:" malicious sinners these are, who sin against the Holy Spirit, whose influences they throw away, whose counsels they despise, whose comforts they refuse, whose doctrine they scorn, and from thence fall, not only into one single wasting sin, but *παπαπίπτουσι*, they "fall away" into a contrary state; into heathenism, or the heresy of the Gnostics, or to any state of despising and hating Christ; expressed here by "crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting him to an open shame;" these are they here meant; such who after they had worshipped Jesus, and given up their names to him, and had been blessed by him, and felt it, and acknowledged it, and rejoiced in it,—these men afterwards, without cause or excuse, without error or infirmity, choosingly, willingly, knowingly, called Christ an impostor, and would have crucified him again if he had been alive, that is, they consented to his death, by believing that he suffered justly. This is the case here described, and cannot be drawn to any thing else but its parallel, that is, a malicious renouncing charity, or holy life, as these men did the faith, to both which they had made their solemn vows in baptism; but this can no way be drawn to the condemnation and final excision of such persons, who, after baptism, fall into any great sin, of which they are willing to repent.

38. There is also something peculiar in *ἀνακαινίζειν*, "renewing such men to repentance:" that is, these men are not to be redintegrate, and put into the former condition; they cannot be restored to any other gracious covenant of repentance, since they have despised this. Other persons who "hold fast their profession," and "forget not that they were cleansed in baptism," they, in case they do fall into sin, may proceed in the same method, in their first renovation to repentance, that is, in their being solemnly admitted to the method and state of

[e] Heb. vi. 4—6. [f] Heb. x. 26, 27. [g] Παραπεσόντας.

repentance for all sins known and unknown. But when this renovation is renounced, when they despise the whole economy, when they reject this grace, and throw away the covenant, there is "nothing left" for such "but a fearful looking-for of judgment;" for these persons are incapable of the mercies of the gospel, they are out of the way. For there being but one way of salvation, viz. by Jesus Christ, whom they renounce,—neither Moses, nor nature, nor any other name, can restore them. And, 2. Their case is so bad, and they so impious and malicious, that no man hath power to persuade such men to accept of pardon by those means, which they so disown. For there is no means of salvation but this one, and this one they hate, and will not have; they will not return to the old, and there is none left, by which they can be *ἀνακαινιζόμενοι*, "renewed;" and therefore their condition is desperate.

39. But the word *ἀδύνατον*, or "impossible," is also of special importance and consideration: "It is impossible to renew such." For "impossible" is not to be understood in the natural sense, but in the legal and moral. There are degrees of impossibility, and therefore they are not all absolute and supreme. So when the law hath condemned a criminal, we usually say it is impossible for him to escape, meaning, that the law is clearly against him.

> Magnus ab infernis revocetur Tullius umbris,
> Et te defendat Regulus ipse licèt:
> Non potes absolvi:——— MART. Ep. l. 4. ep. 16.

That is, your cause is lost, you are inexcusable, there is no apology, no pleading for you: and that the same is here meant, we understand by those parallel words, *οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται θυσία*, "there is left no sacrifice for him;" alluding to Moses's law, in which for them that sinned *ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας*, "with a high hand," for "them that despised Moses's law," there was no sacrifice appointed;[i] which Ben Maimon expounds, saying, that for apostates there was no sacrifice in the law. So that "it is impossible to renew such," means, that it is ordinarily impossible, we have in the discipline of the church no door of reconciliation; if he repents of this, he is not the same man; but if he remains so, the church hath no promise to be heard, if she prays for him; which is the last thing that the church can do. "To absolve him," is "to warrant him;" that in this case is absolutely impossible: but "to pray for him" is "to put him into some hopes," and for that she hath in this case no commission. For this is "the sin unto death," of which St. John speaks, and gives no encouragement to pray. So that impossible does signify "in sensu forensi," a state of sin, which is sentenced by the law to be capital and damning; but here it signifies the highest degree of that deadliness and impossibility, as there are degrees of malignity and desperation in mortal diseases: for of all evils, this state here described is the worst. And therefore here is an impossibility.

40. But besides all other senses of this word, it is certain, by the whole frame of the place, and the very analogy of the gospel, that this impossibili here mentioned, is not an impossibility of the thin but only relative to the person. It is impossib to restore him, whose state of evil is contra to pardon and restitution, as being a renouncing th gospel, that is, the whole covenant of pardo and repentance. Such is that parallel expressio used by St. John: "He that is born of God, si neth not; neither indeed *can he*;"[k] that is, it impossible; he "cannot sin," "for the seed of Go remaineth in him." Now this does not signify, th a good man cannot possibly sin if he would; tha is, it does not signify a natural or an absolute in possibility; but such as relates to the present sta and condition of the person, being contrary to sin the same with that of St. Paul; "Be ye led by th Spirit; for the Spirit lusteth against the flesh; s that ye cannot do the things which ye would,"[l] vi which the flesh would fain tempt you to. A goo man cannot sin, that is, very hardly can he b brought to choose or to delight in it; he canno sin without a horrible trouble and uneasiness t himself: so on the other side, such apostates as th apostle speaks of, "cannot be renewed;" that i without extreme difficulty, and a perfect contradi tion to that state, in which they are, for the presen lost. But if this man will repent with a repentanc proportioned to that evil which he hath committe that he ought not to despair of pardon in the cou of heaven, we have the affirmation of Justin Marty *Τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογήσαντας καὶ ἐπιγνόντας τοῦτον εἶν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἠτινοῦν αἰτίᾳ μεταβάντας ἐπὶ τὴ ἔννομον πολίτειαν, ἀρνησαμένους ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν Χριστὸς, καὶ πρὶν τελευτῆς μὴ μεταγνόντας, οὐδόλω σωθήσεσθαι ἀποφαίνομαι.* "They that confess an acknowledge him to be Christ, and for whatsoeve cause go from him to the secular conversation, (viz. to heathenism or Judaism, &c.) "denying tha he is Christ, and not confessing him again befo their death, they can never be saved."[m] So tha this impossibility concerns not those that return an do confess him; but those that wilfully and mal ciously reject this only way of salvation as false an deceitful, and never return to the confession of again; which is the greatest sin against the Hol Ghost, of which I am, in the next place, to give more particular account.

SECTION V.

41. "HE that speaketh against the Holy Ghost, shall never be forgiven him in this world, nor in th world to come;" so said our blessed Saviour.[n] Origen, and the Novatians after him,—when th scholars of Novatus, to justify their master' schism from the church, had changed the good ol discipline into a new and evil doctrine,—said, tha all the sins of christians committed after baptism are sins against the Holy Ghost, by whom in bap tism they have been illuminated, and by him the were taught in the gospel, and by him they wer consigned in confirmation, and promoted in all th

[i] Heb. x. 26. [k] 1 John iii. 9. [l] Gal. v. 17.
[m] Dial. contr. Tryph. [n] Matt. xii. 32.

assistances and conduct of grace: and they gave this reason for it,—Because the Father is in all creatures the Son only in the reasonable, and the Holy Spirit in christians; against which if they prevaricate, they shall not be pardoned; while the sins of heathens, as being only against the Son, are easily pardoned in baptism.—I shall not need to refute this fond opinion, as being already done by St. Athanasius, in a book purposely written on this subject; and it falls alone; for that to sin against the Holy Ghost is not proper to christians, appears in this, that Christ charged it upon the Pharisees: and that every sin of christians is not this sin against the Holy Ghost, appears, because christians are perpetually called upon to repent: for to what purpose should any man be called from his sin, if by returning he shall not escape damnation? or if he shall, then that sin is not against the Holy Ghost, or if it be, that sin is not unpardonable; either of which destroys their fond affirmative.

42. St. Austin makes final impenitence to be it: against which opinion though many things may be opposed, yet it is openly confuted in being charged upon the Pharisees, who were not then guilty of final impenitence. But the instance clears the article. The Pharisees saw the light of God's Spirit manifestly shining in the miracles which Christ did, and they did not only despise his person and persecute it, which is "speaking against the Son of man," that is, sinning against him, for "speaking against" is "sinning" or "doing against" it, in the Jews' manner of expression; but they also spitefully and maliciously blasphemed that Spirit, and that power of God, by which they were convinced, and by which such miracles were done. And this was that ῥῆμα ἀργὸν, that "idle and unprofitable word" spoken of in the following verses, by which Christ said they should be judged at the last day;[o] such which whosoever should speak, he should give account thereof in that day.

43. Now this was ever esteemed a high and an intolerable crime; for it was not new, but an old crime; only it was manifested by an appellative relating to a power and a name now more used than formerly. This was the sin for which Corah and his company died, who did despise and reproach the works of God, his power and the mightiness of his hand manifested in his servant Moses. It is called "sinning with a high hand," that is, with a hand lift up on high against God. Corah and his company committed the sin against the Holy Spirit, for they spake against that Spirit and power, which God had put into Moses, and proved by the demonstration of mighty effects: it is a denying that great argument of credibility, by which God goes about to verify any mission of his, to prove, by mighty effects of God's Spirit, that God hath sent such a man. When God manifests his Holy Spirit by signs and wonders extraordinary,—not to revere this good Spirit, not to confess him, but to revile him, or to reproach the power, is that which God ever did highly punish.

44. Thus it happened to Pharaoh; he also sinned against the Holy Ghost, the good Spirit of God: for when his magicians told him, that the finger of God was there, yet he hardened his heart against it, and then God went on to harden it more, till he overthrew him; for then his sin became unpardonable in the sense I shall hereafter explicate. And this passed into a law to the children of Israel, and they were warned of it with the highest threatening, that is, of a capital punishment; "The soul that doth aught presumptuously," or with a high hand, "the same reproacheth the Lord; that soul shall be cut off from among his people;"[p] and this is translated into the New Testament, "They that do despite to the Spirit of grace, shall fall into the hands of the living God." That is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

45. Now this sin must, in all reason, be very much greater under the gospel than under the law. For when Christ came, he did such miracles, which never any man did, and preached a better law, and with mighty demonstrations of the Spirit, that is, of the power and Spirit of God, proved himself to have come from God, and therefore men were more convinced; and he that was so, and yet would oppose the Spirit, that is, defy all his proofs, and hear none of his words, and obey none of his laws, and at last revile him too, he had done the great sin; for this is to do the worst thing we can,—we dishonour God in that in which he intended most to glorify himself.

46. Two instances of this we find in the New Testament, though not of the highest degree; yet because done directly against the Spirit of God, that is, in despite or in disparagement of that Spirit, by which so great things were wrought, it grew intolerable. Ananias did not revere the Spirit of God, so mightily appearing in St. Peter and the other apostles, and he was smitten and died. Simon Magus took the Spirit of God for a vendible commodity, for a thing less than money, and fit to serve secular ends; and he instantly fell into the gall of bitterness, that is, a sad bitter calamity, and St. Peter knew not whether God would forgive him or no.

47. But it is remarkable, that the Holy Scriptures note various degrees of this malignity; "grieving the Holy Spirit," "resisting" him, "quenching" him, "doing despite" to him: all sin against the Holy Ghost, but yet they that had done so were all called to repentance. St. Stephen's sermon was an instance of it; and so was St. Peter's; and so was the prayer of Christ upon the cross, for the malicious Jews, the Pharisees, "his betrayers and murderers."—But the sin itself is of an indefinite progression, and hath not physical limits and a certain constitution, as is observable in carnal crimes, theft, murder, or adultery: for though even these are increased by circumstances, and an inward consent and degrees of love and adhesion; yet of the crime itself we can say,—this is murder, and this is adultery,—and therefore the punishment is proper and certain. But since there are so many degrees of the sin against the Holy Ghost, and it consists not in an indivisible point: but according

[o] Matt. xii. 36.

[p] Numb. xv. 30.

to the nature of internal and spiritual sins, it is like time or numbers, of a moveable being, of a flux, unstable, immense constitution, and may be always growing, not only by the repetition of acts, but by its proper essential increment; and since, in the particular case, the measures are uncertain, the nature secret, the definition disputable, and so many sins are like it, or reducible to it, apt to produce despair in timorous consciences, and to discourage repentance in lapsed persons, it will be an intolerable proposition, that affirms the sin against the Holy Ghost to be absolutely unpardonable.

48. That the sin against the Holy Ghost is pardonable, appears in the instance of the Pharisees; to whom, even after they had committed the sin, God was pleased to afford preaching, signs, and miracles, and Christ upon the cross prayed for them; but in what sense also it was unpardonable, appears in that case; for they were so far gone, that they would not return; and God did not, and at last would not, pardon them. For this appellative is not properly subjected, nor attributed to the sin itself, but it is according as the man is. The sin may be, and is at some time, unpardonable, yet not in all its measures and parts of progression; as appears in the case of Pharaoh, who, all the way from the first miracle to the tenth, sinned against the Holy Ghost; but at last he was so bad, that God would not pardon him. Some men are come to the greatness of the sin, or to that state and grandeur of impiety, that their estate is desperate;—that is, though the nature of their sins is such, as God is extremely angry with them, and would destroy them utterly, were he not restrained by an infinite mercy, yet it shall not be thus for ever; for, in some state of circumstances and degrees, God is finally angry with the man, and will never return to him.

49. Until things be come to his height, whatsoever the sin be, it is pardonable. For if there were any one sin distinguishable in its whole nature and instance from others, which, in every of its periods were unpardonable, it is most certain it would have been described in Scripture with clear characters and cautions, that a man might know when he is in and when he is out. "Speaking a word against the Holy Spirit," is by our blessed Saviour called this great sin; but it is certain, that every word spoken against him is not unpardonable. Simon Magus spoke a foul word against him, but St. Peter did not say it was unpardonable; but when he bid him pray, he consequently bid him hope: but because he would not warrant him, that is, durst not absolve him, he sufficiently declared, that this sin is of an indefinite nature, and by growth would arrive at the unpardonable state; the state and fulness of it are unpardonable, that is, God will to some men, and in some times and stages of their evil life, be so angry, that he will give them over, and leave them in their reprobate mind. But no man knows when that time is; God only knows, and the event must declare it.

50. But for the thing itself, that it is pardonable is very certain, because it may be pardoned in baptism: the Novatians denied not to baptism a power of pardoning any sin; and in this sense it is without doubt true, what Zosimus, by way of reproach, objected to christian religion, it is δόξα πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετική, "a deletery and purgative for every sin whatsoever."—And since the unconverted Pharisees were guilty of this sin, and it was a sin forbidden, and punished capitally in the law of Moses, either to these Christ could not have been preached, and for them Christ did not die,—or else, it is certain that the sin against the Holy Spirit of God is pardonable.

51. Now whereas our blessed Lord affirmed of this sin, "it shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come;" we may best understand the meaning of it by the parallel words of old Eli to his sons: "If a man sin against another, the judge shall judge him;"[q] "placari ei potest Deus," so the vulgar Latin reads it, "God may be appeased," that is, "it shall be forgiven him;" that is, a word spoken against the Son of man, which relates to Christ only upon the account of his human nature, that may be forgiven him,—it shall,—that is, upon easier terms, as upon a temporal judgment, called in this place, "a being judged by the judge."—"But if a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him?" that is, "if he sin with a high hand, presumptuously, against the Lord, against his power and his Spirit, who shall entreat for him? it shall never be pardoned;" never so as the other, never upon a temporal judgment: that cannot expiate this great sin, as it could take off a sin against a man, or the Son of man; for though it be punished here, it shall be punished hereafter. But,

52. II. "It shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come:" that is, neither to the Jews nor to the gentiles. For "sæculum hoc," "this world," in Scripture, is the period of the Jews' synagogue, and μέλλων αἰών, "the world to come," is taken for the gospel, or the age of the Messias, frequently among the Jews: and it is not unlikely Christ might mean it in that sense, which was used amongst them, by whom he would be understood: but because the word was also as commonly used in that sense, in which it is understood at this day, viz. for the world after this life; I shall therefore propound another exposition, which seems to me more probable. Though remission of sins is more plentiful in the gospel than under the law, yet because the sin is bigger under the gospel, there is not here any ordinary way of pardoning it, no ministry established to warrant or absolve such sinners, but it must be referred to God himself; and yet that is not all. For if a man perseveres in this sin, he shall neither be forgiven here, nor hereafter; that is, neither can he be absolved in this world, by the ministry of the church; nor in the world to come, by the sentence of Christ: and this I take to be the full meaning of this so difficult place.

53. For "in this world," properly so speaking, there is no forgiveness of sins but what is by the ministry of the church. For then a sin is forgiven when it is pardoned in the day of sentence, or exe-

[q] 1 Sam. ii. 15.

cution; that is, when those evils are removed which are usually inflicted, or which are proper to that day. Now then for the final punishment, that is not till the day of judgment; and if God then gives us a "mercy in that day," then is the day of our pardon from him; in the mean time, if he be gracious to us here, he either forbears to smite us, or smites us to bring us to repentance, and all the way continues to us the use of the word and sacraments: that is, if he does in any sense pardon us here, if he does not give us over to a "reprobate mind," he continues us under the means of salvation, which is the ministry of the church, for that is the way of pardon "in this world,"[r] as the blessed sentence of the right hand is the way of pardon in the "world to come."—So that when our great Lord and Master threatens to this sin, "it shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come," he means, that neither shall the ministers of the church pronounce his pardon, or comfort his sorrows, or restore him after his fall, or warrant his condition, or pray for him publicly, or give him the peace and communion of the church: neither will God pardon him in the day of judgment.

54. But all this fearful denunciation of the Divine judgment, is only upon supposition the man does not repent. Οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς *βλασφημοῦντι καὶ μετανοήσαντι*, Οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται, ἀλλὰ *τῷ βλασφημοῦντι, ἤγουν τῷ ἐν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ ἐπιμένοντι, ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔστιν ἁμαρτία ἀσυγχώρητος παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς ὁσίως καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν μετάνοιαν μετανοοῦσιν*, said St. Athanasius. "God did not say to him that blasphemes and repents, "it shall not be forgiven," but to him that blasphemes and remains in his blasphemy: for there is no sin which God will not pardon to them that holily and worthily repent;"[s] Οὐ *τὸ τρωθῆναι οὕτω δεινὸν ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βούλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι*. "To be wounded is not so grievous; but it is intolerable, when the wounded man refuses to be cured."[t]—For it is considerable,

55. Whoever can repent, may hope for pardon; else he could not be invited to repentance. I do not say, whoever can be sorrowful may hope for pardon; for there is a sorrow too late, then commencing when there is no time left to begin, much less to finish *ὁσίως καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν μετάνοιαν*, as Athanasius calls it, "a holy and a worthy repentance;" and of such Philo[u] affirmed, Πολλαῖς *γὰρ ψυχαῖς μετανοίᾳ χρῆσθαι βουληθείσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ παλιῤῥόιας εἰς τοὔμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν*, "Some unhappy souls would fain be admitted to repentance, but God permits them not," that is, their time is past; and either they die before they can perform it,—or if they live, they return to their old impieties like water from a rock. But whoever can repent worthily, and leave their sin, and mortify it, and make such amends as is required, these men ought not to despair of pardon; they may hope for mercy: and "if they may hope, they must hope;" for not to do it were the greatest crime of despair. For "despair is no sin, but where to hope is a duty."

56. But if this be all, then the sin against the Holy Ghost hath no more said against it than any other sin; for if we repent not of theft, or adultery, it shall neither be forgiven us in this world, nor in the world to come; and if we do repent of "the sin against the Holy Ghost" it shall not be exacted of us, but shall be pardoned: so that to say, it is unpardonable without repentance, is to say nothing peculiar of this.

57. To this I answer, that pardonable and unpardonable have no definite signification, but have a latitude, and increment, and a various sense; but seldom signify in the absolute supreme sense. Sins of infirmity, such I mean, which, in any sense, can properly be called sins, must, in some sense or other, be repented of; and they are unpardonable without repentance, that is, without such a repentance as does disallow them and contend against them. But these are also pardonable without repentance, by some degrees of pardon; that is, God pities our sins of ignorance and winks at them, and, upon the only account of his own pity, does bring such persons to better notices of things. And they are pardonable without repentance, if by repentance we mean an absolute dereliction of them,—for we shall never be able to leave them quite; and therefore either they shall never be pardoned, or else they are pardoned without such a repentance as signifies dereliction or entire mastery over them.

58. II. But sins which are wilfully and knowingly committed, as theft, adultery, murder, are unpardonable without repentance, that is, without such a repentance as forsakes them actually and entirely, and produces such acts of grace as are proper for their expiation: but yet even these sins require not such a repentance as sins against the Holy Ghost do: these must have a greater sorrow, and a greater shame, and a more severe amends, and a more passionate lasting prayer, and a bigger fear, and a more public amends, and a sharper infliction, and greater excellency of grace, than is necessary in lesser sins. But, in this difference of sins, it is usual to promise pardon to the less and not to the greater, when the meaning is, that the smaller sins are only pardoned upon easier terms: an example of this we have in Clemens Alexandrinus: Τὰ *μὲν γὰρ προενεργηθέντα ἀφείθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐκκαθαίρεται*, "Sins committed before baptism are pardoned, but sins after it must be purged," that is, by a severe repentance, which the others needed not; and yet without repentance, baptism would nothing avail vicious persons.[x] So we say concerning those sins which we have forgotten, they may be pardoned without repentance, meaning without a special repentance, but yet not without a general. Thus we find in it the imperial law, that they that had fallen into heresy or strange superstitions, they were to be pardoned, if they did repent; but if they did relapse, they should not be pardoned: but they mean, "Venia eodem modo præstari non potest:" so Gratian, Valens, and Valentinian expressed it.[y] So

[r] Vide infra, numb. 66.
[s] St. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 8.
[t] Quæst. 71. 102.
[u] In allegor.
[x] Vid. etiam Cæsar. Arelat. hom. 42. quædam ad hanc rem spectantia.
[y] L. 4. Cod. Theod. ne Sacrum Baptisma iteretur.

that, by denying pardon, they only mean, that it shall be harder with such persons; their pardon shall not be so easily obtained; but as they repeat their sins, so their punishment shall increase; and at last, if no warning will serve, it shall destroy them.

59. For it is remarkable, that, in Scripture, pardonable and unpardonable signify no more than mortal and venial in the writings of the church; of which I have given accounts in its proper place. But when a sin is declared deadly, or killing,—and damnation threatened to such persons,—we are not therefore, if we have committed any such, to lie down under the load, and die; but with the more earnestness depart from it, lest that which is of a killing, damning nature, prove so to us in the event. For the sin of adultery is a damning sin, and murder is a killing sin, and the sin against the Holy Ghost is worse; and they are all unpardonable, that is, condemning; they are such in their cause, or in themselves; but if they prove so to us in the event, or effect, it is because we will not repent. "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself;"[z] that is as high an expression as any; and yet there are several degrees and kinds of eating and drinking unworthily, and some are more unpardonable than others; but yet the Corinthians, who did eat unworthily, some of them coming to the holy supper drunk, and others schismatically, were by St. Paul admitted to repentance. Some sins are like deadly potions, they kill the man unless he speedily take an antidote; or unless, by strength of nature, he work out the poison and overcome it; and others are like a desperate disease, or a deadly wound, the iliac passions,—the physicians give him over; it is a "Miserere mei, Deus;" of which though men despair, yet some have been cured. Thus also in the capital and great sins, many of them are such, which the church will not absolve, or dare not promise cure.

Non est in medico semper relevetur ut æger;
Interdum doctâ plus valet arte malum.

But then these persons are sent to God, and are bid to hope for favour from thence, and may find it. But others there are, whom the church will not meddle withal, and sends them to God; and God will not absolve them, that is, they shall be pardoned neither by God nor the church, "neither in this world nor in the world to come." But the reason is not, because their sin is, in all its periods, of an unpardonable nature,—but because they have persisted in it too long, and God in the secret economy of his mercies hath shut the everlasting doors; the olive doors of mercy shall not be opened to them. And this is the case of too many miserable persons. They who repent timely, and holily, are not in this number, whatsoever sins they be which they have committed. But is this the case of them whom God hath given over to a reprobate mind,—and of them who sin against God's Holy Spirit, when their sin is grown to its full measure; so we find it expressed in the Proverbs;[a] "Turn ye at my reproof, I will pour out my Spirit unto you:" and then it follows, "Because I have called and ye refused, I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh."—But this is not in all the periods of our refusing to hear God calling by his Spirit; but when the sin of the Amalekites is full, then it is unpardonable, not in the thing, but to that man, at that time. And besides all the promises, this is highly verified in the words of our blessed Saviour taken out of the prophet Isaiah; where it is affirmed, that when people are so obstinate and wilfully blind, that God then leaves to give them clearer testimony and a mighty grace, lest they should hear and see and understand; it follows, "and should be converted, and I should heal them;"[b] plainly telling us, that if even then they should repent, God could not but forgive them; and therefore, because he hath now no love left to them by reason of their former obstinacy, yet wherever you can suppose repentance, there you may more than suppose a pardon. But if a man cannot or will not repent, then it is another consideration: in the mean time, nothing hinders but that every sin is pardonable to him that repents.

60. But thus we find that the style of Scripture, and the expressions of holy persons, is otherwise in the threatening and the edict, otherwise in the accidents of persons and practice. It is necessary that it be severe when duty is demanded; but of lapsed persons it uses not to be exacted in the same dialect. It is as all laws are. In the general they are decretory, in the use and application they are easier. In the sanction they are absolute and infinite, but yet capable of interpretations, of dispensations and relaxation in particular cases. And so it is in the present article; "impossible," and "unpardonable," and "damnation," and "shall be cut off," and "nothing remains but fearful expectation of judgment," are exterminating words and phrases in the law, but they do not effect all that they there signify, to any but the impenitent; according to the saying of Mark the hermit: Οὐδεὶς κατεκρίθη εἰ μὴ μετανοίας κατεφρόνησε, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης ἐπιμελῆ, "No man is ever justified, but he that carefully repents; and no man is condemned, but he that despises repentance."—Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίουσαν αἰδεῖται μετάνοιαν said St. Basil. "The eye of God, who is so great a lover of souls, cannot deny the intercessions and litanies of repentance."

SECTION VI.

The former Doctrines reduced to Practice.

61. I. Although the doors of repentance open to them that sin after baptism, and to them that sin after repentance; yet every relapse does increase the danger, and make the sin to be less pardonable than before. For,

62. I. A good man, falling into sin, does it without all necessity; he hath assistances great enough

[z] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

[a] Prov. i. 23, 26, 28.

[b] Matt. xiii. 15.

to make him conqueror,—he hath reason enough to dissuade him,—he hath sharp senses of the filthiness of sin,—his spirit is tender, and is crushed with the uneasy load,—he sighs and wakes, and is troubled and distracted; and if he sins, he sins with pain and shame and smart; and the less of mistake there is in his case, the more of malice is ingredient, and a greater anger is like to be his portion.

63. II. It is a particular unthankfulness, when a man that was once pardoned shall relapse. And when obliged persons prove enemies, they are ever the most malicious; as having nothing to protect or cover their shame, but impudence.

Ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῆς Ἀγαμέμνονα τίσαν Ἀχαῖοι.

So did the Greeks treat Agamemnon ill, because he used them but too well. Such persons are like travellers, who, in a storm, running to a fig-tree, when the storm is over, they beat the branches and pluck the fruit; and having run to an altar for sanctuary, they steal the chalice from the holy place, and rob the temple that secured them. And God does more resent it, that the lambs which he feeds at his own table, which are as so many sons and daughters to him, that daily suck plenty from his two breasts of mercy and providence, that they should in his own house make a mutiny, and put on the fierceness of wolves, and rise up against their Lord and Shepherd.

64. III. Every relapse after repentance, is, directly and in its proper principle, a greater sin. Our first faults are pitiable, and we do "pati humanum," "we do after the manner of men:" but when we are recovered and then die again, we do "facere diabolicum," we "do after the manner of devils."—For from ignorance to sin, from passion and youthful appetites to sin, from violent temptations and little strengths to fall into sin, is no very great change: it is from a corrupted nature to corrupted manners: but from grace to return to sin, from knowledge and experience, and delight in goodness and wise notices, from God and his Christ, to return to sin, to foolish actions, and nonsense-principles, is a change great as was the fall of the morning stars, when they descended cheaply and foolishly into darkness; well therefore may it be pitied in a child to choose a bright dagger before a warm coat; but when he hath been refreshed by this and smarted by that, if he chooses again, he will choose better. But men that have tried both states, that have rejoiced for their deliverance from temptation, men that have given thanks to God for their safety and innocence, men that have been wearied and ashamed of the follies of sin,—that have weighed both sides and have given wise sentence for God and for religion,—if they shall choose again, and choose amiss, it must be by something, by which Lucifer did, in the face of God, choose to defy him, and desire to turn devil, and be miserable and wicked for ever and ever.

65. IV. If a man repents of his repentances and returns to his sins, all his intermedial repentance shall stand for nothing: the sins which were marked for pardon, shall break out in guilt, and be exacted of him in fearful punishments, as if he never had repented. For if good works, crucified by sins, are made alive by repentance,—by the same reason, those sins also will live again, if the repentance dies: it being equally just, that if the man repents of his repentance, God also should repent of his pardon.

66. For we must observe carefully, that there is a pardon of sins proper to this life, and another proper to the world to come. "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and what ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven."[c] That is, there are two remissions, one here, the other hereafter; that here is wrought by the ministry of the word and sacraments, by faith and obedience, by moral instruments and the Divine grace; all which are divisible and gradual, and grow or diminish, ebb or flow, change or persist, and consequently grow on to effect, or else fail of the grace of God, that final grace, which alone is effective of that benefit, which we here contend for. Here, in proper speaking, our pardon is but a disposition towards the great and final pardon; a possibility and ability to pursue that interest, to contend for that absolution: and accordingly, it is wrought by parts, and is signified and promoted by every act of grace, that puts us in order to heaven, or the state of final pardon: God gives us one degree of pardon, when he forbears to kill us in the act of sin, when he admits, when he calls, when he smites us into repentance, when he invites us by mercies and promises, when he abates or defers his anger, when he sweetly engages us in the ways of holiness, these are several parts and steps of pardon: for if God were extremely angry with us as we deserve, nothing of all this would be done unto us: and still God's favours increase, and the degrees of pardon multiply, as our endeavours are prosperous, as we apply ourselves to religion and holiness, and make use of the benefits of the church, the ministry of the word and sacraments, and as our resolutions pass into acts and habits of virtue. But then, in this world, we are to expect no other pardon, but a fluctuating, alterable, uncertain pardon, as our duty is uncertain. Hereafter it shall be finished, if here we persevere in the parts and progressions of our repentance: but as yet it is an embryo, in a state of conduct and imperfection; here we always pray for it, always hope it, always labour for it: but we are not fully and finally absolved till the day of sentence and judgment; until that day we hope and labour. The purpose of this discourse is to represent in what state of things our pardon stands here; and that it is not only conditional, but of itself a mutable effect, a disposition towards the great pardon; and, therefore, if it be not nursed and maintained by the proper instruments of its progression, it dies like an abortive conception, and shall not have that immortality whither it was designed.

Οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινι λέχθη,
Ῥήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνιέμενον.

"For it was not ill said of old, He that remits of his severity, and interrupts his course, does also break it;" and then he breaks his hopes, and dis-

[c] Vide supra, num. 53.

solves the golden chain, which reached up to the foot of the throne of grace.

67. II. Here therefore the advice is reasonable and necessary: he that would insure his pardon, must persevere in duty; and to that purpose must make a full and perfect work in his mortifications, and fights against sin; he must not suffer any thing to remain behind, which may ever spring up and bear the apples of Sodom. It is the advice of Dion Prusæensis, "He that goes to cleanse his soul from lusts, like a wild desert from beasts of prey, unless he do it thoroughly, in a short time will be destroyed by the remaining portions of his concupiscence:" for as a fever, whose violence is abated, and the malignity lessened, and the man returns to temper and reason, to quiet nights and cheerful days, if yet there remain any of the unconquered humour, it is apt to be set on work again by every cold, or little violence of chance, and the same disease returns with a bigger violence and danger: so it is in the eradication of our sins; that which remains behind, is of too great power to effect all the purposes of our death, and to make us to have fought in vain, and lose all our labours and all our hopes, and, the intermedial piety being lost, will exasperate us the more, and kill us more certainly than our former vices; as cold water, taken to cool the body, inflames it more, and makes cold to be the kindler of a greater fire.

68. III. Let no man be too forward in saying his sin is pardoned, for our present persuasions are too gay and confident; and that which is not repentance sufficient for a lustful thought, or one single act of uncleanness or intemperance, we usually reckon to be the very porch of heaven, and expiatory of the vilest and most habitual crimes: it were well if the spiritual and the curates of souls, were not the authors or encouragers of this looseness of confidence and credulity. To confess and to absolve is all the method of our modern repentance, even when it is the most severe. Indeed, in the church of England, I cannot so easily blame that proceeding; because there are so few that use the proper and secret ministry of a spiritual guide, that it is to be supposed he that does so, hath long repented and done some violence to himself and more to his sins, before he can master himself so much as to bring himself to submit to that ministry. But there where the practice is common, and the shame is taken off, and the duty returns at certain festivals, and is frequently performed,—to absolve as soon as the sinner confesses, and leave him to amend afterwards if he please, is to give him confidence and carelessness, but not absolution.[d]

69. IV. Do not judge of the pardon of thy sins by light and trifling significations, but by long, lasting, and material events. If God continues to call thee to repentance, there is hopes that he is ready to pardon thee; and if thou dost obey the heavenly calling, and dost not defer to begin, nor stop in thy course, nor retire to thy vain conversation, thou art in the sure way of pardon, and mayest also finish it. But if thou dost believe that thy sins are pardoned, remember the words of our Lord concerning Mary Magdalene; "Much is forgiven her, and she loved much." If thou fearest thy sins are not pardoned, pray the more earnestly, and mortify thy sin with the more severity; and be no more troubled concerning the event of it, but let thy whole care and applications be concerning thy duty. I have read of one that was much afflicted with fear concerning his final state; and not knowing whether he should persevere in grace, and obtain a glorious pardon at last, cried out, "O si scirem," &c. "Would to God I might but know, whether I should persevere or no;" he was answered, "What wouldest thou do if thou wert sure? Wouldest thou be careless, or more curious of thy duty? If that knowledge would make thee careless, desire it not; but if it would improve thy diligence, then what thou wouldest do in case thou didst know, do that now thou dost not know; and whatever thy notice or persuasion be, the thing in itself will be more secure, and thou shalt find it in the end."—But if any man is curious of the event, and would fain know of the event of his soul, let him reveal the state of his soul to a godly and a prudent spiritual guide; and he, when he hath searched diligently, and observed him curiously, can tell him all that is to be told, and give him all the assurance that is to be given, and warrant him, as much as himself hath received a warrant to do it. Unless God be pleased to draw the curtains of his sanctuary, and open the secrets of his eternal counsel, there is no other certainty of an actual pardon, but what the church does minister, and what can be prudently derived from ourselves. For to every such curious person, this only is to be said, "Do you believe the promises,—that if we confess our sins and forsake them, if we believe and obey, we shall be pardoned and saved?—If so, then inquire whether or no thou dost perform the conditions of thy pardon."—"How shall I know?"—"Examine thyself, try thy own spirit, and use the help of a holy and a wise guide. He will teach thee to know thyself. If after all this, thou answerest, that thou canst not tell whether thy heart be right, and thy duty acceptable; then sit down, and hope the best, and work in as much light and hope as thou hast; but never inquire after the secret of God, when thou dost not so much as know thyself; and how canst thou hope to espy the most private counsels of heaven, when thou canst not certainly perceive what is in thy own hand and heart. But if thou canst know thyself, you need not inquire any further. If thy duty be performed, you may be secure of all that is on God's part."—

70. V. Whenever repentance begins, know that from thenceforward the sinner begins to live; but then never let that repentance die. Do not at any time say, "I have repented of such a sin, and am at peace for that;" for a man ought never to be at peace with sin, nor think that any thing we can do is too much: our repentance for sin is never to be at an end, till faith itself shall be no more; for faith and repentance are but the same covenant; and so long as the just does live by faith in the Son of God, so long he lives by repentance; for by that faith in him our sins are pardoned, that is, by becoming his

[d] Vide Cyprian. lib. 3. ep. 14. et lib. 3. ep. 15. et 16. et de Lapsis.

disciples we enter into the covenant of repentance. And he undervalues his sin, and overvalues his sorrow, who at any time fears he shall do too much, or make his pardon too secure,—and therefore sits him down and says, "Now I have repented."

71. VI. Let no man ever say he hath committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, or the unpardonable sin; for there are but few that do that; and he can best confute himself, if he can but tell that he is sorrowful for it, and begs for pardon, and hopes for it, and desires to make amends; this man hath already obtained some degrees of pardon: and St. Paul's argument in this case also is a demonstration; "If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."[e] That is, if God to enemies gives the first grace, much more will he give the second, if they make use of the first. For from none to a little, is an infinite distance; but from little to a great deal, is not so much. And therefore, since God hath given us means of pardon and the grace of repentance, we may certainly expect the fruit of pardon: for it is a greater thing to give repentance to a sinner, than to give pardon to the penitent. Whoever repents, hath not committed the great sin, the unpardonable. For it is long of the man, not of the sin, that any sin is unpardonable.

72. VII. Let every man be careful of entering into any great states of sin, lest he be unawares guilty of the great offence: every resisting of a holy motion calling us from sin, every act against a clear reason or revelation, every confident progression in sin, every resolution to commit a sin in despite of conscience, is an access towards the great sin or state of evil. Therefore concerning such a man, let others fear since he will not, and save him with fear, plucking him out of the fire; but when he begins to return, that great fear is over in many degrees; for even in Moses's law there were expiations appointed not only for error, but for presumptuous sins.

The Prayer.

I.

O eternal God, gracious and merciful, I adore the immensity and deepest abyss of thy mercy and wisdom, that thou dost pity our infirmities, instruct our ignorances, pass by thousands of our follies, invitest us to repentance, and dost offer pardon, because we are miserable, and because we need it, and because thou art good, and delightest in showing mercy. Blessed be thy holy name, and blessed be that infinite mercy, which issues forth from the fountains of our Saviour, to refresh our weariness, and to water our stony hearts, and to cleanse our polluted souls. O cause that these thy mercies may not run in vain, but may redeem my lost soul, and recover thy own inheritance, and sanctify thy portion, the heart of thy servant and all my faculties.

II.

Blessed Jesus, thou becamest a little lower than the angels, but thou didst make us greater, doing that for us which thou didst not do for them. Thou didst not pay for them one drop of blood, nor endure one stripe to recover the fallen stars, nor give one groan to snatch the accursed spirits from their fearful prisons; but thou didst empty all thy veins for me, and gavest thy heart to redeem me from innumerable sins and an intolerable calamity. O my God, let all this heap of excellences and glorious mercies be effective upon thy servant, and work in me a sorrow for my sins, and a perfect hatred of them, a watchfulness against temptations, severe and holy resolutions, active and effective of my duty. O let me never fall from sin to sin, nor persevere in any, nor love any thing which thou hatest; but give me thy Holy Spirit, to conduct and rule me for ever; and make me obedient to thy good Spirit, never to grieve him, never to resist him, never to quench him. Keep me, O Lord, with thy mighty power, from falling into presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me: so shall I be innocent from the great offence. Let me never despair of thy mercies by reason of my sins, nor neglect my repentance by reason of thy infinite loving-kindness; but let thy goodness bring me and all sinners to repentance, and thy mercies give us pardon, and thy Holy Spirit give us perseverance, and thy infinite favour bring us to glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAPTER X.

OF ECCLESIASTICAL PENANCE; OR THE FRUITS OF REPENTANCE.

SECTION I.

THE fruits of repentance are the actions of spiritual life; and signify properly, all that piety and obedience which we pay to God in the days of our return, after we have begun to follow sober counsels. For since all the duty of a christian is a state of repentance, that is, of contention against sin, and the parts and proper periods of victory; and repentance, which includes the faith of a christian, is but another word to express the same grace, or mercies of the evangelical covenant; it follows,

[e] Rom. v. 10.

that whatsoever is the duty of a christian, and a means to possess that grace, is, in some sense or other, a repentance, or the fruits of God's mercy and our endeavours. And in this sense St. John the Baptist means it, saying, "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance:" that is, "Since now the great expectation of the world is to be satisfied, and the Lord's Christ will open the gates of mercy, and give repentance to the world, see that ye live accordingly, in the faith and obedience of God through Jesus Christ."—That did, in the event of things, prove to be the effect of that sermon.

2. But although all the parts of holy life are fruits of repentance, when it is taken for the state of favour published by the gospel; yet when repentance is a particular duty or virtue,—the integral parts of holy life are also constituent parts of repentance; and then, by the fruits of repentance, must be meant, the less necessary, but very useful, effects and ministries of repentance, which are significations and exercises of the main duty. And these are, sorrow for sins, commonly called contrition, confession of them, and satisfactions; by which ought to be meant, an opposing a contrary act of virtue to the precedent act of sin, and a punishing of ourselves out of sorrow and indignation for our folly. And this is best done by all those acts of religion by which God is properly appeased, and sin is destroyed,—that is, by those acts which signify our love to God, and our hatred to sin, such as are prayer, and alms, and forgiving injuries, and punishing ourselves, that is, a forgiving every one but ourselves.

3. Many of these, I say, are not essential parts of repentance, without the actual exercise of which no man in any case can be said to be truly penitent; for the constituent parts of repentance are nothing but the essential parts of obedience to the commandments of God, that is, direct abstinence from evil, and doing what is in the precept. But they are fruits and significations, exercises and blessed productions, of repentance, useful to excellent purposes of it, and such from which a man cannot be excused, but by great accidents and rare contingencies. To visit prisoners, and to redeem captives, and to instruct the ignorant, are acts of charity; but he that does not act these special instances, is not always to be condemned for want of charity, because by other acts of grace he may signify and exercise his duty: he only that refuses any instances, because the grace is not operative, he only is the uncharitable; but to the particulars he can be determined only by something from without, but it is sufficient to the grace itself, that it works where it can, or where it is prudently chosen. So it is in these fruits of repentance. He that out of hatred to sin abstains from it, and out of love to God endeavours to keep his commandments, he is a true penitent, though he never lie upon the ground, or spend whole nights in prayer, or make himself sick with fasting; but he that in all circumstances refuses any or all of these, and hath not hatred enough against his sin to punish it in himself, when to do so may accidentally be necessary or enjoined, he hath cause to suspect himself not to be a true penitent.

4. No one of these is necessary in the special instance, except those which are, distinctly and upon their own accounts, under another precept, as prayer, and forgiving injuries, and self-affliction in general, and confession. But those which are only apt ministries to the grace, which can be ministered unto equally by other instances, those are left to the choice of every one, or to be determined or bound upon us by accidents and by the church. But every one of the particulars hath in it something of special consideration.

SECTION II.

Of Contrition, or godly Sorrow.

5. In all repentances it is necessary, that we understand some sorrow ingredient, or appendant, or beginning. To repent, is to leave a sin; which because it must have a cause to effect it, can begin no where but where the sin is, for some reason or other, disliked, that is, because it does a mischief. It is enough to leave it, that we know it will ruin us if we abide in it; but that is not enough to make us grieve for it, when it is passed and quitted. For if we believe that as soon as ever we repent of it, we shall be accepted to pardon, and that infallibly, and that being once forsaken it does not, and shall not, prejudice us,—he that considers this, and remembers it was pleasant to him, will scarce find cause enough to be sorrowful for it. Neither is it enough to say, he must grieve for it, or else it will do him mischief: for this is not true; for how can sorrow prevent the mischief, when the sorrow of itself is not an essential duty? Or if it were so in itself, yet by accident it becomes not to be so; for, by being unreasonable and impossible it becomes also not necessary, not a duty. To be sorrowful is not always in our power, any more than to be merry; and both of them are the natural products of their own objects, and of nothing else; and then if sin does us pleasure at first, and at last no mischief to the penitent, to bid them be sorrowful lest it should do mischief, is as improper a remedy, as if we were commanded to be hungry to prevent being beaten. He that felt nothing but the pleasure of sin, and is now told he shall feel none of its evils, and that it can no more hurt him when it is forsaken, than a bee when the sting is out,—if he be commanded to grieve, may justly return in answer, that as yet he perceives no cause.

6. If it be told him, it is cause enough to grieve that he hath offended God, who can punish him with sad, insufferable, and eternal torments; this is very true: but if God be not angry with him, and he be told that God will not punish him for the sin he repents of, then to grieve for having offended God, is so metaphysical and abstracted a speculation, that there must be something else in it, before a sinner can be tied to it. For to have displeased God is a great evil; but what is it to me,

if it will bring no evil to me? It is a metaphysical and a moral evil; but unless it be also naturally and sensibly so, it is not the object of a natural and proper grief. It follows therefore, that the state of a repenting person must have in it some more causes of sorrow than are usually taught, or else in vain can they be called upon to weep and mourn for their sins. Well may they wring their faces and their hands, and put on black, those disguises of passion and curtains of joy, those ceremonies and shadows of rich widows and richer heirs, by which they decently hide their secret smiles: well may they "rend their garments," but upon this account they can never "rend their hearts."

7. For the stating of this article it is considerable, that there are several parts or periods of sorrow, which are effected by several principles. In the beginning of our repentance, sometimes we feel cause enough to grieve. For God smites many into repentance; either a sharp sickness does awaken us, or a calamity upon our house, or the death of our dearest relative; and they that find sin so heavily incumbent, and to press their persons or fortunes with feet of lead, will feel cause enough, and need not to be disputed into a penitential sorrow. They feel God's anger, and the evil effects of sin, and that it brings sorrow; and then the sorrow is justly great, because we have done that evil which brings so sad a judgment.

8. And in the same proportion, there is always a natural cause of sorrow, where there is a real cause of fear; and so it is ever in the beginning of repentance; and for aught we know, it is for ever so; and albeit the causes of fear lessen as the repentance does proceed, yet it will never go quite off, till hope itself be gone and passed into charity, or at least, into a πεποίθησις καὶ παῤῥησία, into "that fulness of confidence," which is given to few as the reward of a lasting and conspicuous holiness. And the reason is plain. For though it be certain in religion, that whoever repents shall be pardoned, yet it is a long time before any man hath repented worthily; and it is as uncertain in what manner, and in what measures, and in what time, God will give us pardon. It is as easy to tell the very day in which a man first comes to the use of reason, as to tell the very time in which we are accepted to final pardon; the progressions of one being as divisible as the other, and less discernible. For reason gives many fair indications of itself; whereas God keeps the secrets of this mercy in his sanctuary, and draws not the curtain till the day of death or judgment.

9. Add to this, that our very repentances have many allays and imperfections, and so hath our pardon.

And every one that sins, hath so displeased God, that he is become the subject of the Divine anger. "Death is the wages;" what death God may please, and therefore what evil soever God will inflict, or his mortality can suffer: and he that knows this hath cause to fear; and he that fears hath cause to be grieved, that he is fallen from that state of Divine favour, in which he stood secured with the guards of angels, and covered with heaven itself as with a shield, in which he was beloved of God and heir of all his glories.

10. But they,—that describe repentance in short and obscure characters, and make repentance and pardon to be the children of a minute, and born and grown up quickly as a fly, or a mushroom, with the dew of a night, or the tears of a morning, making the labours of the one, and the want of the other, to expire sooner than the pleasures of a transient sin,—are so insensible of the sting of sin, that indeed, upon their grounds, it will be impossible to have a real godly sorrow. For though they have done evil, yet by this doctrine they feel none; and there is nothing remains as a cause of grief, unless they will be sorrowful for that they have been pleased formerly, and are now secured; nothing remains before them or behind, but the pleasure that they had, and the present confidence and impunity: and that is no good instrument of sorrow. "Securitas delicti etiam libido est ejus." Sin takes occasion by the law itself, if there be no penalty annexed.

11. But the first inlet of a godly sorrow, which is the beginning of repentance, is upon the stock of their present danger and state of evil, into which by their sin they are fallen,—viz. when their guilt is manifest, they see that they are become sons of death, exposed to the wrath of a provoked Deity, whose anger will express itself when and how it please, and, for aught the man knows, it may be the greatest, and it may be intolerable; and though his danger is imminent and certain, yet his pardon is a great way off; it may be yea, it may be no; it must be hoped for, but it may be missed,—for it is upon conditions; and they are, or will seem, very hard.

Sed, ut valeas, multa dolenda feres:

So that in the sum of affairs, however that the greatest sinner and the smallest penitent are very apt, and are taught by strange doctrines, to flatter themselves into confidence and presumption,—yet he will have reason to mourn and weep, when he shall consider that he is in so sad a condition, that because his life is uncertain, it is also uncertain whether or no he shall not be condemned to an eternal prison of flames: so that every sinner hath the same reason to be sorrowful, as he hath, who, from a great state of blessings and confidence, is fallen into great fears and great dangers, and a certain guilt and liableness of losing all he hath, and suffering all that is insufferable. They who state repentance otherwise, cannot make it reasonable, that a penitent should shed a tear. And therefore it is no wonder, that we so easily observe a great dulness and indifferency, so many dry eyes and merry hearts, in persons that pretend repentance; it cannot more reasonably be attributed to any cause, than to those trifling and easy propositions of men, that destroy the causes of sorrow, by lessening and taking off the opinion of danger. But now, that they are observed and reproved, I hope the evil will be lessened. But to proceed.

12. II. Having now stated the reasonableness and

causes of penitential sorrow; the next inquiry is into the nature and constitution of that sorrow. For it is to be observed, that penitential sorrow is not seated in the affections directly, but in the understanding: and is rather "odium" than "dolor;" it is "hatred" of sin, and detestation of it, a nolition, a renouncing and disclaiming it, whose expression is a resolution never to sin,—and a pursuance of that resolution, by abstaining from the occasions, by praying for the Divine aid, by using the proper remedies for its mortification. This is essential to repentance, and must be, in every man, in the highest kind. For he that does not hate sin, so as rather to choose to suffer any evil, than to do any,—loves himself more than he loves God; because he fears to displease himself rather than to displease him, and therefore is not a true penitent.

13. But although this be not grief, or sorrow properly, but hatred,—yet in hatred there is ever a sorrow, if we have done or suffered what we hate; and whether it be sorrow or no, is but a speculation of philosophy, but no ingredient of duty. It is that which will destroy sin, and bring us to God; and that is the purpose of repentance.

14. For it is remarkable, that sorrow is indeed an excellent instrument of repentance, apt to set forward many of its ministries, and without which men ordinarily will not leave their sins; but if the thing be done, though wholly upon the discourses of reason, upon intuition of the danger, upon contemplation of the unworthiness of sin, or only upon the principle of hope, or fear,—it matters not which is the beginning of repentance. For we find "fear" reckoned to be "the beginning of wisdom," that is, of repentance, of wise and sober counsels, by Solomon. We find "sorrow" to be reckoned as the beginning of repentance by St. Paul; "Godly sorrow worketh repentance not to be repented of."—So many ways as there are, by which God works repentance in those whom he will bring unto salvation, to all the kinds of these there are proper apportioned passions: and as in all good things there is pleasure, so in all evil there is pain, some way or other: and therefore to love and hatred, or, which is all one, to pleasure and displeasure, all passions are reducible, as all colours are to black and white. So that though, in all repentances, there is not in every person felt that sharpness of sensitive compunction and sorrow, that is usual in sad accidents of the world,—yet if the sorrow be upon the intellectual account, though it be not much perceived by inward sharpnesses, but chiefly by dereliction and leaving of the sin, it is that sorrow which is possible, and in our power, and that which is necessary to repentance.

15. For in all inquiries concerning penitential sorrow, if we will avoid scruple and vexatious fancies, we must be careful not to account of our sorrow by the measures of sense, but of religion. David grieved more for the sickness of his child, and the rebellion of his son, so far as appears in the story; and the prophet Jeremy, in behalf of the Jews, for the death of their glorious prince Josiah; and St. Paula Romana, at the death of her children,—were more passionate and sensibly afflicted, than for their sins against God: that is, they felt more sensitive trouble in that than this, and yet their repentances were not to be reproved; because our penitential sorrow is from another cause, and seated in other faculties, and fixed upon differing objects, and works in other manners, and hath a diverse signification, and is fitted to other purposes; and therefore is wholly of another nature. It is a displeasure against sin,—which must be expressed by praying against it, and fighting against it; but all other expressions are extrinsical to it, and accidental, and are no parts of it,—because they cannot be under a command, as all the parts and necessary actions of repentance are most certainly.

16. Indeed, some persons can command their tears; so Gellia, in the epigram;

> Si quis adest, jussæ prosiliunt lacrimæ; Mart.

"she could cry, when company was there to observe her weeping for her father;" and so can some orators, and many hypocrites: and there are some that can suppress their tears by art, and resolution; so Ulysses did, when he saw his wife weep; he pitied her, but

> Intra palpebras, ceu cornu, immota tenebat
> Lumina, vel ferrum, lacrimas astuque premebat;

"he kept his tears within his eyelids," as if they had been in a phial, which he could pour forth or keep shut at his pleasure. But although some can do this at pleasure, yet all cannot. And therefore St. John Climacus speaks of certain penitents, *οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντες δακρύων ἑαυτοὺς κατέκοπτον*, "who, because they could not weep, expressed their repentance by beating their breasts:" and yet if all men could weep when they list, yet they may weep and not be sorrowful; and though they can command tears, yet sorrow is no more to be commanded than hunger,—and therefore is not a part or necessary duty of repentance, when sorrow is taken for a sensitive trouble.

17. But yet there is something of this also to be added to our duty. If our constitution be such as to be apt to weep, and sensitively troubled upon other intellectual apprehensions of differing objects; unless also they find the same effect in their repentances, there will be some cause to suspect, that their hatred of sin and value of obedience and its rewards, are not so great as they ought to be. The masters of spiritual life give this rule: "Sciat se culpabiliter durum, qui deflet damna temporis vel mortem amici,—dolorem verò pro peccatis lacrimis non ostendit:" "He that weeps for temporal losses, and does not in the same manner express his sorrow for his sins, is culpably obdurate:"—which proposition, though piously intended, is not true. For tears are emanations of a sensitive trouble or motion of the heart, and not properly subject to the understanding; and therefore a man may innocently weep for the death of his friend, and yet shed no tears when he hath told a lie, and still be in that state of sorrow and displeasure, that he had rather die himself, than choose to tell another lie. Therefore, the rule

only hath some proportions of probability, in the effect of several intellectual apprehensions. As he that is apt to weep when he hath done an unhandsome action to his friend, who yet will never punish him; and is not apt to express his sorrow in the same manner, when he hath offended God: I say, he may suspect his sorrow not to be so great or so real; but yet abstractedly from this circumstance, to weep or not to weep is nothing to the duty of repentance, save only that it is that ordinary sign, by which some men express some sort of sorrow. And therefore I understand not the meaning of that prayer of St. Austin; "Domine, da gratiam lacrimarum;" "Lord, give me the grace of tears;" for tears are no duty, and the greatest sorrow oftentimes is the driest; and excepting that there is some sweetness and ease in shedding tears, and that they accompany a soft and a contemplative person, an easy and a good nature, and such as is apt for religious impressions,—I know no use of them, but to signify, in an apt and a disposed nature, what kind of apprehensions and trouble there is within. For weeping upon the presence of secular troubles, is more ready and easy, because it is an effect symbolical, and of the same nature with its proper cause. But when there is a spiritual cause, although its proper effect may be greater and more effective of better purposes; yet unless by the intermixture of some material and natural cause, it be more apportioned to a material and natural product, it is not to be charged with it, or expected from it. Sin is a spiritual evil; and tears are the sign of a natural or physical sorrow. Smart, and sickness, and labour, are natural or physical evils; and hatred and nolition are a spiritual or intellectual effect. Now as every labour and every smart is not to be hated or rejected, but sometimes chosen by the understanding, when it is mingled with a good that pleases the understanding, and is eligible upon the accounts of reason: so neither can every sin, which is the intellectual evil, be productive of tears or sensitive sorrow, unless it be mingled with something which the sense and affections, that is, which the lower man hates, and which will properly afflict him; such as are, fear, or pain, or danger, or disgrace, or loss. The sensitive sorrow, therefore, which is usually seen in new penitents, is upon the account of those horrible apprehensions, which are declared in Holy Scriptures to be the consequent of sins; but if we shall so preach repentance, as to warrant a freedom and a perfect escape instantly from all significations of the wrath of God, and all dangers for the future upon the past and present account, I know not upon what reckoning he, that truly leaves his sin, can be commanded to be sorrowful; and if he were commanded, how he can possibly obey.

18. But when repentance hath had its growth and progression, and is increased into a habit of piety,—sorrow and sensitive trouble may come in upon another account; for great and permanent changes of the mind make great impressions upon the lower man. When we love an object intensely, our very body receives comfort in the presence of it: and there are friendly spirits which have a natural kindness and cognation to each other, and refresh one another, passing from eye to eye, from friend to friend: and the prophet David felt it in the matter of religion; "My flesh and my heart rejoice in the living Lord." For if a grief of mind is a consumption of the flesh, and a cheerful spirit is a conservatory of health,—it is certain that every great impression, that is made upon the mind and dwells there, hath its effect upon the body and the lower affections. And therefore all those excellent penitents who consider the baseness of sin,—their own danger, though now past in some degrees,—the offence of God,—the secret counsels of his mercy,—his various manners of dispensing them,—the fearful judgments which God unexpectedly sends upon some men,—the dangers of our own confidence,—the weakness of our repentance,—the remains of our sin,—the aptnesses and combustible nature of our concupiscence,—the presence of temptation, and the perils of relapsing,—the evil state of things which our former sins leave us in,—our difficulty in obeying, and our longings to return to Egypt,—and the fearful anger of God, which will, with greater fierceness, descend if we chance to fall back:—those penitents, I say, who consider these things frequently and prudently, will find their whole man so wrought upon, that every faculty shall have an enmity against sin; and therefore even the affections of the lower man must, in their way, contribute to its mortification, and that is, by a real and effective sorrow.

19. But in this whole affair the whole matter of question will be in the manner of operation, or signification of the dislike. For the duty is done, if the sin be accounted an enemy; that is, whether the dislike be only in the intellectual and rational appetite, or also in the sensitive. For although men use so to speak, and distinguish superior from inferior appetites; yet it will be hard in nature to find any real distinct faculties, in which those passions are subjected, and from which they have emanation. The intellectual desire, and the sensual desire, are both founded in the same faculty; they are not distinguished by their subjects, but by their objects only: they are but several motions of the will to or from several objects. When a man desires that which is most reasonable, and perfective, or consonant to the understanding, that we call an intellectual or rational appetite; but if he desires a thing that will do him hurt in his soul, or to his best interest, and yet he desires it because it pleases him,—this is fit to be called a sensitive appetite, because the object is sensitive, and it is chosen for a sensual reason. But it is rather "appetitio" than "appetitus," that is, "an act" rather than "a principle of action." The case is plainer, if we take two objects of several interests, both of which are proportioned to the understanding. St. Anthony in the desert, and St. Bernard in the pulpit, were tempted by the spirit of pride: they resisted and overcame it, because pride was unreasonable and foolish as to themselves, and displeasing to God. If they had listened to the whispers of that spirit, it had been upon the accounts of pleasure,—because

pride is that deliciousness of spirit which entertains a vain man, making him to delight in his own images and reflections; and therefore is a work of the flesh, but yet plainly founded in the understanding. And therefore, here it is plain, that when the flesh and the spirit fight, it is not a fight between two faculties of the soul, but a contest in the soul concerning the election of two objects. It is no otherwise in this than in every deliberation, when arguments from several interests contest each other. Every passion of the man is nothing else but a proper manner of being affected with an object, and consequently a tendency to or an aversion from it, that is, a willing or a nilling of it; which willing and nilling, when they produce several permanent impressions upon the mind and body, receive the names of "divers passion:" the object itself, first striking the fancy or lower apprehensions by its proper energy, makes the first passion or tendency to the will, that is, the inclination or first concupiscence; but when the will upon that impression is set on work, and chooses the sensual object, that makes the abiding passion the quality. As if the object be displeasing, and yet not present, it effects fear or hatred; if good and not present, it is called desire; but all these diversifications are merely natural effects; as to be warm is before the fire, and cannot be in our choice directly and immediately. That which is the prime and proper action of the will, that only is subject to a command; that is, to choose or refuse the sin. The "passion," that is, the proper effect or impress upon the fancy or body, that is natural, and is determined to the particular by the mixture of something natural with the act of the will; as if an apprehension of future evils be mingled with the refusing sin, that is, if it be the cause of it, then fear is the passion that is effected by it. If the feeling some evil be the cause of the nolition, then sorrow is the effect; and fear also may produce sorrow. So that the passion, that is, the natural impress upon the man, cannot be the effect of a commandment, but the principle of that passion is; we are commanded to refuse sin, "to eschew evil,"—that is the word of the Scripture: but because we usually do feel the evils of sin, and we have reason to fear worse, and sorrow is the natural effect of such a feeling, and such a fear,—therefore the Scripture calling us to repentance, that is, a new life, a dying unto sin, and a living unto righteousness, expresses it by sorrow, and mourning, and weeping; but these are not the duty, but the expressions, or the instruments of that which is a duty. So that if any man who hates sin and leaves it, cannot yet find the sharpness of such a sorrow as he feels in other sad accidents, there can nothing be said to it, but that the duty itself is not clothed with those circumstances, which are apt to produce that passion; it is not an eschewing of sin upon considerations of a present or a feared trouble, but upon some other principle; or that the consideration is not deep and pressing, or that the person is of an unapt disposition to those sensible effects. The Italian and his wife, who by chance espied a serpent under the shade of their vines, were both equal haters of the little beast; but the wife only cried out,—and the man killed it, but with as great a regret and horror at the sight of it as his wife, though he did not so express it. But when a little after they espied a lizard, and she cried again, he told her, that he perceived her trouble was not always derived from reasonable apprehensions, and that what could spring only from images of things and fancies of persons, was not considerable by a just value. This is the case of our sorrowing. Some express it by tears, some by penances and corporal inflictions, some by more effective and material mortifications of it; but he that kills it is the greatest enemy. But those persons who can be sorrowful and violently moved for a trifling interest, and upon the arrests of fancy,—if they find these easy meltings and sensitive afflictions upon the accounts of their sins, are not to please themselves at all, unless, when they have cried out, they also kill the serpent.

20. I cannot therefore at all suspect that man's repentance, who hates sin, and chooses righteousness, and walks in it, though he do not weep, or feel the troubles of a mother mourning over the hearse of her only son; but yet such a sensitive grief is of great use to these purposes.

I. If it do not proceed from the present sense of the Divine judgment, yet it supplies that, and feels an evil from its own apprehension, which is not yet felt from the Divine infliction.

II. It prevents God's anger, by being a punishment of ourselves, a condemnation of the sinner, and a taking vengeance of ourselves for our having offended God. And therefore it is, consequently to this, agreed on all hands, that the greater the sorrow is, the less necessity there is of any outward affliction;

> Ut possit lacrimis æquare labores. Virgil.

According to the old rule of the penitentiaries.

> Sitque modus culpæ justæ moderatio pœnæ,
> Quæ tanto levior, quanto contritio major.

Which general measure of repentances, as it is of use in the particular of which I am now discoursing, so it effects this persuasion, that external mortifications and austerities are not any part of original and essential duty, but significations of the inward repentance unto men; and suppletories of it before God; that when we cannot feel the trouble of mind, we may at least hate sin upon another account, even upon the superinduced evils upon our bodies; for all affliction is nothing but sorrow; "Gravis animi pœna est, quem post factum pœnitet," said Publius: "To repent is a grievous punishment;" and the old man in the comedy calls it so.

> Cur meam senectam, hujus sollicito amentiâ? an
> Pro hujus ego ut peccatis supplicium sufferam?

"Why do I grieve my old age for his madness, that I should suffer punishment for his sins?"[1] Grieving was his punishment.

III. This sensitive sorrow is very apt to extinguish sin, it being of a symbolical nature to the de-

[1] Terent. Andr.

sign of God, when he strikes a sinner for his amendment: it makes sin to be uneasy to him; and not only to be displeasing to his spirit, but to his sense, and consequently, that it hath no port to enter any more.

IV. It is a great satisfaction to an inquisitive conscience, to whom it is not sufficient that he does repent, unless he be able to prove it by signs and proper indications.

21. The sum is this. 1. No man can, in any sense, be said to be a true penitent, unless he wishes he had never done the sin. 2. But he that is told that his sin is presently pardoned upon repentance, that is, upon leaving it, and asking forgiveness; and that the former pleasure shall not now hurt him, he hath no reason to wish that he had never done it. 3. But, to make it reasonable to wish that the sin had never been done, there must be the feeling or fear of some evil.

Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit, intrà
Pectora, pro meritis spemque metumque suis.

4. According as is the nature of that evil feared or felt, so is the passion effected, of hatred, or sorrow. 5. Whatever the passion be, it must be totally exclusive of all affection to sin, and produce enmity and fighting against it, until it be mortified. 6. In the whole progression of this mortification, it is more than probable that some degrees of sensitive trouble will come in at some angle or other. 7. Though the duty of penitential sorrow itself be completed "in nolitione peccati," in the hating of sin, and ourselves for doing it,—yet the more penal that hate is, the more it ministers to many excellent purposes of repentance.

22. But because some persons do not feel this sensitive sorrow, they begin to suspect their repentance, and therefore they are taught to supply this want by a reflex act, that is, to be sorrowful because they are not sorrowful. This I must needs say is a fine device, where it can be made to signify something that is material. But I fear it will not often. For how can a man be sorrowful for not being sorrowful? For either he hath reason at first to be sorrowful, or he hath not. If he hath not, why should he be sorrowful for not doing an unreasonable act? If he hath reason, and knows it, it is certain he will be as sorrowful as that cause so apprehended can effect: but he can be no more, and so much he cannot choose but be. But if there be cause to be sorrowful, and the man knows it not, then he cannot yet grieve for that; for he knows no cause, and that is all one as if he had none. But if there be indeed a cause which he hath not considered, then let him be called upon to consider that, and then he will be directly and truly sorrowful, when he hath considered it; and hath reason to be sorrowful because he had not considered it before, that is, because he had not repented sooner; but to be sorrowful because he is not sorrowful, can have no other good meaning but this: we are to endeavour to be displeased at sin, and to use all the means we can to hate it; that is, when we find not any sensitive sorrow or pungency of spirit, let us contend to make our intellectual sorrow as great as we can. And if we perceive or suspect we have not true repentance, let us beg of God to give it; and let us use the proper means of obtaining the grace; and if we are uncertain concerning the actions of our own heart, let us supply them by prayer, and holy desires; that if we cannot perceive the grace in the proper shape, and by its own symptoms and indications, we may be made, in some measure, humbly confident by other images and reflections, by seeing the grace in another shape: so David; "Concupivi desiderare justificationes tuas;" "I have desired to desire thy justifications;" that is, either I have prayed for that grace, or I have seen that I have that desire, not by a direct observation, but by some other signification. But it is certain, no man can be sorrowful for not being sorrowful, if he means the same kind and manner of sorrow; as there cannot be two, where there is not one; and there cannot be a reflex ray, where there was not a direct.

23. But if there be such difficulty in the questions of our own sorrow, it were very well, that even this part of repentance should be conducted, as all the other ought,—by the ministry of a spiritual man; that it may be better instructed, and prudently managed, and better discerned, and led on to its proper effects. But when it is so helped forward, it is more than contrition,—it is confession also; of which I am yet to give in special accounts.

SECTION III.

Of the Natures and Difference of Attrition and Contrition.

24. All the passions of the irascible faculty are that sorrow, in some sense or other, which will produce repentance. Repentance cannot kill sin, but by withdrawing the will from it: and the will is not to be withdrawn, but by complying with the contrary affection to that which before did accompany it in evil. Now whatever that affection was, pleasure was the product, it was that which nursed or begot the sin: now as this pleasure might proceed from hope, from possession, from sense, from fancy, from desire, and all the passions of the concupiscible appetite; so when there is a displeasure conceived, it will help to destroy sin, from what passion soever, of what faculty soever, that displeasure can be produced.

25. If the displeasure at sin proceeds from any passion of the irascible faculty, it is that which those divines, who understand the meaning of their own words of art, commonly call "attrition," that is,—a resolving against sin, the resolution proceeding from any principle that is troublesome and dolorous:—and in what degree of good that is, (as appears in the stating of this question,) it is acceptable to God; not an acceptable repentance, for it is not so much; but it is a good beginning of it, an acceptable introduction to it; and must, in its very nature, suppose a sorrow, or displeasure,—in which although according to the quality of the motives of attrition,

or the disposition of the penitent, there is more or less sensitive trouble respectively, yet in all there must be so much sorrow or displeasure, as to cause a dereliction of the sin, or a resolution, at least, to leave it.

26. But there are some natures so ingenuous, and there are some periods of repentance so perfect, and some penitents have so far proceeded in the methods of holiness, and pardon,—that they are fallen out with sin upon the stock of some principles proceeding from the concupiscible appetite; such are love and hope; and if these have for their object God or the Divine promises, it is that noblest principle of repentance or holy life, which divines call "contrition." For hope cannot be without love of that which is hoped for; if therefore this hope have for its object temporal purchases, it is or may be a sufficient cause of leaving sin, according as the power and efficacy of the hope shall be; but it will not be sufficient towards pardon, unless, in its progression, it join with some better principle of a spiritual grace. Temporal hope and temporal fear may begin God's work upon our spirits; but till it be gone further, we are not in the first step of an actual state of grace. But as attrition proceeds from the motives of those displeasing objects, which are threatened by God to be the evil consequents of sin, relating to eternity; so contrition proceeds from objects and motives of desire, which are promises and benefits, received already, or to be received hereafter. But these must also be more than temporal good things: for hopes and fears relating to things, (though promised or threatened in Holy Scripture,) are not sufficient incentives of a holy and acceptable repentance; which, because it is not a transient act, but a state of holiness, cannot be supported by a transitory and deficient cause, but must wholly rely upon expectation and love of things, that are eternal and cannot pass away. Attrition begins with fear; contrition hath hope and love in it. The first is a good beginning, but it is no more; before a man can say he is pardoned, he must be gone beyond the first, and arrived at this. The reason is plain; because although in the beginnings of repentance there is a great fear, yet the causes of this fear wear away and lessen, according as the repentance goes on, and are quite extinguished when the penitent hath mortified his sin, and hath received the spirit of adoption, the πληροφορία, "the confidence" of the sons of God; but because repentance must be perfect, and must be perpetual during this life, it must also be maintained, and supported by something that is lasting, and will not wear off, and that is hope and love; according to that of St. Austin,[k] "Pœnitentiam certam non facit, nisi odium peccati et amor Dei:" "Hatred of sin, and the love of God, make repentance firm and sure;" nothing else can do it: but this is a work of time; but such a work, that without it be done, our pardon is not perfect.

27. Now of this contrition, relying upon motives of pleasure and objects of amability, being the noblest principle of action, and made up of the love of God, and holy things, and holy expectations,—the product is quite differing from that of attrition, or the imperfect repentance; for that commencing upon fear or displeasure, is only apt to produce a derelictio or quitting of our sin, and all the servile affection of frighted or displeased persons. But this would not effect a universal obedience; which only can be effected by love and the affection of sons which is also the product of those objects, which are the incentives of the Divine love, and is called contrition: that is, a hatred against sin, as being an enemy to God, and all our hopes of enjoying God; whom because this repenting man loves and delights in, he also hates whatsoever God hates,—and is really grieved, for ever having offended so good a God, and for having endangered his hopes of dwelling with him whom he so loves; and therefore now does the quite contrary.

28. Now this is not usually the beginning of repentance, but is a great progression in it; and it contains in it obedience. He that is attrite, leaves his sin; but he that is contrite, obeys God, and pursues the interests and acquists of virtue: so that contrition is not only a sorrow for having offended God, whom the penitent loves; that is but one act or effect of contrition; but contrition loves God and hates sin; it leaves this, and adheres to him; abstains from evil, and does good; dies to sin, and lives to righteousness; and is a state of pardon and acceptable services.

29. But then there is a sorrow also proper to it for as this grace comes from the noblest passions and apprehensions, so it does operate in the best manner, and to the noblest purposes. It hates sin upon higher contemplations than he that hates it upon the stock of fear: he hates sin as being against God, and religion, and right reason; that is, he is gone further from sin: he hates it for itself.

> Pœnitet, ô si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
> Pœnitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo.
> Cumque sit exilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori;
> Estque pati pœnam quàm meruisse minus.

That is, not only the evil effect to himself, but the irregularity and the displeasure to Almighty God are the incentives of his displeasure against sin and because in all these passions and effective motions of the mind, there is a sorrow under some shape or other, this sorrow or displeasure is that which is a very acceptable signification, and act of repentance; and yet it is not to be judged of by sense, but by reason, by the caution and enmity against sin: to which this also is to be added:

30. That if any man inquires, whether or no his hatred against sin proceed from the love of God or no; that is, whether it be attrition or contrition;—he is only to observe whether he does endeavour heartily and constantly to please God by obedience; for "this is love, that we keep his commandments:" and although sometimes we may tell concerning our love as well as concerning our fear; yet when the direct principle is not so evident, our only way left to try is by the event: that is contrition which makes us to exterminate and mortify sin, and endeavour to keep the commandments of God. For that is sorrow proceeding from love.

[k] Serm. 7. de Tempor.

31. And now it is no wonder, if to contrition pardon be so constantly annexed in all the discourses of divines: but unless contrition be thus understood, and if a single act of something like it, be mistaken for the whole state of this grace, we shall be deceived by applying false promises to a real need, or true promises to an incompetent and incapable state of things. But when it is thus meant, all the sorrows that can come from this principle are signs of life.

His lacrimis vitam damus, et miserescimus ultro.

No man can deny pardon to such penitents, nor cease to joy in such tears.

32. The sum of the present inquiry is this: contrition is sometimes used for a part of repentance, sometimes taken for the whole duty. As it is a part, so it is that displeasure at sin, and hatred of it, which is commonly expressed in sorrow, but for ever in the leaving of it. It is sometimes begun with fear, sometimes with shame, and sometimes with kindness, with thankfulness and love; but love and obedience are ever at the latter end of it, though it were not at the beginning; and till then it is called attrition. But when it is taken for the whole duty itself, as it is always when it is effective of pardon,—then the elements of it, or parts of the constitution, are "fides futuri sæculi et judicii, fides in promissis et passionibus Christi, timor Divinæ majestatis, amor misericordiæ, dolor pro peccatis, spes veniæ, petitio pro gratiâ," "faith in the promises and sufferings of Christ, an assent to the article of the day of judgment, and the world to come; with all the consequent persuasions and practices effected on the spirit, fear of the Divine majesty, love of his mercy, grief for our sins, begging for grace, hope of pardon;" and in this sense it is true "Cor contritum Deus non despiciet," "God will never refuse to accept of a heart so contrite."

SECTION IV.

Of Confession.

33. THE modern schoolmen make contrition to include in it a resolution to submit to the keys of the church; that is, that confession to a priest is a part of contrition, as contrition is taken for a part of repentance; for it is incomplete till the church hath taken notice of it,—but by submission to the church-tribunal, it is made complete; and not only so, but that which was but attrition, is now turned into contrition, or perfect repentance. In the examining of this, I shall, because it is reasonable so to do, change their manner of speaking, that the inquiry may be more material and intelligible. That contrition does include in it a resolution to submit to the church-tribunal, must either mean, that godly sorrow does in its nature include a desire of confession to a priest, and then the very word confutes the thing; or else by contrition they meaning so much of repentance, as is sufficient to pardon, mean also, that to submit to the keys, or to confess to a priest, is a necessary or integral part of that repentance, and therefore of contrition. Concerning the other part of their affirmative, that attrition is, by the keys, changed into contrition; this being turned into words fit for men to speak,—such men, I mean, that would be understood,—signifies plainly this: that the most imperfect repentance towards God is sufficient, if it be brought before the church; that is, a little on the penitent man's part, and a little on the priest's part, is disposition enough to the receiving of a pardon: so that, provided you do all that the church commands you, you may make the bolder to leave out something of God's command, which otherwise you might not do. The priest may do half the work for you. These thus represented, I shall consider apart.

34. I. Confession is an act of repentance highly requisite to its perfection: and in that regard, particularly called upon in Holy Scripture. But concerning this, and all the other great exercises, actions, or general significations, of repentance, every word singly is used indefinitely for the whole duty of repentance. Thus contrition is used by David; "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou shalt not despise;" that is, a penitent heart God will not reject. The same also is the usage of confession, by St. John: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;"[l] that is, if we repent, God hath promised us pardon and his Holy Spirit, that he will justify us, and that he will sanctify us. And in pursuance of this, the church called ecclesiastical repentance by the name of "exomologesis," which though it was a Greek word, yet both Greeks and Latins used it. "Exomologesis est humiliandi hominis disciplina;" so Tertullian: "Confession is the discipline of humiliation for a man for his sins:" and St. Ambrose calls confession "pœnarum compendium," "the sum or abbreviature of penance."[m] And this word was sometimes changed, and called "satisfaction;" which although the Latin church, in the later ages, use only for corporal austerities, which by way of appropriation they are pleased also to call penances, yet it was anciently used for the whole course and offices of ecclesiastical repentance; as appears in the council of Paris,[n] of Agatho,[o] and the third council of Toledo.[p] The result and effect of this observation are, that no more be put upon one part or action of repentance than upon another, to serve ends. For pardon of sins is promised to the penitent under single words; under contrition, under sorrow, under alms, under judging ourselves, under confession; but no one of these alone is sufficient for pardon: and when pardon is promised to any one, they must mean the whole duty; for when the whole effect is ascribed to a part, that part stands for the whole, and means more than a part.

35. II. But concerning confession as it is a special act of repentance, the first thing that is to be said of it, is, that it is due only to God; for he

[l] 1 John i. 9. [m] De Abel et Cain, l. 2. c. 9. [n] Lib. 1. c. ult. [o] Cap. 37. [p] Cap. 11.

is the person injured; sin is the prevarication of his laws; he is our Judge, and he only can pardon, as he only can punish eternally. "Non tibi dico, ut tua peccata, tanquam in pompam, in publicum proferas, neque ut te accuses, sed ut pareas prophetæ[q] dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Apud Deum ea confitere, apud Judicem confitere peccata tua, orans si non linguâ, saltem memoriâ, et ita roga ut tui misereatur." "I do not enjoin thee to betray thyself to the public ear, bringing thy sins as into a theatre, but obey the prophet, saying, Reveal thy way unto the Lord. Confess to God, confess to thy judge; praying if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy mind, and pray so that thou mayest be heard:" so St. Chrysostom.—And upon those words of St. Paul, "Let a man examine himself," he saith, "Non revelavit ulcus, non in commune theatrum accusationem produxit," &c. "He did not reveal his ulcer, he did not bring his accusation into the common theatre; he made none witness of his sins, but in his conscience, none standing by, God only excepted, who sees all things."[r]—And again, upon that of the psalm; "My sin is always against me;"—"If thou art ashamed to speak it to any one, say them daily in thy mind: I do not say, that thou confess them to thy fellow-servant who may upbraid thee; say them to God. Ἀμάρτυρον ἔστω τὸ δικαστήριον, Θεὸς ὁράτω μόνος ἐξομολογούμενον. 'Let this judicatory be without assessors or witnesses, let God alone see thy confession.'"—"Quod si, verecundiâ retrahente, revelare ea coram hominibus erubescis, illi, quem latere non possunt, confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere, 'Iniquitatem meam agnosco,' &c. qui et absque ullius verecundiæ publicatione curare, et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit;"[s] so Cassian in the imitation of St. Ambrose: "If bashfulness call thee back, and thou art ashamed to reveal them before men, cease not, by a continual supplication, to confess them to him from whom they cannot be concealed; who, without any pressing upon our modesty, is wont to cure, and without upbraiding, to forgive us our sins." And the fathers of the council of Cabaillon advanced this duty by divers sentences of Scripture; —"Ita duntaxat ut et Deo, qui remissor est peccatorum, confiteamur peccata nostra, et cum David dicamus, Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi: Dixi, confitebor adversum me injustitias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei," &c. "God is the pardoner of sins, and therefore let us confess to him, and say with David, 'I have made my sin known unto thee, and mine unrighteousness have I not hid; I said, I will confess mine iniquity unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin.'"[t] But this thing is pressed most earnestly by Laurentius Novarriensis, who because he was a father of the fifth age, his words are of more use, by being a testimony that the ecclesiastical repentance, which we find to be now pressed by some as simply necessary, was not the doctrine of those times. "From that day in which thou goest out of the font, thou becomest to thyself a continual font, and a daily remission. There is no *absolute* necessity of the priest's right hand; from thenceforward God hath appointed thee to be thy own judge, thy own arbiter, and hath given thee knowledge whereby of thyself thou mayest discern good and evil; and because while thou remainest in the body, thou canst not be free from sin, God hath, after baptism, placed thy remedy within thyself; he hath placed pardon within thy own choice, so that thou art not, in the day of thy necessity, indispensably tied to seek a priest; but thou thyself, as if thou wert a most skilful doctor and master, mayest amend thy error within thee, and wash away thy sin by repentance. The fountain is never dry, the water is within thee; absolution is in thy choice, sanctification is in thy diligence, pardon is within the dew of thine own tears. Do not thou therefore look either for John or Jordan; be thou thy own baptist, viz. in the baptism of repentance. Thou art defiled after thou art washed; thy bowels are defiled, thy soul is polluted; plunge thyself in the waters of repentance, cleanse thyself by abundance of tears, let compunction be plentifully in thy bowels, —and the Lord himself shall baptize thee with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and shall heap the fruits of repentance, and lay them up like wheat; but the chaff of thy sins he shall burn with unquenchable fire."[u] Many testimonies out of antiquity to the same purpose, are to be seen ready collected by Gratian, under the title "De Pœnitentiâ."

36. Now if any one shall inquire, to what purpose it is that we should confess our sins to God, who already knows them all, especially since to do so can be no part of mortification to the man's spirit: for if I steal in the presence of my brother, afterwards to tell him who saw me, that I did that which he saw me do, is no confusion of face:—that which will be an answer to this, and make it appear necessary to confess to God, will also make it appear not to be necessary to confess to men, in respect, I say, of any absolute necessity of the thing, or essential obligation of the person.

37. I answer, that confession of sins, as it is simply taken for enumeration of the actions and kinds of sin, can signify nothing as to God, for the reasons now mentioned in the inquiry. But when we are commanded to confess our sins, it is nothing else but another expression or word for the commandment of repentance. For, "Confess your sins," means, acknowledge that you have done amiss, that you were in the wrong way, that you were a miserable person, wandering out of the paths of God, and the methods of heaven and happiness, that you ought not to have done so, that you have sinned against God, and broken his holy laws, and therefore are liable and exposed to all that wrath of God which he will inflict upon you, or which he threatened. Confession of sins is a justification of God, and a sentencing of ourselves.—This is not only certain in the nature of the thing itself; but apparent also in the words of David; "Against

[q] Psal. xxxvi. 5.
[r] In Ep. ad Heb. hom. 31.
[s] Collat. 20. c. 8. In Lucæ, cap. 22. et serm. 46.
[t] Cap. 33. et habetur de Pœnit. dist. 1. cap. 90.
[u] De Pœnit. hom. 1. Biblioth. pp. tom. 2.

thee only have I done this evil; 'ut tu justificeris,' 'that thou mightest be justified' in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged:"[x] that is, if I be a sinner, then art thou righteous and just in all the evils thou inflictest.—So that confession of sins is like confession of faith, nothing but a signification of our conviction; it is a publication of our dislike of sin, and a submission to the law of God, and a deprecation of the consequent evils. "Confessio erroris, professio est desinendi," said St. Hilary:[y] "A confession of our sin, is a profession that we will leave it:" and again; "Confessio peccati ea est, ut id quod à te gestum est, per confessionem peccati confitearis esse peccatum." That is confession of sins, not that we enumerate the particulars, and tell the matter of fact to him that remembers them better than we can, but it is a condemning of the sin itself, an acknowledging that we have done foolishly, a bringing it forth to be crucified and killed. This is apparent also in the case of Achan, who was sufficiently convict of the matter of fact by the Divine disposing of lots, which was one of the ways by which God answered the secret inquiries of the Jews; but when he was brought forth to punishment "Joshua said unto him, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him;" that is, acknowledge the answer of God to be true, and his judgment upon us not to be causeless. To this answers that part of Achan's reply; "Indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel." There God was justified, and the glory was given to him, that is, the glory of his truth and his justice; but then Joshua adds, "And tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me." Here it was fit he should make a particular enumeration of the fact, and so he did to Joshua, saying, "Thus and thus have I done."[z] For to confess to man is another thing than to confess to God. Men need to be informed, God needs it not; but God is to be justified and glorified in the sentence and condemnation of the sin or the sinner: and in order to it, we must confess our sin, that is, condemn it, confess it to be a sin, and ourselves guilty, and standing at God's mercy. St. Chrysostom upon those words of St. Paul, "If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged," hath these words; "He saith not, if we would chastise ourselves, if we would punish ourselves; but only, if we would acknowledge our sins, if we would condemn ourselves, if we would give sentence against our sins, we should be freed from that punishment which is due both here and there. For he that hath condemned himself, appeases God upon a double account, both because he hath acknowledged the sins past, and is more careful for the future."[a] To this confession of sins is opposed, the denying our sin, or hiding it from God as Adam did, that is, either by proceeding in it, or by not considering it, or by excusing it, or by justifying it, or by glorying in it: all these are high provocations of God's anger; but this anger is taken off by confession. "Præveniamus faciem ejus in confessione," said the psalmist:[b] "Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving;" so we read it; "Let us prevent his anger;" or, "Let us go before his face with confession;" so the old Latin Bibles: which is a doing as the prodigal did; "I will go unto my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee:" and this is the first act of exterior repentance; but it is of that repentance that is indispensably necessary to salvation; this is "repentance towards God," which the apostle[c] preached in the first publication of christianity.

38. But then, besides this, there is a repentance towards men, and a confession in order to it. If I have sinned against my brother, I must ask his pardon and confess my error; that is, I must repent or confess to him; for he that is the injured person, hath a right over me; I am his debtor, and obliged; and he can forgive me if he please, and he may choose: that is, I must pay him the debt I owe him, unless he will be pleased to remit it. For God in his infinite wisdom, and goodness, and justice, hath taken care to secure every man's interest; and he that takes any thing from me, is bound by God's law to restore it, and to restore me to that state of good things from whence he forced me. Now because for the injury which I have already suffered, he cannot make me equal amends, because whatever he does to me for the future, still it is true that I did suffer evil from him formerly;—therefore, it is necessary that I do what I can, to the reparation of that; but because what is done and past cannot be undone, I must make it up as well as I can; that is, I must confess my sin, and be sorry for it, and submit to the judgment of the offended party, and he is bound to forgive me the sin; and I am bound to make just and prudent amends according to my power; for here every one is bound to do his share. If the offending person hath done his part of duty, the offended must do his; that is, he must forgive him that wronged him; if he will not, God will untie the penitent man, and with the same chain fast bind him that is uncharitable.

39. But my brother may be hurt by me, though I have taken nothing from him, nor intended him injury. He may be scandalized by my sin, that is, tempted to sin, encouraged in his vileness, or discontented and made sorrowful for my unworthiness and transgression. In all these cases it is necessary that we repent to them also; that is, that we make amends, not only by confession to God, but to our brethren also. For when we acknowledge our folly, we affright them from it; and by repentance we give them caution, that they may not descend into the same state of infelicity. And upon this account all public criminals were tied to a public "exomologesis," or repentance in the church, who, by confession of their sins, acknowledged their error, and entered into the state of repentance; and by their being separate from the participation and communion of the mysteries, were declared unworthy of a communion with Christ, and a participation of his promises,—till by repentance and the fruits worthy of it, they were adjudged capable of God's pardon.

[x] Psal. li. 4. [y] In Psal. cxxxv. [z] Joshua vii. 19, 20. [a] In 1 Cor. hom. 28. [b] Psal. xcv. 2. [c] Acts xx. 21.

40. At the first, this was as the nature of the thing exacted it, in case of public and notorious crimes, such which had done injury, and wrought public scandal: and so far was necessary, that the church should be repaired, if she have been injured: if public satisfaction be demanded, it must be done; if private be required only, then that is sufficient; though in case of notorious crimes it were very well, if the penitent would make his repentance as exemplary, as modesty and his own and the public circumstances can permit.

41. In pursuance of this in the primitive church, the bishop and whom he deputed, did minister to these public satisfactions and amends; which custom of theirs admitted of variety and change, according as new scandals or new necessities did arise. For though, by the nature of the thing, they only could be necessarily and essentially obliged, who had done public and notorious offences; yet some observing the advantages of that way of repentance, the prayers of the church, the tears of the bishop, the compassion of the faithful, the joy of absolution and reconciliation, did come in voluntarily, and to do that by choice, which the notorious criminals were to do of necessity.

Then the priests which the penitents had chosen, did publish or enjoin them to publish their sins in the face of the church; but this grew intolerable, and was let off, because it grew to be a matter of accusation before the criminal judge, and of upbraiding in private conversation, and of confidence to them that sought for occasion and hardness of heart and face; and therefore they appointed one only priest to hear the cases, and receive the addresses of the penitents; and he did publish the sins of them that came, only in general, and by the publication of their penances, and their separation from the mysteries; and this also changed into the more private; and by several steps of progression dwindled away into private repentance towards men, that is, confession to a priest in private, and private satisfactions, or amends and fruits of repentance: and now, "auricular confession" is nothing else but the public "exomologesis," or repentance ecclesiastical reduced to ashes; it is the relics of that excellent discipline, which was in some cases necessary, as I have declared, and in very many cases useful, until, by the dissolution of manners and the extinction of charity, it became insufferable, and a bigger scandal than those which it did intend to remedy. The result is this. That to enumerate our sins before the holy man that ministers in holy things, that is, confession to a priest, is not virtually included in the duty of contrition; for it not being necessary by the nature of the thing, nor the Divine commandment, is not necessary, absolutely and properly, in order to pardon; and therefore is no part of contrition, which without this may be a sufficient disposition towards pardon, unless by accident, as in the case of scandal, the criminal come to be obliged. Only this one advantage is to be made of their doctrine, who speak otherwise in this article. The divines in the council of Trent[d] affirm, that they that are contrite, are reconciled to God before they receive the sacrament of penance, (as they use to speak,) that is, before priestly absolution. If then a man can be contrite before the priest absolves him, as their saying supposes, and as it is certain they may,—and if the desire of absolution be, as they say, included in contrition, and consequently that nothing is wanting to obtain pardon to the penitent even before the priest absolves him;—it follows, that the priest's absolution, following this perfect disposition and this actual pardon, can effect nothing really; the man is pardoned beforehand, and therefore his absolution is only declarative. God pardons the man; and the priest by his office is to tell him so, when he sees cause for it, and observes the conditions completed. Indeed, if absolution by the minister of the church were necessary, then to desire it also would be necessary, and an act of duty and obedience; but then if the desire, in case it were necessary to desire it, would make contrition to be complete and perfect, and if perfect contrition does actually procure a pardon,—then the priestly absolution is only a solemn and legal publication of God's pardon already actually passed in the court of heaven. For an effect cannot proceed from causes, which are not yet in being; and therefore the pardon of the sins for which the penitent is contrite, cannot come from the priest's ministration,—which is not in some cases to be obtained, but desired only,—and afterwards, when it can be obtained, comes when the work is done. God, it may be, accepts the desire; but the priest's ministry afterwards is not, cannot be, the cause, why God did accept of that desire; because the desire is accepted before the absolution is in being.

42. But now, although this cannot be a necessary duty for the reasons before reckoned, because the priest is not the injured person, and therefore cannot have the power of giving pardon properly, and sufficiently, and effectively; and confession is not an amends to him, and the duty itself of confession is not an enumeration of particulars, but a condemnation of the sin, which is a humiliation before the offended party; yet confession to a priest, the minister of pardon and reconciliation, the curate of souls, and the guide of consciences, is of so great use and benefit, to all that are heavy laden with their sins, that they who carelessly and causelessly neglect it, are neither lovers of the peace of consciences, nor are careful for the advantages of their souls.

43. For the publication of our sins to the minister of holy things, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔχει ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν, said Basil,[e] "is just like the manifestation of the diseases of our body to the physician;" for God hath appointed them as spiritual physicians; ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἰᾶσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας φαρμάκοις, "to heal sinners by the antidote of repentance," said the fathers in the first Roman council under Simplicius. Their office is "to comfort the comfortless, to instruct the ignorant, to reduce the wanderers, to restore them that are overtaken in a fault, to reconcile the penitent, to strengthen the weak, and to encourage their

[d] Sess. 14. c. 4.

[e] Regul. Brev. 229.

labours, to advise remedies against sins, and to separate the vile from the precious, to drive scandals far from the church, and, as much as may be, to secure the innocent lambs from the pollutions of the infected."—Now in all these regards, the penitent may have advantages from the ecclesiastical ministrations. There are many cases of conscience, which the penitent cannot determine, many necessities which he does not perceive, many duties which he omits, many abatements of duty which he ignorantly or presumptuously does make; much partiality in the determination of his own interests; and to build up a soul requires so much wisdom, so much severity, so many arts, such caution and observance, such variety of notices, great learning, great prudence, great piety; that as all ministers are not worthy of that charge, and secret employment, and conduct of others in the more mysterious and difficult parts of religion; so it is certain, there are not many of the people that can worthily and sufficiently do it themselves: and therefore, although we are not to tell a lie for a good end, and that it cannot be said that God hath by an express law required it, or that it is necessary in the nature of things; yet to some persons it hath put on so many degrees of charity and prudence, and is so apt to minister to their superinduced needs, that although to do it is not a necessary obedience, yet it is a necessary charity; it is not necessary in respect of a positive express commandment, yet it is in order to certain ends, which cannot be so well provided for by any other instrument; it hath not in it an absolute, but it may have a relative and a superinduced necessity.

> Cœlestique viro, quis te deceperit error,
> Dicito; pro culpâ ne scelus esse putet.
> OVID. lib. 1. Trest. eleg. 3.

Now here a particular enumeration is the confession that is proper to this ministry; because the minister must be instructed first in the particulars: which also points out to us the manner of his assistances, and of our obligation; it is that we may receive helps by his office and abilities, which can be better applied, by how much more minute and particular the enumeration or confession is: and of this circumstance there can be no other consideration; excepting that the enumeration of shames and follies before a holy man, is a very great restraint to the gaieties of a confident or of a tempted person: for though a man dares sin in the presence of God, yet he dares not let his friend or his enemy see him do a foul act:

> Tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
> Si mortalis idem nemo sciat —— JUVEN.

And therefore, that a reverend man shall see his shame, and with a severe and a broad eye look and stare upon his dishonour, must needs be a great part of God's restraining grace, and of great use to the mortification and prevention of sin.

44. One thing more there is, which is highly considerable in this part or ministry of repentance; it is a great part of that preparation, which is necessary for him who needs, and for him who desires, absolution ecclesiastical. Some do need, and some do desire it; and it is of advantage to both. They that need it, and are bound to seek it, are such, who, being publicly noted by the church, are bound by her censures and discipline: that is, such who because they have given evil example to all, and encouragement in evil to some, to them that are easy and apt to take; are tied by the publication of their repentance, their open return, and public amends, to restore the church, so far as they can, to that state of good things, from whence their sin did or was apt to draw her. This indeed is necessary, and can in no regard be excused, if particular persons do not submit themselves to it, unless the church herself will not demand it, or advise it; and then if there be an error, or a possibility to have it otherwise, the governors of the church are only answerable. And in this sense are those decretory sayings and earnest advices of the ancient doctors to be understood. "Laicus si peccet, ipse suum non potest auferre peccatum, sed indiget sacerdote, ut possit remissionem peccatorum accipere," said Origen: "If any of the people sin, himself cannot take away his own sin, but must show himself to the priest, that he may obtain pardon."[h]—"For they who are spotted with sins, unless they be cured with the priestly authority, cannot be in the bosom of the church," said Fabianus Martyr.—And as express are those words of St. Basil; Δεῖ τῶν τεταγμένων ἕκαστον μηδὲν μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς κίνημα ἀπόκρυφον φυλάσσειν, ἀλλ' ἀπογυμνοῦν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας τοῖς πιστευομένοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων. And Ἀναγκαῖον ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. "It behoveth every one that is under authority, to keep no motion of their hearts secret, but to lay the secrets of their hearts naked before them, who are intrusted to take care of them that are weak or sick."[i] That is, the τεταγμένοι, "the public penitents," who are placed in the "station of the mourners," must not do their business imperfectly, but make a perfect narrative of their whole case to the penitentiary minister: and such persons who are under discipline, or under notorious sins, "must make their exomologesis, that is, do ecclesiastic repentance before them who are the trustees and stewards of the mysteries of God:" "quâ sine nullus remissione potietur," said a father to St. John de Gradibus: "without which exomologesis, or public ecclesiastical confession, or amends, no man shall obtain pardon:" meaning, the peace of the church. For to this sense we are to understand the doctrine of the holy fathers, and we learn it from St. Austin: "Rectè constituuntur ab iis, qui ecclesiæ præsunt, tempora pœnitentiæ: ut fiat etiam satis ecclesiæ, in quâ remittuntur ipsa peccata: extra eam quippe non remittuntur:" "The times of penance are, with great reason, appointed by ecclesiastical governors, that the church, in whose communion sins are forgiven, may be satisfied: for out of her there is no forgiveness."[k]

45. For in this case, the church hath a power of binding and retaining sins and sinners; that is, a denying to them the privileges of the faithful, till

[h] Hom. 10. in Numb.

[i] Regul. fus. explic. et Regul. Brev. 228. [k] Enchir. c. 65.

they, by public repentance and satisfaction, have given testimony of their return to God's favour and service. The church may deny to pray publicly for some persons, and refuse to admit them into the society of those that do pray, and refuse till she is satisfied concerning them, by such signs and indications as she will appoint and choose. For it appears in both Testaments, that those, who are appointed to pray for others, to stand between God and the people,—had it left in their choice sometimes, and sometimes were forbidden, to pray for certain criminals. Thus God gave to the prophet charge concerning Ephraim: "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession for them, for I will not hear thee."[1] Like to this was that of St. John: "There is a sin unto death. I say not that ye pray for him that sins unto death;" that is, do not admit such persons to the communion of prayers and holy offices;—at least the church may choose whether she will or no.

46. The church in her government and discipline had two ends,—and her power was, accordingly, apt to minister to these ends: 1. By condemning and punishing the sin, she was to do what she could to save the criminal; that is, by bringing him to repentance and a holy life, to bring him to pardon: 2. And if she could, or if she could not, effect this, yet she was to remove the scandal, and secure the flock from infection; this was all that was needful, this was all that was possible to be done. In order to the first the apostles had some powers extraordinary, which were indeed necessary at the beginning of the religion, not only for this, but for other ministrations. The apostles had power to "bind sinners;" that is, "to deliver them over to Satan," and to sad diseases, or death itself: and they had "power to loose sinners," that is, to cure their diseases, "to unloose Satan's bands," to restore them to God's favour and pardon.

47. This manner of speaking was used by our blessed Saviour in this very case of sickness and infirmity: "Ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo these eighteen years, be loosed from this band on the sabbath day?" The apostles had this power of binding and loosing: and that this is the power of remitting and retaining sins, appears without exception, in the words of our blessed Saviour to the Jews, who best understood the power of forgiving sins, by seeing the evil, which sin brought on the guilty person, taken away. "That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins; he saith to the man sick of the palsy, Arise, take up thy bed and walk." For there is a power in heaven, and a power on earth, to forgive sins. The power that is in heaven, is the public absolution of a sinner at the day of judgment. The power on earth to forgive sins, is a taking off those intermedial evils which are inflicted in the way; sicknesses, temporal death, loss of the Divine grace, and of the privileges of the faithful. These Christ could take off when he was upon earth, and his heavenly Father sent him to do all this, to heal all sicknesses, and to cure all infirmities, and to take away our sins, and to preach glad tidings to the poor, and comfort to the afflicted, and rest to the weary and heavy laden. The other judgment is to be performed by Christ at his second coming.

48. Now as God the Father sent his Son, so his holy Son sent his apostles with the same power on earth, to bind and loose sinners, to pardon sins by taking away the material evil effects, which sin should superinduce; or to retain sinners by binding them in sad and hard bands, to bring them to reason, or to make others afraid. Thus St. Peter sentenced Ananias and Sapphira to a temporal death: and St. Paul struck Elymas with blindness, and delivered over the incestuous Corinthian to be beaten by an evil spirit; and so also he did to Hymenæus and Alexander.

49. But this was an extraordinary power, and not to descend upon the succeeding ages of the church: but it was in this as in all other ministries; something miraculous and extraordinary was for ever to consign a lasting truth and ministry in ordinary. The preaching of the gospel, that is, faith itself, at first was proved by miracles; and the Holy Ghost was given by signs and wonders, and sins were pardoned by the gifts of healing; and sins were retained by the hands of an angel, and the very visitation of the sick was blessed with sensible and strange recoveries; and every thing was accompanied with a miracle, excepting the two sacraments, in the administration of which we do not find any mention of any thing visibly miraculous in the records of Holy Scripture; and the reason is plain, because these two sacraments were to be for ever the ordinary ministries of those graces, which at first were consigned by signs and wonders extraordinary. For in all ages of the church, reckoning exclusively from the days of the apostles,—all the graces of the gospel, all the promises of God, were conveyed, or consigned, or fully ministered, by these sacraments, and by nothing else but what was in order to them. These were the inlets and doors by which all the faithful were admitted into the outer courts of the Lord's temple, or into the secrets of the kingdom; and the solemnities themselves were the keys of these doors; and they that had the power of ministration of them, they had the power of the keys.

50. These then being the whole ecclesiastical power, and the sum of their ministrations, were to be dispensed according to the necessities and differing capacities of the sons and daughters of the church. The Thessalonians, who were not furnished with a competent number of ecclesiastical governors, were commanded to "abstain from the company of the brethren that walked disorderly." St. John wrote to the "elect lady," that she should not entertain in her house false apostles: and when the former way did expire of itself, and by the change of things, and the second advice was not practicable and prudent, they were reduced to the only ordinary ministry of remitting and retaining sins, by a direct admitting, or refusing and deferring to admit, criminals to their ministries of pardon, which were now only left in the church, as their

[1] Jer. vii. 16.

ordinary power and ministration. For since in this world all our sins are pardoned by those ways and instruments, which God hath constituted in the church; and there are no other external rites appointed by Christ but the sacraments, it follows, that as they are worthily communicated or justly denied, so that pardon is or is not ministered.

And, therefore, when the church did bind any sinner by the bands of discipline, she did remove him from the mysteries, and sometimes enjoined external or internal acts of repentance, to testify and to exercise the grace, and so to dispose them to pardon; and when the penitents had given such testimonies which the church demanded, then they were absolved, that is, they were admitted to the mysteries. For in the primitive records of the church, there was no form of absolution judicial, nothing but giving them the holy communion, admitting them to the peace of the church, to the society and privileges of the faithful. For this was giving them pardon, by virtue of those words of Christ, "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted;" that is, if ye who are the stewards of my family, shall admit any one to the kingdom of Christ on earth, they shall be admitted to the participation of Christ's kingdom in heaven; and what ye bind here shall be bound there; that is, if they be unworthy to partake of Christ here, they shall be accounted unworthy to partake of Christ hereafter; if they separate from Christ's members, they also shall be separate from the head; and this is the full sense of the power given by Christ to his church concerning sins and sinners, called by St. Paul, "the word of reconciliation."

51. For as for the other later and superinduced ministry of pardon in judicial forms of absolution; that is wholly upon other accounts, of good use indeed, to all them that desire it, by reason of their present persuasions and scruples, fears and jealousies, concerning the event of things. For sometimes it happens what one said of old; "Mens nostra difficillimè sedatur; Deus facilius:" "God is sooner at peace with us, than we are at peace with our own minds:" and because our repentances are always imperfect; and he who repents the most excellently, and hates his sin with the greatest detestation, may, possibly, by his sense of the foulness of his sin, undervalue his repentance, and suspect his sorrow,—and because every thing is too little to deserve pardon, he may think it is too little to obtain it;—and the man may be melancholy, and melancholy is fearful, and fear is scrupulous, and scruples are not to be satisfied at home, and not very easily abroad;—in the midst of these and many other disadvantages, it will be necessary that he whose office it is to separate the vile from the precious, and to judge of leprosy, should be made able to judge of the state of this man's repentance, and, upon notice of particulars, to speak comfort to him or something for institution. For then if the minister of holy things shall think fit to pronounce absolution, that is, to declare that he believes him to be a true penitent and in the state of grace, it must needs add much comfort to him and hope of pardon, not only upon the confidence of his wisdom and spiritual learning, but even from the prayers of the holy man, and the solemnity of his ministration; to pronounce absolution in this case, is to warrant him so far as his case is warrantable: that is, to speak comfort to him that is in need: to give sentence in a case which is laid before him; in which the party interested either hath no skill, or no confidence, or no comfort. Now in this case, to dispute whether the priest's power be judicial, or optative, or declarative, is so wholly to no purpose, that this sentence is no part of any power at all; but it is his office to do it, and is an effect of wisdom, not of power; it is like the answering of a question, which indeed ought to be asked of him; as every man prudently is to inquire in every matter of concernment, from him who is skilled, and experienced, and professed in the faculty. But the priest's proper power of absolving, that is, of pardoning, (which is, in no case, communicable to any man, who is not consecrated to the ministry,) is a giving the penitent the means of eternal pardon, the admitting him to the sacraments of the church, and the peace and communion of the faithful; because that is the only way really to obtain pardon of God; there being, in ordinary, no way to heaven but by serving God in the way which he hath commanded us by his Son, that is, in the way of the church, which is his body, whereof he is prince and head. The priest is the minister of holy things; he does that by his ministry, which God effects by real dispensation; and as he gives the Spirit, not by authority and proper efflux, but by assisting and dispensing those rites, and promoting those graces, which are certain dispositions to the receiving of him: just so he gives pardon; not as a king does it, nor yet as a messenger; that is, not by way of authority and real donation, nor yet only by declaration: but as a physician gives health; that is, he gives the remedy which God appoints; and if he does so, and if God blesses the medicines, the person recovers, and God gives the health.

52. For it is certain that the holy man, who ministers in repentance, hath no other proper power of giving pardon, than what is now described. Because he cannot pardon them who are not truly penitent; and if the sinner be, God will pardon him, whether the priest does or no; and what can be the effect of these things, but this; that the priest does only minister to the pardon, as he ministers to repentance? He tells us upon what conditions God does pardon, and judges best when the conditions are performed, and sets forward those conditions by his proper ministry; and ministers to us the instruments of grace; but first takes accounts of our souls; and helps us, who are otherwise too partial, to judge severe and righteous judgment concerning our eternal interest, and he judges for us, and does exhort or reprove, admonish or correct, comfort or humble, loose or bind. So the minister of God is the minister of reconciliation: that is, he is the minister of the gospel; for that is the "word of reconciliation," which St. Paul affirms to be intrusted to him: in every office by which the holy

man ministers to the gospel, in every of them he is the minister of pardon.

53. But concerning that which we call absolution, that is, a pronouncing the person to be absolved; it is certain that the forms of the present use were not used for many ages of the church: in the Greek church they were never used; and for the Latin church, in Thomas Aquinas's time they were so new, that he put it into one of his "quæstiones disputatæ," whether form were more fit, the optative or the judicial; whether it were better to say, "God of his mercy pardon thee," or "By his authority committed to me, I absolve thee;" and in Peter Lombard's days, when it was esteemed an innocent doctrine to say, that the priest's power was only declarative, it is likely the form of absolution would be according to the power believed; which not being then universally believed to be judicial, the judicial form could not be of universal use; and in the Pontifical there is no judicial form at all; but only optative, or by way of prayer. But in this affair, besides what is already mentioned, I have two great things to say, which are a sufficient determination of this whole article.

54. The first is, that in the primitive church, there was no such thing as a judicial absolution of sins, used in any liturgy, or church, so far as can appear; but all the absolution of penitents which is recorded, was the mere admitting them to the mysteries and society of the faithful in religious offices, the sum and perfection of which was the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper. So the fourth council of Carthage[m] makes provision for a penitent that is near death; "Reconcilietur per manûs impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia:" "Let him be reconciled by the imposition of hands, and let the eucharist be poured into his mouth:" that was all the solemnity, even when there was the greatest need of the church's ministry; that is, before their penances and satisfactions were completed, the priest or bishop laid his hands upon him, and prayed, and gave him the communion. For that this was the whole purpose of imposition of hands, we are taught expressly by St. Austin, who being to prove that imposition of hands, viz. in repentance, might be repeated, though baptism might not, uses this for an argument; "Quid enim est aliud nisi oratio super hominem?" "It is nothing else but a prayer said over the man."[n] And indeed this is evident and notorious in matter of fact; for in the beginning and in the progression, in the several periods of public repentance and in the consummation of it, the bishop or the priest did very often impose hands, that is, pray over the penitent; as appears in Is. Ling. from the authority of the Gallican councils: "Omni tempore, jejuniis manus pœnitentibus à sacerdotibus imponantur:"[o] and again, "Criminalia peccata multis jejuniis, et crebris manûs sacerdotum impositionibus, eorumque supplicationibus, juxta canonum statuta, placuit purgari:" "Criminal (that is, great) sins must, according to the canons, be purged with much fasting, and frequent impositions of the priests' hands, and their supplications. In every time or period of their fasts, let the priests' hands be laid upon the penitents;" that is, let the priests frequently pray with him, and, for him, or over him. The same with that which he also observes out of the Nicene council;[p] "Vultu et capite humiliato, humilitèr et ex corde veniam postulent, et pro se orare exposcant;" that is the intent of imposition of hands; "Let the penitent humbly ask pardon," that is, desire that the holy man and all the church would pray for him: this, in every stage or period of repentance, was a degree of reconciliation: for as God pardons a sinner when he gives him time to repent; he pardons him in one degree, that is, he hath taken off that anger, which might justly and instantly crush him all in pieces; and God pardons him yet more when he exhorts him to repentance, and yet more when he inclines him; and as he proceeds, so does God; but the pardon is not full and final till the repentance is so too; so does the minister of repentance and pardon: those only are in the unpardoned state, who are cut off from all intercourse in holy things, with holy persons in holy offices; when they are admitted to do repentance, they are admitted to the state of pardon: and every time the bishop, or minister, prays for him, he still sets him forwarder towards the final pardon; but then the penitent is fully reconciled on earth, when having done his repentance towards men, that is, by the commands of the church, he is admitted to the holy communion: and if that be sincerely done on the penitent's part, and this be maturely and prudently done on the priest's part; as the repentance towards men was a repentance also towards God, so the absolution before men is a certain indication of absolution before God. But as to the main question; then the church only did reconcile penitents, when she admitted them to the communion; and therefore, in the second council of Carthage,[q] "absolution" is called "reconciliari Divinis altaribus," "a being reconciled to the altar of God:" and in the council of Eliberis, "communione reconciliari," "a being reconciled by receiving the communion," opposite to which in the same canon[r] is, "communionem non accipiat," "he may not receive the communion," that is, he shall not be absolved. The same is to be seen in the eighth canon of the council of Ancyra, in the second canon of the council of Laodicea, in the eighty-fifth epistle of P. Leo; and the first epistle of P. Vigilius, and in the third council of Toledo,[s] we find the whole process of binding and loosing described in these words: "Because we find that in certain churches of Spain, men do not according to the canons, but unworthily repent them of their sins, that so often as they please to sin, so often they desire of the priest to be reconciled: therefore for the restraining so execrable a presumption, it is commanded by the holy council, that repentance should be given according to the form of the ancient canons; that is, that he who repents him of his doings, being first suspended

[m] Can. 76. [n] Lib. 3. de Baptism. cap. 16.
[o] Tertio tomo Con. Gall. c. 8, 11.
[p] Cap. 16, 17. [q] Can. 4.
[r] Can. 72. [s] Can. 11.

from the communion, he should amongst the other penitents often run to the imposition of hands, that is, to the prayers of the bishop and the church: but when the time of his satisfaction is completed, according as the priest's prudence shall approve, let him restore him to the communion."—That is the absolution, as the rejecting him from it was the binding him; it was an excommunication, from which, when he was restored to the communion, he was loosed: and this was so known, so universal a practice, and process of ecclesiastical repentance, that without any alteration (as to the main inquiry) it continued so in the church to very many ages succeeding; and it was for a long while together the custom of penitent people in the beginning of Lent, to come voluntarily to receive injunctions of discipline and penitential offices from the priest, and to abstain from the holy communion till they had done their penances, and then by ceremonies and prayers to be restored to the communion at Easter; without any other form of judicial absolution, as is to be seen in Albinus and in the Roman Pontifical.[t] To which this consideration may be added; that the reconciling of penitents, in the primitive church, was not done by the bishop or priest only; but sometimes by deacons, as appears in St. Cyprian;[u] and sometimes by the people, as it was allowed by St. Paul in the case of the incestuous Corinthian;[x] and was frequently permitted to the confessors in the times of persecution; and may be done by an unbaptized catechumen, as St. Austin affirms.[y] The result of which is, that this absolution of penitents in the court christian, was not an act of priestly power incommunicably; it was not a dispensation of the proper power of the keys, but to give, or not to give, the communion; that was an effect of the power of the keys; that was really, properly, and in effect, the ecclesiastical absolution; for that which the deacons or confessors, the laics or catechumens did, was all that, and only that, which was of rite or ceremony before the giving the communion: therefore, that which was besides this giving the communion, was no proper absolution; it was not a priestly act indispensably; it might be done by them that were no priests; but the giving of the communion, that was a sacerdotal act, I mean the consecration of it; though the tradition of it was sometimes by deacons, sometimes by themselves at home: this therefore was the dispensation of the keys; this was the effect of the powers of binding and loosing, of remitting or retaining sins, according as the sense and practice of the church expounded her own power. The prayers of the priest, going before his ministration of the communion, were called absolution; that is, the beginning and one of the first portions of it; "absolutio sacerdotalium precum;" so it was called in ancient councils;[z] the priest imposed hands, and prayed, and then gave the communion. This was the ordinary way. But there was an extraordinary.

55. For in some cases the imposition of hands was omitted; that is, when the bishop or priest was absent; and the deacon prayed or the confessor: but this was, 1. by the leave of the bishop or priest, for to them it belonged in ordinary. And, 2. this was nothing else but a taking them from the station of the penitents, and a placing them amongst the faithful communicants; either by declaring that their penances were performed, or not to be exacted.

56. For by this we shall be clear of an objection, which might arise from the case of dying penitents; to whom the communion was given, and they restored to the peace of the church, that is, as they supposed, to God's mercy and the pardon of sins; for they would not choose to give the communion to such persons, whom they did not believe God had pardoned: but these persons, though communicated, "non tamen se credent absolutos sine manûs impositione, si supervixerint," "were not to suppose themselves absolved, if they recovered that sickness, without imposition of hands;" said the fathers of the fourth council of Carthage,[a] by which it should seem, absolution was a thing distinct from giving the communion.

57. To this I answer, that the dying penitent was fully absolved, in case he had received the first imposition of hands for repentance; that is, if, in his health, he submitted himself to penance, and public amends, and was prevented from finishing the impositions, they supposed that desire and endeavour of the penitent man, was a worthy disposition to the receiving the holy communion, and both together sufficient for pardon: but because this was only to be in the case of such intervening necessity, and God will not accept of the will for the deed, but in such cases where the deed cannot be accomplished,—therefore they bound such penitents to return to their first obligation, in case they should recover, since God had taken off their necessity, and restored them to their first capacity. And by this we understand the meaning of the third canon of the first Arausican council. "They who having received penance, depart from the body, it pleases that they shall be communicated "sine reconciliatoriâ manûs impositione," "without the reconciling imposition of hands;'" that is, because the penitential imposition of hands was imposed upon them, and they did what they could, though the last imposition was not, though the last hand was not, put upon them, declaring that they had done their penances, and completed their satisfactions, yet they might be communicated, that is, absolved: "Quod morientis sufficit consolationi," "This is enough to the comfort of the dying man," according to the definition of the fathers, who, conveniently enough, called such a communion their "viaticum," their passport or "provision for their way." For there were two solemn impositions of hands in repentance; the first and greatest was in the first admission of them, and in the imposition of the discipline or manner of performing penances: and this was the bishop's office; and of great consideration amongst the holy primitives; and was never done but by the

[t] De Divers. offic. c. 13, 16. [u] Lib. 3. ep. 17.
[x] 2 Cor. ii. 10. [y] De Consecrat. dist. 1. cap. Sanctum.
[z] Isaac Lin. tit. 1. c. 16. [a] Can. 78

superior clergy, as is evident in ecclesiastical story. The second solemn imposition of hands, was immediately before their absolution or communion; and it was a holy prayer and publication that he was accepted and had finished that process: this was the less solemn, and was ordinarily done by the superior clergy; but sometimes by others, as I have demonstrated; other intermedial impositions there were, as appears by the "creber recursus," mentioned in the third council of Toledo above cited; the penitents were often to beg the bishop's pardon, or the priest's prayers, and the advocations and intercessions of the faithful; but the peace of the church, that is, that pardon which she could minister, and which she had a promise that God would confirm in heaven, was the ministry of pardon in the dispensation of the sacrament of that body that was broken, and that blood that was poured forth, for the remission of our sins.

58. The result is; that the absolution of sins, which in the later forms and usages of the church is introduced, can be nothing but declarative; the office of the preacher and the guide of souls; of great use to timorous persons, and to the greatest penitents, full of comfort, full of usefulness, and institution; and therefore, although this very declaration of pardon may truly, and according to the style of Scripture, be called "pardon;" and the power and office of pronouncing the penitent's pardon is, in the sense of the Scripture and the church, a good sense and signification of power; as the Pharisees are said "to justify God," when they declare his justice; and as the preacher that "converts a sinner," is said σώζειν, "to save a soul from death;" yet if we would speak properly, and as things are in their own nature and institution, this declarative absolution is only an act of preaching, or opening and reading the commission; an effect of the spirit of prudence and government entering upon the church; but the power of the keys is another thing; it is the dispensing all those rites and ministries by which heaven is opened; and that is, the word and baptism at the first, and ever after, the holy sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and all the parts of the bishops' and priests' advocation and intercession in holy prayers and offices.

59. But as for the declarative absolution, although it is rather an act of wisdom than of power, it being true, as St. Jerome said,[b] that as the priests of the law could only discern, and neither cause nor remove leprosies; so the ministers of the gospel, when they retain or remit sins, do but, in the one, judge how long we continue guilty,—and in the other, declare when we are clear and free; yet this very declaration is of great use, and, in many cases, of great effect. For as God did, in the case of David, give to the prophet Nathan a particular, special, and extraordinary commission; so to the ministers of the gospel he gives one, that is ordinary and perpetual. He had a prophetical evidence; but these have a certainty of faith as to one of the propositions,—and as to the other, some parts of human experience to assure them, 1. of God's gracious pardon to the penitent, and, 2. of the sincerity of their repentance; and therefore can with great effect minister to the comfort of sad and afflicted penitents: this does declare the pardon upon observation of the just grounds and dispositions; but the dispensation of ecclesiastical sacraments does really minister to it, not only by consigning it, but as instruments of the Divine appointment, to convey proper mercies to worthily-disposed persons.

[b] In 16. Matt.

60. II. But the other great thing which I was to say in this article, is this, that the judicial absolution of the priest does effect no material event or change in the penitent as to the giving the pardon, and therefore cannot be it which Christ intended in the giving those excellent powers of remitting and retaining sins. Now upon this will the whole issue depend. Does the priest absolve him whom God condemns? God is the supreme Judge; and though we may minister to his judgment, yet we cannot contradict it;—or can the priest condemn him whom God absolves? That also is impossible, "He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me;" and, "If God be with us, who can be against us?" Or will not God pardon unless the priest absolves us? That may become a sad story: for he may be malicious, or ignorant, or interested, or covetous, and desirous to serve his own ends upon the ruin of my soul,—and therefore God dispenses his mercies by more regular, just, and equal measures, than the accidental sentences of unknowing or imprudent men: if then the priest ministers only to repentance, by saying, "I absolve thee," what is it that he effects? For since God's pardon does not go by his measures, his must go by God's measures; and the effect of that will be this, God works his own work in us; and when his minister observes the effects of the Divine grace, he can and ought to publish and declare, to all the purposes of comfort and institution, that the person is absolved; that is, he is in the state of grace and Divine favour, in which if he perseveres he shall be saved. But all this while the work is supposed to be done before; and if it be, the priest hath nothing left for him to do, but to approve, to warrant, and to publish.—And the case in short is this:

61. Either the sinner hath repented worthily, or he hath not. If he hath, then God hath pardoned him already, by virtue of all the promises evangelical: if he hath not repented worthily, the priest cannot, ought not to absolve him; and therefore can, by this absolution, effect no new thing. The work is done before the priestly absolution, and therefore cannot depend upon it. Against this, no sect of men oppose any thing that I know of, excepting only the Roman doctors; who yet confess the argument of value, if the penitent be contrite. But they add this, that there is an imperfect contrition, which by a distinct word they call "attrition," which is a natural grief, or a grief proceeding wholly from fear or smart, and hath in it nothing of love; and this, they say, does not justify the man, nor pardon the sin of itself. But if this man come to the priest, and confess and be absolved, that absolution makes this attrition to become contrition, or,

which is all one, it pardons the man's sins; and though this imperfect penitent cannot hope for pardon upon the confidence of that indisposition, yet, by the sacrament of penance or priestly absolution, he may hope it and shall not be deceived.

62. Indeed, if this were true, it were a great advantage to some persons, who need it mightily. But they are the worst sort of penitents, and such which though they have been very bad, yet now resolve not to be very good, if they can any other way escape it; and by this means the priest's power is highly advanced; and to submit to it, would be highly necessary to most men, and safest to all. But if this be not true, then to hope it is a false confidence, and of danger to the event of souls; it is a nurse of carelessness, and gives boldness to imperfect penitents, and makes them to slacken their own piety, because they look for security upon confidence of that, which will be had without trouble or mortification; even the priest's absolution. This therefore I am to examine, as being of very great concernment in the whole article of repentance, and promised to be considered in the beginning of this paragraph.

SECTION V.

Attrition, or the imperfect Repentance, though with Absolution, is not sufficient.

63. By attrition they mean the most imperfect repentance; that is, a sorrow proceeding from fear of hell, a sorrow not mingled with the love of God; this sorrow newly begun, they say, is sufficient for pardon, if the sins be confessed, and the party absolved by the priest. This indeed is a short process, and very easy; but if it be not effectual and valid, the persons that rely upon it are miserably undone. Here therefore I consider,

64. I. Attrition being a word of the schools, not of the Scripture, or of antiquity, means what they please to have it; and although they differ in assigning its definition, yet it being the least and the worst part of repentance, every action of any man, that can, in any sense, be said to repent upon consideration of any the most affrighting threatenings in the gospel, cannot be denied to have attrition. Now such a person, who, being scared, comes to confess his sin, may still retain his affections to it; for nothing but love to God can take away his love from evil; and if there be love in it, it is contrition, not attrition. From these premises it follows, that if the priest can absolve him that is attrite, he may pardon him who hath affections to sin still remaining; that is, one who fears hell, but does not love God. If it be said, that absolution changes fear into love, attrition into contrition, a Saul into a David, a Judas into a John, a Simon Magus into a Simon Peter; then the greatest conversions and miracles of change may be wrought, in an instant, by an ordinary ministry; and when Simon Magus was affrighted by St. Peter about the horror of his sin, and told that he was in the gall of bitterness, and thereupon desired the apostle to pray for him,—if St. Peter had but absolved him, which he certainly might upon that affright he put the sorcerer in,—he had made him a saint presently, and needed not to have spoken so uncertainly concerning him: "Pray, if, *peradventure*, the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee." For without *peradventure* he might have made a quicker despatch, and a surer work, by giving him absolution upon his present submission, and the desire of his prayers, and his visible apparent fear of being in the gall of bitterness;—all which must needs be as much or more than the Roman schools define attrition to be. But,

65. II. The priest pardons upon no other terms than those upon which God pardons; for if he does, then he is not the minister of God, but the supreme lord, and must do it by his own measures, if he does it not by the measures of God. For God does never pardon him that is only attrite; and this is confessed, in that they require the man to go to the priest, that he may be made contrite: which is all one, as if he were bidden to go to the priest to be made chaste or liberal, temperate or humble, in an instant.

66. III. And if it be said, that although God does not pardon him that is attrite, unless it be together with the keys, that is, unless the priest absolves him; but then, it being all that God requires in that case, the priest does no more than God warrants; it is done by God's measures; the attrition or imperfect repentance of the penitent, and the keys of the church, being all which God requires: this indeed, if it could be proved, were something, but there is no tittle of it in Scripture or antiquity; it being no where said, that attrition and absolution alone are sufficient, and is an unreasonable dream but of yesterday.

67. IV. For if attrition be good of itself, and a sufficient disposition to receive pardon from the church, then it is also sufficient to obtain pardon of God without the church, in case of necessity. For unless it be for him, in case of necessity, sufficient to desire absolution, then the outward act does more than the inward, and the ceremony were more than the grace; and the priest could do more than God would; for the priest would and could pardon him, whom God would not pardon without the priest; and the will could not be accepted for the deed, when the deed were impossible to be done; and God would require of us more than we have, more than he hath given us; and a man should live or die not by himself, but should be judged by the actions of others. All which contain in them impossible affirmatives, and therefore proceed from a false principle.

68. V. But then if attrition, in some cases, without the sacrament, were good, it is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon, as contrition; for contrition (say the Roman schools) is not sufficient of itself without the keys; that is, unless it contain in it a resolution to confess and beg absolution. Now this resolution is no resolution, unless it be reduced to act, when it can; it is a mockery, if it does not; and it is to be excused in no case, but in

that of necessity. And just so it is in attrition, as I have proved. In vain therefore it is for any good man to persuade his penitent to heighten his repentance, and to be contrite; for he may, at a cheaper rate, be assured of his pardon, if he makes the priest his friend: but as for contrition, by his doctrine, it is more than needs.

69. VI. But then it is strange, that attrition, which, of itself, is insufficient, shall yet do the work of pardon with the priest's absolution; and yet that that which is sufficient (as contrition is affirmed to be in the council of Trent,[c]) shall not do it without absolution, in act or desire; that is in act always, unless it be impossible: this encourages the imperfect, and discourages the perfect, tying them both to equal laws, whether they need it, or need it not.

70. VII. But I demand; can the priest hearing of a penitent man's confession, whom he, justly and without error, perceives only to be attrite, can he, I say, refuse to absolve him? can he retain his sins, till he perceives him to be contrite? Certainly in the primitive church, when they deferred to give him the peace of the church for three, for seven, for ten, for thirteen years together, their purpose then was to work in him contrition, or the most excellent repentance. But however, if he can refuse to absolve such a man, then it is because absolution will not work for him what is defective in him; it will not change it into contrition; for if it could, then to refuse to absolve him, were highly uncharitable and unreasonable. But if he cannot refuse to absolve such a person, it is because he is sufficiently disposed; he hath done all that God requires of him to dispose himself to it; and if so, then the sacrament, as they call it, that is, the priest's absolution, does nothing to the increasing his disposition; it is sufficient already. Add to this, if, in the case of attrition, the priest may not deny to absolve the imperfect penitent, then it is certain God will absolve him, in case the priest does not; for if the priest be bound and refuses to do it, this ought not, it cannot, prejudice the penitent, but himself only. He therefore shall not perish for want of the priest's absolution; and if it could be otherwise, then the parishioner might be damned for the curate's fault; which to affirm were certain blasphemy and heresy. What the priest is bound to do, God will do, if the priest will not. The result is this. That if this imperfect repentance, which they call attrition, be a sufficient disposition to absolution, then the priest's ministry is not operative for the making it sufficient; and indeed it were strange it should, that absolution should make contrition, and yet contrition be necessary in order to absolution; that the form should make the matter, that one essential or integral part should make another; that what is to be before, must be made by that which comes after. But if this attrition be not a sufficient disposition to absolution, then the priest may not absolve such imperfect penitents. So that the priest cannot make it sufficient, if of itself it be insufficient; and if it be of itself sufficient, then his absolution does but declare it so, it effects it not.

[c] Sess. 14. c. 4.

71. VIII. And after all, it is certain that the words of absolution effect no more than they signify. If therefore they do pardon the sin, yet they do not naturally change the disposition or the real habit of the sinner. And if the words can effect more, they may be changed to signify what they do effect; for to signify is less than to effect. Can therefore the church use this form of absolution,—"I do, by the power committed unto me, change thy attrition into contrition." The answer to this is not yet made; for their pretence is so new, and so wholly unexamined, that they have not yet considered any thing of it. It will therefore suffice for our institution in this useful, material, and practical question, that no such words were instituted by Christ, nor any thing like them; no such were used by the primitive church, no such power pretended. And as this new doctrine of the Roman church contains in it huge estrangements and distances from the spirit of christianity, and is another kind of thing than the doctrine and practice of the apostolical and succeeding ages of the church did publish or exercise; so it is a perfect destruction to the necessity of holy life, it is a device only to advance the priest's office, and to depress the necessity of holy dispositions; it is a trick to make the graces of God's Holy Spirit to be bought and sold; and that a man may, at a price, become holy in an instant; just as if a teacher of music should undertake to convey skill to his scholar, and sell the art, and transmit it in an hour; it is a device to make dispositions by art, and in effect requires little or nothing of duty to God, so they pay regard to the priest. But I shall need to oppose no more against it, but those excellent words and pious meditation of Salvian: "Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna debetur; nec transitoriâ opus est satisfactione pro malis illis, propter quæ paratus est ignis æternus:" "It is not a light contrition, by which those debts can be redeemed to which eternal death is due; neither can a transitory satisfaction serve for those evils, for which God hath prepared the vengeance of eternal fire."

SECTION VI.

Of Penances, or Satisfactions.

72. IN the primitive church, the word "satisfaction" was the whole word for all the parts and exercises of repentance; according to those words of Lactantius; "Pœnitentiam proposuit, ut si peccata nostra confessi Deo satisfecerimus, veniam consequamur:" "He propounded repentance, that if we, confessing our sins to God, make amends of satisfaction, we may obtain pardon."—Where it is evident that "satisfaction" does not signify in the modern sense of the word, a full payment to the Divine justice; but, by the exercises of repentance, a deprecation of our fault, and a begging pardon. Satisfaction and pardon are not consistent, if satisfaction signify rigorously. When the whole debt

is paid, there is nothing to be forgiven. The bishops and priests, in the primitive church, would never give pardon, till their satisfactions were performed. To confess their sins, to be sorrowful for them, to express their sorrow, to punish the guilty person, to do actions contrary to their former sins, this was their amends or satisfaction; and this ought to be ours. So we find the word used in the best classic authors. So Plautus brings in Alcmena angry with Amphitruo.

> ———Quin ego illum aut deseram,
> Aut satisfaciat mihi, atque adjuret insuper,
> Nolle esse dicta, quæ in me insontem protulit.

i. e. "I will leave him, unless he give me satisfaction, and swear that he wishes that to be unsaid which he spake against my innocence:" for that was the form of giving satisfaction, to wish it undone, or unspoken,—and to add an oath that they believe the person did not deserve that wrong: as we find it in Terence Adelph: "Ego vestra hæc novi: nollem factum: jusjurandum dabitur, esse te indignum injuriâ hâc." Concerning which, who please to see more testimonies of the true sense and use of the word "satisfactions," may please to look upon Lambinus in "Plauti Amphitr." and Torrentius upon Suetonius "in Julio."

"Exomologesis," or "confession," was the word which, as I noted formerly, was of most frequent use in the church. "Si de exomologesi retractas, gehennam in corde considera quam tibi exomologesis exstinguet:" "He that retracts his sins by confessing and condemning them, extinguishes the flames of hell:" so Tertullian.[f]—The same with that of St. Cyprian: "Deo patri, et misericordi, precibus et operibus suis satisfacere possunt:" "They may satisfy God our Father and merciful, by prayers and good works:" that is, they may by these deprecate their fault, and obtain mercy and pardon for their sins; "peccatum suum satisfactione humili et simplici confitentes;" so Cyprian,[g] "confessing their sins with humble and simple satisfaction:" plainly intimating, that "confession" or "exomologesis" was the same with that which they called "satisfaction."—And both of them were nothing but the public exercise of repentance, according to the present usages of their churches; as appears evidently in those words of Gennadius:[h] "Pœnitentiæ satisfactionem esse causas peccatorum exscindere, nec eorum suggestionibus aditum indulgere:" "To cut off the causes of sins, and no more to entertain their whispers and temptations, is the satisfaction of repentance:"—and like this is that of Lactantius: "Potest reduci et liberari, si eum pœniteat actorum, et ad meliora conversus satisfaciat Deo:" "The sinner may be brought back and freed, if he repents of what is done, and satisfies or makes amends to God by being turned to better courses." And the whole process of this is well described by Tertullian:[i] "Exomologesis est, quâ delictum Domino nostrum confitemur, non quidem ut ignaro, sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione pœnitentia nascitur, pœnitentiâ Deus mitigatur:" "We must confess our sins to God, not as if he did not know them already, but because our satisfaction is disposed and ordered by confession; by confession our repentance hath birth and production, and by repentance God is appeased."

73. Things being thus, we need not immerge ourselves in the trifling controversies of our later schools, about the just value of every work,—and how much every penance weighs,—and whether God is so satisfied with our penal works, that in justice he must take off so much as we put on, and is tied also to take our accounts. Certain it is, if God should weigh our sins with the same value as we weigh our own good works, all our actions and sufferings would be found infinitely too light in the balance. Therefore, it were better that we should do what we can, and humbly beg of God to weigh them both with vast allowances of mercy. All that we can do, is to be sorrowful for our sins, and to leave them, and to endeavour to obey God in the time to follow; and to take care, "ut aliquo actu administretur pœnitentia," "that our repentance be exercised with certain acts proper to it."[k] Of which these are usually reckoned as the principal.

Sorrow and Mourning.

74. So St. Cyprian: "Satisfactionibus et lamentationibus justis peccata redimuntur:"[l] "Our sins are redeemed or washed off by the satisfactions of just sorrow or mourning." And Pacianus[m] gives the same advice: "Behold, I promise, that, if you return to your Father by a true satisfaction, wandering no more, adding nothing to your former sins, and saying something humble, and mournful—'We have sinned in thy sight, O Father, we are not worthy of the name of sons,'—presently the unclean beast shall depart from thee, and thou shalt no longer be fed with the filthy nourishment of husks."—And St. Maximus[n] calls this mourning and weeping for our sins, "mœstam pœnitentiæ satisfactionem," "the sorrowful amends or satisfaction of repentance." The meaning of this is; that when we are grieved for our sins and deplore them, we hate them, and go from them, and convert to God, who only can give us remedy.

Corporal Afflictions.

75. Such as are, fastings; watchings; hair-cloth upon our naked bodies; lyings upon the ground; journeys on foot; doing mean offices; serving sick and wounded persons; solitariness; silence; voluntary restraints of liberty; refusing lawful pleasure; choosing at certain times the less pleasing meats; laborious postures in prayer; saying many and devout prayers with our arms extended, in the fashion of Christ hanging on the cross; which indeed is a painful and afflictive posture, but safe and without detriment to our body: add to these the austerities used by some of the ancients in their ascetic devotions, who sometimes rolled themselves naked upon nettles, or thorns, shut themselves in tombs, bound themselves to pillars, endured heats and colds in

[f] De Pœnit. c. 12.
[g] De Lapsis.
[h] L. de Dogm. Eccles.
[i] De Pœnit. c. 9.
[k] Tertul. de Pœnit.
[l] Serm. de Lapsis.
[m] Paræn. ad Pœnit.
[n] Hom. in die Ciner.

great extremity, chastisements of the body, and all ways of subduing it to the empire of the soul. Of which, antiquity is infinitely full; and of which at last they grew so fond and enamoured, that the greatest part of their religion was self-affliction; but I choose to propound only such prudent severities, as were apt to signify a godly sorrow, to destroy sin, and to deprecate God's anger in such ways of which they had experience, or warrant express, or authentic precedents; their "exomologesis" being, as Tertullian[o] describes it, a discipline of humbling and throwing a man down, "conversationem injungens misericordiæ illicem," "enjoining a life that will allure to pity:" "de ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare." Penitential sorrow expresses itself in the very clothes and gestures of the body; that is, a great sorrow is apt to express itself in every thing, and infects every part of a man with its contact. "Ut Alexandrum regem videmus, qui cum interemisset Clytum familiarem suum, vix à se manus abstinuit: tanta vis fuit pœnitendi:" "When Alexander had killed his friend Clytus, he scarce abstained from killing himself: so great is the effort and violence of repentance:"[p] and this is no other thing than what the apostle said; "If one member of the body is afflicted, all the rest suffer with it:" and if the heart be troubled, he that is gay in any other part, goes about to lessen his trouble; and that takes off, it does not promote, repentance.

76. But the use of this is material; it is a direct "judging of ourselves," and a perverting the wrath of God; not that these penances are a payment for the reserve of the temporal guilt, remaining after the sin is pardoned. That is but a dream; for the guilt and the punishment are not to be distinguished in any material event: so long as a man is liable to punishment, so long he is guilty; and so long he is unpardoned, as he is obnoxious to the Divine anger. God cannot, will not, punish him that is innocent; and he that is wholly pardoned, is in the place and state of a guiltless person. Indeed, God punishes as he pleases, and pardons as he pleases, by parts, and as he is appeased, or as he inclines to mercy; but our general measure is,—As our repentance is, so is our pardon;—and every action of repentance does something of help to us; and this of self-affliction, when it proceeds from a hearty detestation of sin, and indignation against ourselves for having provoked God, is a very good exercise of repentance; of itself it profits little, but as it is a fruit of repentance; in the virtue of it, it is accepted towards its part of expiation, and they that have refused this, have felt worse;

Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit. Mart.

But when God sees us smite ourselves in indignation for our sins, because we have no better way to express and act our repentances, God hath accepted it, and hath himself forborne to smite us, and we have reason to believe he will do so again. For these expressions extinguish the delicacies of the flesh, from whence our sins have too often had their spring: and when the offending party accuses himself first, and smites first and calls for pardon, there is nothing left to the offended person to do, but to pity and pardon. For we see that sometimes God smites a sinner with a temporal curse, and brings the man to repentance, and pardons all the rest; and therefore much rather will he do it when we smite ourselves. For this is the highest process of confession. God is pleased that we are ashamed of our sin, that we justify God, and give sentence against ourselves, that we accuse ourselves, and acknowledge ourselves worthy of his severest wrath: if therefore we go on and punish the sinner too, it is all, it is the greatest thing, we can do: and although it be not necessary in any one instance to be done, unless where the authority of our superior does intervene; yet it is accepted in every instance, if the principle be good, that is, if it proceeds from our indignation against sin, and if it be not rested in as a thing of itself, and singly a service of God, which indeed he hath no where in particular required; and lastly, if it be done prudently and temperately. If these cautions be observed in all things else, it is true that the most laborious repentance, if other things be answerable, is the best, for it takes off the softness of the flesh, and the tenderness of the lower man; it abates the love of the world, and enkindles the love of heaven: it is ever the best token of sincerity and an humble repentance; and does promote it too, still in better degrees effecting what it doth signify. As music in a banquet of wine, and caresses and indications of joy and festivity, are seasonable and proper expressions at a solemnity of joy; so are all the sad accidents, and circumstances, and effects, and instruments of sorrow proper in a day of mourning. All nations weep not in the same manner, and have not the same interjections of sorrow: but as every one of us use to mourn in our greatest losses, and in the death of our dearest relatives, so it is fit we should mourn in the dangers and death of our souls; that they may, being refreshed by such salutary and medicinal showers, spring up to life eternal.

77. In the several ages of the church, they had several methods of these satisfactions; and they, requiring a longer proof of their repentance than we usually do, did also, by consequent, enjoin and expect greater and longer penitential severities: concerning which these two things are certain:—

78. The one is, that they did not believe them simply necessary to the procuring of pardon from God; which appears in this; that they did absolve persons in the article of death, though they had not done their satisfactions. They would absolve none that did not express his repentance some way or other; but they did absolve them that could do no exterior penances; by which it is plain, that they made a separation of that, which was useful and profitable only, from that which is necessary.

79. The other thing which I was to say, is this. That though these corporal severities were not esteemed by them simply necessary, but such which might, in any and in every instance, be omitted in

[o] De Pœnit. c. 9.

[p] Vide Ciceron. Tuscul. 4.

ordinary cases, and commuted for others more fit and useful: yet they chose these austerities as the best signification of their repentance towards men; such in which there is the greatest likelihood of sincerity and a hearty sorrow, such which have in them the least objection, such in which a man hath the clearest power and the most frequent opportunity; such which every man can do, which have in them the least inlet to temptation, and the least powers to abuse a man: and they are such which do not only signify, but effect and promote, repentance. But yet they are acts of repentance, just as beating the breasts, or smiting the thigh, or sighing, or tears, or tearing the hair, or refusing our meat, are acts of sorrow: if God should command us to be sorrowful, this might be done, (when it could be done at all,) though none of these were in the expression and signification. The Jews did, in all great sorrows or trouble of mind, rend their garments. As we may be as much troubled as they, though we do not tear our clothes; so we may be as true penitents as were the holy primitives, though we do not use that σκληραγωγία, "that hardship," which was then the manner of their penitential solemnities. But then the repentance must be exercised by some other acts proper to the grace.

Prayers.

80. "Preces undique et undecunque lucrum," says one. Prayers are useful upon all occasions; but especially in repentances and afflictive duties or accidents. "Is any man afflicted? let him pray," saith St. James: and since nothing can deserve pardon, all the good works in the world, done by God's enemy, cannot reconcile him to God; but pardon of sins is as much a gift, as eternal life is; there is no way more proper to obtain pardon, than a devout, humble, persevering prayer. And this also is a part of repentance:

——pœnæque genus vidisse precantem.

When we confess our sins, and when we pray for pardon, we concentre many acts of virtue together. There is the hatred of sin, and the shame for having committed it; there is the justification of God, and the humiliation of ourselves; there is confession of sins, and hope of pardon; there is fear and love, sense of our infirmity, and confidence of the Divine goodness, sorrow for the past, and holy purposes and desires and vows of living better in time to come. Unless all this be in it, the prayers are not worthy fruits of a holy repentance. But such prayers are a part of amends, it is a satisfaction to God, in the true and modest sense of the word: so St. Cyprian affirms, speaking of the three children in the fiery furnace: "Domino satisfacere, nec inter ipsa gloriosa virtutum suarum martyria, destiterunt:" "They did not cease to satisfy the Lord, in the very midst of their glorious martyrdoms."[q] For so saith the Scripture. "Stans Azarias precatus est," "Azarias standing in the flames did pray," and made his "exomologesis," or penitential confession to God with his two partners.—Thus also Tertullian describes the manner of the primitive repentance: "Animum mœroribus dejicere, illa quæ peccavit, tristi tractatione mutare, cæterum pastum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scil. sed animæ causâ: plerumque verò jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacrimari, et mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum suum: presbyteris advolvi et caris Dei adgeniculari; omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere:" "To have our minds cast down with sorrow, to change our sins into severity, to take meat and drink without art, simple and pure, viz. bread and water, not for the belly's sake, but for the soul: to nourish our prayers most commonly with fasting, to sigh and cry, and roar to God our Lord day and night; to be prostrate before the ministers and priests, to kneel before all the servants of God, and to desire all the brethren to pray to God for them."[r]—"Oportet orare impensiùs et rogare;" so St. Cyprian: "We must pray and beg more earnestly;" and as Pacianus adds, according to the words of Tertullian before cited, "multorum precibus adjuvare;" "we must help our prayers with the assistance of others."—"Pray to God," said Simon Peter to Simon Magus, "if, peradventure, the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee:" "Pray for me," said Simon Magus to Simon Peter, "that the things which thou hast spoken may not happen to me." And in this case the prayers of the church, and of the holy men that minister to the church, as they are of great avail in themselves, so they were highly valued and earnestly desired and obtained by the penitents in the first ages of the church.

Alms.

81. Alms and fasting are the wings of prayer, and make it pierce the clouds; that is, humility and charity are the best advantages and sanctification of our desires to God. This was the counsel of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar; "Eleemosynis peccata tua redime;[s] "Redeem thy sins by alms," so the Vulgar Latin reads it; not that money can be the price of a soul, for "we are not redeemed with silver and gold;" but that the charity of alms is that which God delights in, and accepts as done to himself, and procures his pardon, according to the words of Solomon; "In veritate et misericordiâ expiatur iniquitas;" "In truth and mercy iniquity is pardoned:"[t] that is, in the confession and alms of a penitent there is pardon; "for water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sin;"[u] this is that love, which, as St. Peter expresses it, "hideth a multitude of sins."[x]—"Alms deliver from death, and shall purge away every sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness, shall be filled with life," said old Tobias;[y] which truly explicates the method of this repentance. To give alms for what is past, and to sin no more, but to work righteousness, is an excellent state and exercise of repentance; for he that sins and gives alms spends his money upon sin, not upon God; and like

[q] Serm. de Lapsis. [r] De Pœnit. c. 9.
[s] Dan. 4. [t] Prov. xvi. 6.
[u] Eccles. iii. 30. [x] 1 Pet. iv. 8.
[y] Tob. xii. 9.

a man in a calenture, drinks deep of the vintage, even when he bleeds for cure.

82. But this command, and the affirmation of this effect of alms, we have best from our blessed Saviour. "Give alms, and all things are clean unto you:" repentance does *καθαρίζειν τὸ ἐντὸς*, "it cleanses that which is within;" for to that purpose did our blessed Saviour speak that parable to the Pharisees of cleansing cups and platters. The parallel to it is here in St. Luke.[a] Alms do also cleanse the inside of a man; for it is an excellent act and exercise of repentance.[b] "Magna est misericordiæ merces, cui Deus pollicetur se omnia peccata remissurum:" "Great is the reward of mercy, to which God hath promised that he will forgive all sins."[c] To this of alms is reduced all actions of piety, and a zealous kindness, *κόπος ἀγάπης*, "the labour of love," all studious endearing of others, and obliging them by kindness, a going about seeking to do good; such which are called in Scripture, "opera justitiæ," "the works of righteousness," that is, such works, in which a righteous and good man loves to be exercised and employed. But there is another instance of mercy besides alms, which is exceeding proper to the exercise of repentance; and that is,

Forgiving Injuries.

83. "Ut absolvaris, ignosce;" "Pardon thy brother, that God may pardon thee:" "Forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven:" so says the gospel; and this Christ did press with many words and arguments, because there is a great mercy and a great effect consequent to it; he put a great emphasis and earnestness of commandment upon it. And there is in it a great necessity; for we all have need of pardon, and it is impudence to ask pardon, if we refuse to give pardon to them that ask it of us: and therefore the apostles, to whom Christ gave so large powers of forgiving or retaining sinners, were also qualified for such powers, by having given them a deep sense, and a lasting sorrow, and a perpetual repentance for, and detestation of, their sins; their repentance lasting even after their sin was dead. Therefore, St. Paul calls himself the chiefest or first of sinners; and in the epistle of St. Barnabas, the apostle affirms, *ὅτι ἐξελέξατο τοὺς ἰδίους Ἀποστόλους Ἰησοῦς ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἀνομωτέρους*, "that Jesus chose for his own apostles men more wicked than any wickedness;" and by such humility and apprehensions of their own needs of mercy, they were made sensible of the needs of others, and fitted to a merciful and prudent dispensation of pardon.

Restitution.

84. This is an act of repentance indispensably necessary; an integral part of it, if it be taken for a restitution of the simple or original theft or debt: for it is an abstinence from evil, or a leaving off to commit a sin: the crime of theft being injurious by a continual efflux and emanation; and therefore not repented of, till the progression of it be stopped. But then there is a restitution also, which is to be reckoned amongst the fruits of repentance, or penances and satisfactions. Such as was that of Zaccheus; "If I have wronged any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." In the law of Moses, thieves convicted by law were tied to it: but if a thief, or an injurious person, did repent before his conviction, and made restitution of the wrong; he was tied only to the payment of one fifth part above the principal, by way of amends for the injury; and to do this, is an excellent fruit of repentance, and a part of self-judicature, "a judging ourselves, that we be not judged of the Lord:" and if the injured person be satisfied with the simple restitution, then this fruit of repentance is to be gathered for the poor.

85. These are the fruits of repentance, which grow in paradise, and will bring health to the nations, for these are a just deletery to the state of sin; they oppose a good against an evil, against every evil; they make amends to our brother exactly, and to the church competently, and to God acceptably, through his mercy in Jesus Christ. These are all we can do in relation to what is past; some of them are parts of direct obedience, and consequently of return to God and the others are parts, and exercises, and acts, of turning from the sin. Now although, so we turn from sin, it matters not by what instruments so excellent a conversion is effected; yet there must care be taken that in our return there be, 1. hatred of sin; and, 2. love of God; and, 3. love of our brother. The first is served by all or any penal duty internal or external; but sin must be confessed, and it must be left. The second is served by future obedience, by prayer, and by hope of pardon: and the last by alms and forgiveness: and we have no liberty or choice but in the exercise of the penal or punitive part of repentance: but in that every man is left to himself, and hath no necessity upon him, unless where he hath first submitted to a spiritual guide, or is noted publicly by the church. But if our sorrow be so trifling, or our sins so slightly hated, or our flesh so tender, or our sensuality so unmortified, that we will endure nothing of exterior severity to mortify our sin, or to punish it to prevent God's anger, or to allay it; we may chance to feel the load of our sins in temporal judgments, and have cause to suspect the sincerity of our repentance, and consequently to fear the eternal. "We feel the bitter smart of this rod and scourge [of God]; because there is in us neither care to please him with our good deeds, nor to satisfy him or make amends for our evil;"[d] that is, we neither live innocently nor penitently. Let the delicate and the effeminate, do their penances in scarlet "and Tyrian purple, and fine linen, and faring deliciously every day;" but he that passionately desires pardon, and with sad apprehensions fears the event of his sins and God's displeasure,—will not refuse to suffer any thing that may procure a mercy and endear God's favour to him; no man is a true penitent, but he that, upon any terms, is willing to accept his pardon. I end this with the words of

[a] Luke xi. 41. [b] Vide Rule of Holy Dying, chap. 2. sect. 3.
[c] Lact. lib. 6. [d] St. Cyprian. epist. 8. et epist. 26.

St. Austin: "It suffices not to change our life from worse to better, unless we make amends, and do our satisfactions for what is past."[e] That is, no man shall be pardoned but he that turns from sin, and mortifies it; that confesses it humbly, and forsakes it; that accuses himself, and justifies God; that prays for pardon, and pardons his offending brother: that would rather punish his flesh, than nurse his sin; that judges himself, that he may be acquitted by God: so these things be done, let every man choose his own instruments of mortification, and the instances and indications of his penitential sorrow.

SECTION VII.

The former Doctrine reduced to Practice.

86. I. He that will judge of his repentance by his sorrow, must not judge of his sorrow by his tears, or by any one manner of expression. For sorrow puts on divers shapes, according to the temper of the body, or the natural or accidental affections of the mind, or to the present consideration of things. Wise men and women do not very often grieve in the same manner, or signify the trouble of intellectual apprehensions by the same indications. But if sin does equally smart, it may be equally complained of in all persons, whose natures are alike querulous and complaining; that is, when men are forced into repentance, they are very apprehensive of their present evils, and consequent dangers, and past follies; but if they repent more wisely, and upon higher considerations than the affrights of women and weak persons, they will put on such affections, as are the proper effects of those apprehensions by which they were moved. But although this be true in the nature, and secret, and proportioned causes of things, yet there is no such simplicity and purity of apprehensions in any person, or any instance whatsoever, but there is something of sense mingled with every tittle of reason, and the consideration of ourselves mingles with our apprehensions of God; and when philosophy does something, our interest does more; and there are so few that leave their sins upon immaterial speculations, that even of them that pretend to do it, there is oftentimes no other reason inducing them to believe they do so, than because they do not know the secrets of their own hearts, and cannot discern their intentions: and therefore, when there is not a material, sensible grief in penitents, there is too often a just cause of suspecting their repentances; it does not always proceed from an innocent or a laudable cause, unless the penitent be indisposed, in all accidents, to such effects and impresses of passion.

87. II. He that cannot find any sensitive and pungent material grief for his sins, may suspect himself, because so doing he may serve some good ends: but on no wise may we suspect another upon that account; for we may be judges of ourselves, but not of others; and although we know enough of ourselves to suspect every thing of ourselves, yet we do not know so much of others, but that there may, for aught we know, be enough to excuse or acquit them in their inquiries after the worthiness of their repentance.

88. III. He that inquires after his own repentance, and finds no sharpnesses of grief, or active, sensitive sorrow, is only so far to suspect his repentance, that he use all means to improve it; which is to be done by a long, serious, and lasting conversation with arguments of sorrow, which, like a continual dropping, will intenerate the spirit, and make it malleable to the first motives of repentance. No man repents but he that fears some evil to stand at the end of his evil course; and whoever feareth, unless he be abused by some collateral false persuasion, will be troubled for putting himself into so evil a condition and state of things; and not to be moved with sad apprehensions is nothing else but not to have considered, or to have promised to himself pardon upon easier conditions than God hath promised. Therefore let the penitent often meditate of the four last things, death and the day of judgment, the portion of the godly, and the sad, intolerable portion of accursed souls; of the greatness and extension of the duty of repentance, and the intention of its acts, or the spirit and manner of its performance; of the uncertainty of pardon in respect of his own secret, and sometimes undiscerned defects; the sad evils that God hath inflicted sometimes even upon penitent persons; the volatile nature of pleasure, and the shame of being a fool in the eyes of God and good men; the unworthy usages of ourselves, and evil returns to God for his great kindnesses: let him consider, that the last night's pleasure is not now at all, and how infinite a folly it is to die for that which hath no being; that one of the greatest torments of hell will be the very indignation at their own folly, for that foolish exchange which they have made; and there is nothing to allay the misery, or to support the spirit, of a man, who shall so extremely suffer, for so very a nothing: that it is an unspeakable horror, for a man eternally to be restless in the vexations of an everlasting fever, and that such a fever is as much short of the eternal anger of God, as a single sigh is of that fever; that a man cannot think what eternity is, nor suffer with patience, for one minute, the pains which are provided for that eternity; and to apply all this to himself, for aught every great sinner knows, this shall be in his lot; and if he dies before his sin is pardoned, he is too sure it shall be so: and whether his sin is pardoned, or no, few men ever know till they be dead; but very many men presume; and they commonly, who have the least reason. He that often and long considers these things, will not have cause to complain of too merry a heart: but when men repent only in feasts, and company, and open house, and carelessness, and inconsideration, they will have cause to repent that they have not repented.

89. IV. Every true penitential sorrow is rather natural than solemn; that is, it is the product of our internal apprehensions, rather than outward order and command. He that repents only by

[e] Homil. 50. c. 15.

solemnity, at a certain period, by the expectation of to-morrow's sun, may indeed act a sorrow, but cannot be sure that he shall then be sorrowful. Other acts of repentance may be done in their proper period, by order, and command, upon set days, and indicted solemnities; such as is fasting, and prayer, and alms, and confession, and disciplines, and all the instances of humiliation; but sorrow is not to be reckoned in this account, unless it dwells there before. When there is a natural abiding sorrow for our sins, any public day of humiliation can bring it forth, and put it into activity; but when a sinner is gay and intemperately merry upon Shrove-Tuesday, and resolves to mourn upon Ash-Wednesday; his sorrow hath in it more of the theatre than of the temple, and is not at all to be relied upon by him that resolves to take severe accounts of himself.

90. V. In taking accounts of our penitential sorrow, we must be careful that we do not compare it with secular sorrow, and the passions effected by natural or sad accidents. For he that measures the passions of the mind by disproportionate objects, may as well compare music and a rose, and measure weights by the bushel, and think that every great man must have a great understanding, or that an ox hath a great courage, because he hath a great heart. He that finds fault with his repentance, because his sorrow is not so great in it as in the saddest accidents of the world, should do well to make them equal if he can; if he can, or if he cannot, his work is done. If he can, let it be done, and then the inquiry and the scruple are at an end. If he cannot, let him not trouble himself; for what cannot be done, God never requires of us to do.

91. VI. Let no man overvalue a single act of sorrow, and call it repentance, or be at rest as soon as he hath wiped his eyes. For to be sorrowful (which is in the commandment) is something more than an act of sorrow; it is a permanent effect, and must abide as long as its cause is in being; not always actual and pungent, but habitual and ready, apt to pass into its symbolical expressions upon all just occasions, and it must always have this signification, viz.

92. VII. No man can be said ever truly to have grieved for his sins, if he, at any time after, does remember them with pleasure. Such a man might indeed have had an act of sorrow, but he was not sorrowful except only for that time; but there was no permanent effect, by which he became an enemy to sin; and when the act is past, the love to sin returns, at least in that degree, that the memory of it is pleasant. No man tells it as a merry story, that he once broke his leg; or laughs when he recounts the sad groans and intolerable sharpnesses of the stone. If there be pleasure in the telling it, there is still remaining too much kindness towards it, and then the sinner cannot justly pretend, that ever he was a hearty enemy to it: for the great effect of that is to hate it; to leave it, and to hate it. Indeed, when the penitent inquires concerning himself, and looks after a sign that he may discern whether he be, as he thinks he is, really a hater of sin; the greatest and most infallible mark which we have to judge by, is the leaving it utterly. Bu yet in this thing there is some difference. For,

93. Some do leave sin, but do not hate it; the will not do it, but they wish it were lawful to do it and this, although it hath in it a great imperfectio yet it is not always directly criminal; for it onl supposes a love to the natural part of the action, an a hatred of the irregularity. The thing they lov but they hate the sin of it. But others are not s innocent in their leaving of sin; they leave it be cause they dare not do it, or are restrained by som overruling accident; but like the heifers that dre the ark, they went lowing after their calves left i their stalls; so do these leave their heart behind and if they still love the sin, their leaving it is bu an imperfect and unacceptable service, a sacrific without a heart. Therefore sin must be hated too that is, it must be left out of hatred to it; and con sequently must be used as naturally we do what w do really hate; that is, do evil to it, and always speal evil of it, and secretly have no kindness for it.

94. VIII. Let every penitent be careful, that hi sorrow be a cure to his soul, but no disease to hi body; an enemy to his sin, but not to his health.

> —— Exigit autem
> Interdum ille dolor plus, quàm lex ulla dolori
> Concessit —— Juv.

For although no sorrow is greater than our sin; ye some greatness of sorrow may destroy those power of serving God, which ought to be preserved to al the purposes of charity and religion. This cautio was not to be omitted, although very few will hav use of it: because if any should be transported int a pertinacious sorrow, by great considerations o their sin, and that sorrow meet with an ill tempe of body, apt to sorrow and afflictive thoughts, it woul make religion to be a burden, and all passions tur into sorrow, and the service of God to consist but o one duty, and would naturally tend to very evil con sequents. For whoever, upon the conditions of the gospel, can hope for pardon, he cannot maintain a too great actual sorrow long upon the stock of hi sins. It will be allayed with hope, and change int new shapes, and be a sorrow in other faculties tha where it first began, and to other purposes than thos to which it did then minister. But if his sorrow be too great, it is because the man hath little or no hope.

95. IX. But if it happens that any man falls into an excessive sorrow, his cure must be attempt ed, not directly, but collaterally; not by lessening the consideration of his sins, nor yet by comparing them with the greater sins of others; like the grave man in the satire.

> Si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
> Ostendis, taceo; nec pugnis cædere pectus
> Te veto, nec planâ faciem contundere palmâ:
> Quandoquidem accepto claudenda est janua damno.
> Juven. Sat. 13.

For this is but an instance of the other, this lessens the sin indirectly: but let it be done by heightening the consideration of the Divine mercy and clemency; for even yet this will far exceed, and this is highly to be taken heed of. For, besides that there is no

need of taking off his opinion from the greatness of the sin; it is dangerous to teach a man to despise a sin at any hand. For if, after his great sorrow, he can be brought to think his sin little, he will be the sooner brought to commit it again, and think it none at all: and when he shall think his sorrow to have been unreasonable, he will not so soon be brought to an excellent repentance another time. But the prophet's great comfort may safely be applied: "Misericordia Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis;" "God's mercy is greater than all the malice of men, and will prevail over it." But this is to be applied so as to cure only the wounds of a conscience that ought to be healed, that is, so as to advance the reputation and glories of the Divine mercy; but at no hand, to create confidences in persons incompetent. If the man be worthy, and capable, and yet tempted to a prevailing and excessive sorrow; to him, in this case, and so far, the application is to be made. In other cases there is no need, but some danger.

96. X. Although sorrow for sin must be constant and habitual, yet to particular acts of sin, when a special sorrow is apportioned, it cannot be expected to be of the same manner and continuance, as it ought to be in our general repentances, for our many sins, and our evil habits. For every single folly of swearing rashly, or vainly, or falsely, there ought to be a particular sorrow, and a special deprecation; but, it may be, another will intervene, and a third will steal in upon you, or you are surprised in another instance; or you are angry with yourself for doing so, and that anger transports you to some indecent expression; and as a wave follows a wave, we shall find instances of folly crowd in upon us. If we observe strictly, we shall prevent some, but we shall observe too many to press us; if we observe not, they will multiply without notice and without number. But in either case, it will be impossible to attend to every one of them with a special, lasting sorrow: and yet one act of sorrow is too little for any one chosen sin, as I have proved formerly. In this case, when we have prayed for pardon of each, confessed it, acknowledged the folly of it, deprecated the punishment, suffered the shame, and endured the sorrow, and begged for aids against it, and renewed our force; it will fall into the heap of the state and generality of repentance: that is, it will be added to the portentous number of follies, for which, in general and indefinite comprehensions, we must beg for pardon, humbly and earnestly, all the days of our life. And I have no caution to be added here, but this only: viz. That we be not too hasty to put it into the general heap, but according to the greatness, or the danger, or its mischief, or its approach towards a habit, so it is to be kept in fetters by itself alone. For he that quickly passes it into the general heap, either cares too little for it, or is too soon surprised by a new one; which would not so easily have happened, if he had been more severe to the first.

97. XI. It is a great matter, that, in our inquiries concerning our penitential sorrow, we be able to discern what is the present motive and incentive of it; whether fear or love, whether it be attrition or contrition. For by this we can tell best, in what state or period of pardon we stand. I do not say, we are to inquire what motive began our sorrow; for fear begins most commonly: but we are to regard what is the present inducement, what continues the hatred; that is, whither our first fears have borne us? If fear only be the agent, at the best it is still imperfect; and our pardon a great way off from being finished; and our repentance, or state of reformation, nothing promoted. But of these things I have, in the former doctrine, given accounts. To which I only add this, as being an advice or caution flowing from the former discourses.

98. XII. He that, upon any pretence whatsoever, puts off his repentance to the last or the worst of his days, hath just reason to suspect, that even when he doth repent, he hath not the grace of contrition, that is, that he repents for fear, not for love; and that his affections to sin remain. The reason is, because what proceeds from an intolerable and a violent cause, as repentance in sickness and danger of death, or in the day of our calamity, does,—is, of itself for the present, defective in a main part, and cannot arrive at pardon, till the love of God be in it: so Christ said of Mary Magdalen; "Much hath been forgiven her, because she loved much;" but from a great fear to pass into love is a work of time, the effect of a long progression in repentance, and it is not easy to be done in those straitnesses of time and grace, which is part of the evil portion of dying sinners. Therefore, besides those many and great considerations, which I have before represented,—upon this account alone, repentance must not be put off to our death-bed, because our fear must pass into love, before our sins are taken off by pardon.

——— proponimus illic
Ire, fatigatas ubi Dædalus exuit alas. JUVEN.

We have a great way to go, a huge progression to make, a mighty work to be done, to which time is as necessary as labour and observation; and therefore we must not put it off, till what begins in fear cannot pass into love, and therefore is too likely to end in sorrow; their fears overtake such men; it is too much to be feared, that what they fear will happen to them.

99. XIII. And after all, it is to be remembered, that sorrow for sins is not repentance, but a sign, an instrument of it, an inlet to it; without which, indeed, repentance cannot be supposed; as manhood must suppose childhood; perfect supposes that it was imperfect: but repentance is after sin, of the same extent of signification, and contains more duties and labour to the perfection of its parts, than innocence. Repentance is like the sun, which enlightens not only the tops of the eastern hills, or warms the wall-fruits of Italy; it makes the little balsam-tree to weep precious tears, with staring upon its beauties; it produces rich spices in Arabia, and warms the cold hermit in his grot, and calls the religious man from his dorture in all the parts of the world where holy religion dwells; at the same time it

digests the American gold, and melts the snows from the Riphæan mountains, because he darts his rays in every portion of the air; and the smallest atom that dances in the air, is tied to a little thread of light, which by equal emanations fills all the capacities of every region: so is repentance; it scatters its beams and holy influences; it kills the lust of the eyes, and mortifies the pride of life; it crucifies the desires of the flesh, and brings the understanding to the obedience of Jesus; the fear of it bids war against the sin, and the sorrow breaks the heart of it: the hope that is mingled with contrition, enkindles our desires to return; and the love that is in it, procures our pardon; and the confidence of that pardon does increase our love, and that love is obedience, and that obedience is sanctification, and that sanctification supposes the man to be justified before; and he that is justified must be justified still; and thus repentance is a holy life. But the little drops of a beginning sorrow, and the pert resolution to live better, never passing into act and habit; the quick and rash vows of the newly-returning man, and the confusion of face espied in the convicted sinner;—if they proceed no further, are but like the sudden fires of the night, which glare for awhile within a little continent of air big enough to make a fire-ball, or the revolution of a minute's walk. These when they are alone, and do not actually and with effect minister to the wise counsels and firm progressions of a holy life, are as far from procuring pardon, as they are from a life of piety and holiness.

SECTION VIII.

100. XIV. IN the making confession of our sins, let us be most careful to do it so, as may most glorify God, and advance the reputation of his wisdom, his justice, and his mercy. For if we consider it, in all judicatories of the world, and in all the arts and violences of men which have been used to extort confessions, their purposes have been, that justice should be done, that the public wisdom and authority should not be dishonoured; that public criminals should not be defended or assisted by public pity, or the voice of the people sharpened against the public rods and axes, by supposing they have smitten the innocent. Confession of the crime prevents all these evils, and does well serve all these good ends.

> Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
> Castigatque auditque dolos; subigitque fateri:

So the heathens did suppose was done in the lower regions. "The judge did examine and hear their crimes and crafts, and even there compelled them to confess," that the eternal justice may be publicly acknowledged; for all the honour that we can do to the Divine attributes, is publicly to confess them, and make others so to do; for so God is pleased to receive honour from us. Therefore, repentance being a return to God, a ceasing to dishonour him any more, and a restoring him, so far as we can, to the honour we deprived him of;—it ought to b done with as much humility and sorrow, with a clear glorifications of God and condemnations o ourselves, as we can. To which purpose,

101. XV. He that confesseth his sins, must d it with all sincerity and simplicity of spirit, not t serve ends, or to make religion the minister o design; but to destroy our sin, to shame and punis ourselves, to obtain pardon and institution; alway telling our sad story just as it was in its acting excepting where the manner of it, and its nature o circumstances, require a veil; and then the sin mus not be concealed, nor yet so represented as to kee the first immodesty alive in him that acted it, or t become a new temptation in him that hears it. Bu this last caution is only of use in our confessions t the minister of holy things; for our confession t God, as it is to other purposes, so must be in othe manners: but I have already given accounts of this I only add, that,

102. XVI. All our confessions must be accusa tions of ourselves, and not of others. For if w confess to God, then to accuse another may spoi our own duty, but it can serve no end; for Go already knows all that we can say to lessen or t aggravate the sin: if we confess to men,—then t name another, or by any way to signify or revea him, is a direct defamation; and unless the naming of the sin do, of itself, declare the assisting party, i is at no hand to be done, or to be inquired into: bu if a man hath committed incest, and there is bu one person in the world with whom he could com mit it; in this case, the confessing his sin does accuse another; but then such a guide of souls i to be chosen, to whom that person is not known but if, by this or some other expedient, the fame o others be not secured, it is best to confess that thing to God only; and so much of the sin as may aggra vate it to an equal height with its own kind in special, may be communicated to him, of whom w ask comfort, and counsel, and institution. If t confess to a priest were a Divine commandment, this caution would have in it some difficulty and much variety; but since the practice is recommended t us wholly upon the stock of prudence, and great charity; the doing it ought not, in any sense, to be uncharitable to others.

103. XVII. He that hath injured his neighbour, must confess to him; and he that hath sinned against the church, must make amends and confess to the church, when she declares herself to be offended. For when a fact is done which cannot naturally be undone, the only duty that can remain, is to rescind it morally, and make it not to be any longer or any more. For as our conservation is a continual creation, so is the perpetuating of a sin a continuation of its being and actings; and therefore to cease from it is the death of the sin for the present and for the future; but to confess it, to hate it, to wish it had never been done, is all the possibility that is left to annihilate the act, which naturally can never be undone; and therefore to all persons that are injured, to confess the sin must needs be a duty, because it is the first part of amends, and some-

times all that is left; but it is that which God and man require, before they are willing to pardon the offender. For until the erring man confesses, it does not appear who is innocent, and who is guilty, or whether the offended person have any thing to forgive. And this is the meaning of these preceptive words of St. James; "Confess your sins one to another;"[k] that is, to the church who are scandalized, and who can forgive and pray for the repenting sinner; and confess to him that is injured, that you may do him right, that so you may cease to do wrong, that you may make your way for pardon, and offer amends. This only, and all of this, is the meaning of the precept. Δεῖ πάντα πιστὸν λέγειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἀποτάττεσθαι, διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν διαλέγχειν, τοῦ ἔτι μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ αὐτά, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· Λέγε σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῇς· καὶ τὸ, Δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος ἐν πρωτολογίᾳ, say the Greek commentaries upon Acts xix. 18. "Every faithful man must declare or confess his sins, and must stand in separation, that he may be reproved, and that he may promise he will not do the same again, according to that which was said, Do thou first declare thy sins, that thou mayest be justified; and again, A just man in the beginning of his speech is an accuser of himself." No man is a true penitent, if he refuses or neglects to confess his sins to God in all cases, or to his brother if he have injured him, or to the church if she be offended, or where she requires it; for wheresoever a man is bound to repent, there he is bound to confession; which is an acknowledgment of the injury, and the first instance and publication of repentance. In other cases, confession may be of great advantage; in these it is duty.

104. XVIII. Let no man think it a shame to confess his sin; or if he does, yet let not that shame deter him from it. There is indeed a shame in confession, because nakedness is discovered; but there is also a glory in it, because there is a cure too: there is repentance and amendment. This advice is like that, which is given to persons giving their lives in a good cause, requiring them not to be afraid; that is, not to suffer such a fear, as to be hindered from dying. For if they suffer a great natural fear, and yet, in despite of that fear, die constantly and patiently, that fear, as it increases their suffering, may also accidentally increase their glory, provided that the fear be not criminal in its cause, nor effective of any unworthy comportment. So is the shame in confession; a great mortification of the man, and highly punitive of the sin; and such that, unless it hinders the duty, is not to be directly reproved: but it must be taken care of, that it be a shame only for the sin, which by how much greater it is, by so much the more earnestly the man ought to fly to all the means of remedy and instruments of expiation: and then the greater the shame is, which the sinner suffers,—the more excellent is the repentance, which suffers so much for the extinction of his sin. But at no hand let the shame affright the duty; but let it be remembered, that this confession is but the memory of the shame, which began when the sin was acted,—and abode but as a handmaid of the guilt, and goes away with it: confession of sins opens them to man, but draws a veil before them, that God will the less behold them. And it is a material consideration. that, if a man be impatient of the shame here, when it is revealed but to one man, who is also by all the ties of religion, and by common honesty, obliged to conceal them; or if he account it intolerable that a sin, public in the scandal and the infamy, should be made public by solemnity to punish and to extinguish it, the man will be no gainer by refusing to confess, when he shall remember, that sins unconfessed are most commonly unpardoned; and unpardoned sins will be made public before all angels, and all the wise and good men of the world, when their shame shall have nothing to make it tolerable.

105. XIX. When a penitent confesses his sin, the holy man that ministers to his repentance, and hears his confession, must not, without great cause, lessen the shame of the repenting man; he must directly encourage the duty, but not add confidence to the sinner. For whatsoever directly lessens the shame, lessens also the hatred of sin, and his future caution, and the reward of his repentance; and takes off that which was an excellent defensative against the sin. But with the shame, the minister of religion is to do as he is to do with the man's sorrow; so long as it is a good instrument of repentance, so long it is to be permitted and assisted, but when it becomes irregular, or disposed to evil events, it is to be taken off. And so must the shame of the penitent man, when there is danger, lest the man be swallowed up by too much sorrow and shame, or when it is perceived that the shame alone is a hinderance to the duty. In these cases, if the penitent man can be persuaded, directly and by choice, for ends of piety and religion, to suffer the shame,—then let his spirit be supported by other means; but if he cannot, let there be such a confidence wrought in him, which is derived from the circumstances of the person, or the universal calamity and iniquity of man, or the example of great sinners like himself, that have willingly undergone the yoke of the Lord, or from consideration of the Divine mercies, or from the easiness and advantages of the duty; but let nothing be offered to lessen the hatred or the greatness of the sin; lest a temptation to sin hereafter be sowed in the furrows of the present repentance.

106. XX. He that confesseth his sins to the minister of religion, must be sure to express all the great lines of his folly and calamity; that is, all that by which he may make a competent judgment of the state of his soul. Now if the man be of a good life, and yet in his tendency to perfection, is willing to pass under the method and discipline of greater sinners, there is no advice to be given to him, but that he do not curiously tell those lesser irregularities, which vex his peace rather than discompose his conscience: but what is most remarkable in his infirmities, or the whole state, and the greatest marks and instances, and returns of them,

[k] Jam. v. 16.

he ought to signify; for else he can serve no prudent end in his confession.

107. But, secondly; if the man have committed a great sin, it is a high prudence, and an excellent instance of his repentance, that he confess it,—declaring the kind of it, if it be of that nature, that the spiritual man may conceal it. But if, upon any other account, he be bound to reveal every notice of the fact, let him transact that affair wholly between God and his own soul. And this of declaring a single action, as it is of great use in the repentance of every man, so it puts on some degrees of necessity, if the man be of a sad, amazed, and an afflicted conscience. For there are some unfortunate persons, who have committed some secret facts of shame and horror, at the remembrance of which they are amazed, of the pardon of which they have no sign, for the expiation of which they use no instrument,—and they walk up and down like distracted persons, to whom reason is useless, and company is unpleasant;—and their sorrow is not holy, but very great; and they know not what to do, because they will not ask. I have observed some such: and the only remedy that was fit to be prescribed to such persons, was to reveal their sin to a spiritual man, and by him to be put into such a state of remedy and comfort, as is proper for their condition. It is certain, that many persons have perished for want of counsel and comfort, which were ready for them, if they would have confessed their sin; for he that concealeth his sin, "non dirigetur," saith Solomon, "he shall not be" counselled or "directed."

108. And it is a very great fault amongst a very great part of christians, that, in their inquiries of religion, even the best of them ordinarily ask but these two questions: "Is it lawful? Is it necessary?" If they find it lawful, they will do it without scruple or restraint; and then they suffer imperfection, or receive the reward of folly. For it may be lawful, and yet not fit to be done. It may be, it is not expedient. And he that will do all that he can do lawfully, would, if he durst, do something that is not lawful. And as great an error is, on the other hand, in the other question. He that too strictly inquires of an action, whether it be necessary or no, would do well to ask also whether it be good? whether it be of advantage to the interest of his soul? For if a christian man or woman,—that is, a redeemed, blessed, obliged person, a great beneficiary, endeared to God beyond all the comprehensions of a man's imagination, one that is less than the least of all God's mercies, and yet hath received many great ones, and hopes for more,—if he should do nothing but what is necessary, that is, nothing but what he is compelled to; then he hath the obligations of a son, and the affections of a slave,—which is the greatest indecency of the world in the accounts of christianity. If a christian will do no more than what is necessary, he will quickly be tempted to omit something of that also. And it is highly considerable, that, in the matter of souls, necessity is a divisible word, and that which in disputation is not necessary, may be necessary in practice: it may be but charity to one and duty to another; that is, when it is not a necessary duty, it may be a necessary charity. And therefore, it were much the better, if every man, without further inquiry, would, in the accounts of his soul, consult a spiritual guide,—and whether it be necessary or no, yet let him do it because it is good; and even they who will not, for God's sake, do that which is simply the best, yet for their own sakes they will, or ought to, do that which is profitable, and of great advantage. Let men do that which is best to themselves; for it is all one to God, save only that he is pleased to take such instances of duty and forwardness of obedience, as the best significations of the best love. And of this nature is confession of sins to a minister of religion, it is one of the most charitable works in the world to ourselves; and in this sense we may use the words of David; "If thou doest well unto thyself, men [and God] will speak good of thee," and do good to thee. He that will do every thing that is lawful, and nothing but what is necessary, will be an enemy, when he dares,—and a friend, when he cannot help it.

109. But if the penitent person hath been an habitual sinner, in his confessions he is to take care, that the minister of religion understand the degrees of his wickedness, the time of his abode in sin, the greatness of his desires, the frequency of his acting them, not told by numbers, but by general significations of the time, and particular significations of the earnestness of his choice. For this transaction being wholly in order to the benefit and conduct of his soul, the good man that ministers must have as perfect moral accounts as he can; but he is not to be reckoned withal by natural numbers and measures, save only so far as they may declare the violence of desires, and the pleasures and choice of the sin. The purpose of this advice is this; that since the transaction of this affair is for counsel and comfort, in order to pardon, and the perfections of repentance,—there should be no scruple in the particular circumstances of it, but that it be done heartily and wisely; that is, so as may best serve the ends to which it is designed: and that no man do it in despite of himself, or against his will; for the thing itself is not a direct service of God immediately enjoined, but is a service to ourselves, to enable us to do our duty to God, and to receive a more ready and easy and certain pardon from him. They indeed, who pretend it as a necessary duty, have, by affixing rules and measures to it of their own, made that, which they call necessary, to be intolerable and impossible. Indeed it is certain, that when God hath appointed a duty, he also will describe the measures, or else leave us to the conduct of our own choice and reason in it. But where God hath not described the measures, we are to do that which is most agreeable to the analogy of the commandment, or the principal duty, in case it be under a command: but if it be not, then we are only to choose the particulars so as may best minister to the end, which is designed in the whole ministration.

110. XXI. It is a very pious preparation to the holy sacrament, that we confess our sins to the

minister of religion: for since it is necessary, that a man be examined, and a self-examination was prescribed to the Corinthians in the time of their lapsed discipline, that though there were divisions amongst them, and no established governors, yet from this duty they were not to be excused; and they must, in destitution of a public minister, do it themselves (but this is in case only of such necessity): the other is better; that is, it is of better order and more advantage, that this part of repentance and holy preparation be performed under the conduct of a spiritual guide. And the reason is pressing. For since it is life or death that is there administered, and the great dispensation of the keys is in that ministry,—it were very well, if he that ministers, did know whether the person presented were fit to communicate or no: and if he be not, it is charity to reject him, and charity to assist him that he may be fitted. There are many sad contingencies in the constitution of ecclesiastical affairs, in which every man that needs this help, and would fain make use of it, cannot; but when he can meet with the blessing, it were well it were more frequently used and more readily entertained. I end these advices with the words of Origen: "Extra veniam est, qui peccatum cognovit, nec cognitum confitetur. Confitendum autem semper est, non quòd peccatum supersit, ut semper sit confitendum; sed quia peccati veteris et antiqui utilis sit indefessa confessio:" "He shall have no pardon, who knows his sin and confesses it not: but we must confess always, not that the sin always remains, but that of an old sin an unwearied confession is useful and profitable."[1] But this is to be understood of a general accusation, or of a confession to God. For in confessions to men, there is no other usefulness of repeating our confessions, excepting where such repetition does aggravate the fault of relapsing and ingratitude, in case the man returns to those sins, for which he hoped that before he did receive a pardon.

SECTION IX.

BUT because, in all repentances, there is something penal, it is not amiss that there be some inquiries after the measures and rules of acting that part of repentance which consists in corporal austerities, and are commonly called penances.

111. I. He that hath a great sorrow, need neither be invited nor instructed in the matter of his austerities. For a great sorrow and its own natural expressions and significations, such as are fastings, and abstinence, and tears, and indignation, and restlessness of mind, and prayers for pardon, and mortification of the sin, are all that, which will perfect this part of repentance. Only sometime they need caution for the degrees. Therefore,

112. II. Let the penitent be careful, that he do not injure his health, or oppress his spirit, by the zeal of this part of repentance. "Sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut supersint quos peccâsse pœniteat." For all such fierce proceedings are either superstitious, or desperate, or indiscreet; or the effect of a false persuasion concerning them, that they are a direct service of God, that they are simply necessary, and severely enjoined. All which are to be rescinded; or else the penances will be of more hurt than usefulness. Those actions are to minister to repentance; and therefore if they contradict any duty, they destroy what they pretend to serve. For penances, as they relate to the sin that is committed, are just to be measured as penitential sorrow is, of which it is a signification and expression. When the sorrow is natural, sensitive, pungent, and material, the penances will be so too. A great sorrow refuses to eat, to sleep, to be cheerful, to be in company, according as the degree is, and as the circumstances of the persons are. But sometimes sorrow is to be chosen, and invited by arts, and ministered to by external instruments, and arguments of invitation; and just so are the penances, they are then to be chosen, so as may make the person a sorrowful mourner, to make him take no delight in sin, but to conceive and to feel a just displeasure: for if men feel no smart, no real sorrow or pain for their sin, they will be too much in love with it: impunity is ἀφορμὴ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, "the occasion and opportunity of sin," as the apostle intimates: and they use to proceed in finishing the methods of sin and death, who

Non unquam reputant, quantum sibi gaudia constant, Juv.

reckon their pleasures, but never put any smart, or danger, or fears, or sorrows, into the balance. But the injunction or susception of penances is a good instrument of repentance, because a little evil takes off the pleasure of the biggest sin in many instances, and we are too apprehensive of the present, that this also becomes a great advantage to this ministry; we refuse great and infinite pleasures hereafter, so we may enjoy little, and few, and inconsiderable ones, at present; and we fear not the horrible pains of hell, so we may avoid a little trouble in our persons or our interest. Therefore, it is to be supposed, that this way of undertaking a present punishment and smart for our sins, (unless every thing, when it becomes religious, is despoiled of all its powers which it had in nature,—and what is reason here, is not reason there,) will be of great effect and power against sin, and be an excellent instrument of repentance. But it must be so much, and it must be no more; for penances are like fire and water, good so long as they are made to serve our needs; but when they go beyond that, they are not to be endured. For since God, in the severest of his anger, does not punish one sin with another, let not us do worse to ourselves than the greatest wrath of God in this world will inflict upon us. A sin cannot be a punishment from God. For then it would be, that God should be the author of sin; for he is, of punishment. If then any punishment be a sin, that sin was unavoidable, derived from God; and indeed it would be a contradiction to the nature of things to say, that the same thing can, in the same formality, be a punishment and a sin,—that is, an action, and a passion,—voluntary, as

[1] In Psal. 36. Hom. 1.

every sin is, and involuntary as every punishment is; that it should be done by us, and yet against us, by us and by another, and by both entirely: and since punishment is the compensation of the expiation of sin, not the aggravation of the Divine anger; it were very strange, if God, by punishing us, should more provoke himself, and, instead of satisfying his justice or curing the man, make his own anger infinite, and the patient much the worse.[m] Indeed, it may happen that one sin may cause or procure another, not by the efficiency of God, or any direct action of his: but, 1. By withdrawing those assistances, which would have restrained a sinful progression. 2. By suffering him to fall into evil temptation, which is too hard for him, consisting in his present voluntary indisposition. 3. By the nature of sin itself, which may either (1.) effect a sin by accident; as a great anger may, by the withdrawing God's restraining grace, be permitted to pass to an act of murder; or (2.) it may dispose to others of like nature, as one degree of lust brings in another; or (3.) it may minister matter of fuel to another sin, as intemperance to uncleanness; or (4.) one sin may be the end of another, as covetousness may be the servant of luxury. In all these ways, one sin may be effected by another; but in all these, God is only conniving, or at most, takes off some of those helps, which the man hath forfeited, and God was not obliged to continue. Thus God hardened Pharaoh's heart, even by way of object and occasion; God hardened him, by showing him a mercy, by taking off his fears when he removed the judgment; and God ministered to him some hope, that it be so still. But God does not inflict the sin; the man's own impious hands do that, not because he cannot help it, but because he chooses and delights in it. Now if God, in justice to us, will not punish one sin directly by another; let not us, in our penitential inflictions, commit a sin in indignation against our sin; for that is just as if a man, out of impatience of pain in his side, should dash his head against a wall.

113. III. But if God pleases to inflict a punishment, let us be careful to exchange it into a penance, by kissing the rod, and entertaining the issues of the Divine justice by approbation of God's proceeding, and confession of our demerit, and justification of God. It was a pretty accident and mixture of providence and penance, that happened to the three accusers of Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem:[n] they accused him falsely of some horrid crimes, but in verification of their indictment, bound themselves by a curse: the first, that if his accusation were false, he might be burned to death: the second, that he might die of the king's evil: the third, that he might be blind. God in his anger found out the two first, and their curse happened to them that delighted in cursing and lies. The first was burnt alive in his own house: and the second perished by the loathsome disease: which when the third espied, and found God's anger so hasty and so heavy, so pressing and so certain, he ran out to meet the rod of God; and repented of his sin so deeply, and wept so bitterly, so continually, that he became blind with weeping: and the anger of God became an instance of repentance; the judgment was sanctified, and so passed into mercy and a pardon: he did indeed meet with his curse, but by the arts of repentance the curse became a blessing. And so it may be to us: "Præveniamus faciem ejus, in confessione;" "Let us prevent his anger by sentencing ourselves:" or if we do not, let us follow the sad accents of the angry voice of God, and imitate his justice, by condemning that which God condemns, and suffering willingly what he imposes; and turning his judgments into voluntary executions, by applying the suffering to our sins, and praying it may be sanctified. For since God smites us that we may repent,—if we repent then, we serve the end of the Divine judgment: and when we perceive God smites our sin, if we submit to it, and are pleased that our sin is smitten, we are enemies to it, after the example of God; and that is a good act of repentance.

114. IV. For the quality or kind of penances, this is the best measure; those are the best which serve most ends; not those which most vex us, but such which will most please God. If they be only actions punitive and vindictive, they do indeed punish the man, and help, so far as they can, to destroy the sin; but of these alone St. Paul said well, "Bodily exercise profiteth but little;" but of the latter sort, he added, "but godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come:" and this indeed is our exactest measure. Fastings alone, lyings upon the ground, disciplines and direct chastisements of the body, which have nothing in them but toleration and revenge, are of some use; they vex the body and crucify the sinner, but the sin lives for all them: but if we add prayer, or any action symbolical, as meditation, reading, solitariness, silence, there is much more done towards the extinction of the sin. But he that adds alms or something that not only is an act contrary to a former state of sin, but such which is apt to deprecate the fault, to obey God, and to do good to men, "he hath chosen the better part, which will not easily be taken from him." Fasting, prayer, and alms together, are the best penances or acts of exterior repentance in the world. If they be single, fasting is of the least force; and alms done in obedience and the love of God, is the best.

115. V. For the quantity of penances, the old rule is the best that I know, but that it is too general and indefinite. It is St. Cyprian's: "Quàm magna deliquimus, tam granditèr defleamus:" "If our sins were great, so must our sorrow or penances be."—As one is, so must be the other. For sorrow and penances I reckon as the same thing in this question; save only, that, in some instances of corporal inflictions, the sin is opposed in its proper matter; as intemperance is, by fasting; effeminacy, by suffering hardships; whereas sorrow opposes it only in general; and in some other instances of penances, there is a duty distinctly and directly

[m] Vide chap. 6. n. 42.

[n] Euseb. lib. 6. c. 7.

served, as in prayer and alms. But although this rule be indefinite and unlimited, we find it made more minute by Hugo de St. Victore. "Si in correctione minor est afflictio quàm in culpâ fuit delectatio, non est dignus pœnitentiæ tuæ fructus:" "Our sorrow, either in the direct passion, or in its voluntary expressions, distinctly or conjunctly, must at least equal the pleasure we took in the committing of a sin." And this rule is indeed very good, if we use it with these cautions. First: that this be understood principally in our repentances for single sins; for in these only the rule can be properly and without scruple applied, where the measures can be best observed. For in habitual and long courses of sin, there is no other measures but to do very much, and very long, and until we die, and never think ourselves safe, but while we are doing our repentances. Secondly: that this measure be not thought equal commutation for the sin, but be only used as an act of deprecation and repentance, of the hatred of sin, and opposition to it; for he that sets a value upon his punitive actions of repentance, and rests in them, will be hasty in finishing the repentance, and leaving it off, even while the sin is alive: for in these cases it is to be regarded, that penances, or the punitive actions of repentance, are not for the extinction of the punishment immediately, but for the guilt. That is, there are no remains of punishment, after the whole guilt is taken off: but the guilt itself goes away by parts, and these external actions of repentance have the same effect, in their proportion, which is wrought by the internal. Therefore, as no man can say, that he hath sufficiently repented of his sins by an inward sorrow and hatred; so neither can he be secure that he hath made compensation by the suffering penances; for if one sin deserves an eternal hell, it is well, if, upon the account of any actions and any sufferings, we be at last accepted and acquitted.

116. VI. In the performing the punitive parts of external repentance, it is prudent, that we rather extend them than intend them: that is, let us rather do many single acts of several instances, than dwell upon one with such intension of spirit as may be apt to produce any violent effects upon the body or the spirit. In all these cases, prudence and proportion to the end are our best measures. For these outward significations of repentance, are not, in any kind or instance, necessary to the constitution of repentance; but apt and excellent expressions and significations, exercises and ministries, of repentance. Prayer and alms are of themselves distinct duties, and therefore come not in their whole nature to this reckoning: but the precise acts of corporal punishment are here intended. And that these were not necessary parts of repentance, the primitive church believed, and declared, by absolving dying persons, though they did not survive the beginnings of their public repentance. But that she enjoined them to suffer such severities in case they did recover, she declared that these were useful, and proper exercises and ministries of the grace itself. And, although inward repentance did expiate all sins, even in the Mosaical covenant, yet they had also a time and manner of its solemnity, their day of expiation; and so must we have many. But if any man will refuse this way of repentance, I shall only say to him the words of St. Paul to them who rejected the ecclesiastical customs and usages: "We have no such custom, neither the churches of God." But let him be sure that he perform his internal repentance with the more exactness; as he had need look to his own strengths, that refuses the assistance of auxiliaries. But it is not good to be too nice and inquisitive, when the whole article is matter of practice. For what doth God demand of us but inward sincerity of a returning, penitent, obedient heart, and that this be exercised and ministered unto by fit and convenient offices to that purpose? This is all, and from this we are to make no abatements.

The Prayer.

I.

O eternal God, gracious and merciful, the fountain of pardon and holiness, hear the cries, and regard the supplications, of thy servant. I have gone astray all my days, and I will for ever pray unto thee, and cry mightily for pardon. Work in thy servant such a sorrow, that may be deadly unto the whole body of sin, but the parent of an excellent repentance. O suffer me not any more to do an act of shame; nor to undergo the shame and confusion of face, which are the portion of the impenitent and persevering sinners, at the day of sad accounts. I humbly confess my sins to thee, do thou hide them from all the world; and while I mourn for them, let the angels rejoice; and while I am killing them by the aids of thy Spirit, let me be written in the book of life, and my sins be blotted out of the black registers of death, that, my sins being covered and cured, dead and buried in the grave of Jesus, I may live to thee my God a life of righteousness, and grow in it, till I shall arrive at a state of glory.

II.

I have often begun to return to thee; but I turned short again, and looked back upon Sodom, and loved to dwell in the neighbourhood of the horrible regions. Now, O my God, hear; now let me finish the work of a holy repentance. Let thy grace be present with me, that this day I may repent acceptably, and to-morrow, and all my days, not weeping over my returning sins, nor deploring new instances; but weeping bitterly for the old; loathing them infinitely, denouncing war against them hastily, prosecuting that war vigorously; resisting them every hour, crucifying them every day, praying perpetually, watching assiduously, consulting spiritual guides and helps frequently, obeying humbly, and crying mightily, I may do every thing, by which I can please thee; that I may be rescued from the powers of darkness, and the sad portions of eternity, which I have deserved.

III.

O give unto thy servant intentions so real, a resolution so strong, a repentance so holy a sorrow so deep, a hope so pure, a charity so sublime, that no temptation or time, no health or sickness, no accident or interest, may be able, in any circumstance of things or persons, to tempt me from thee and prevail. Work in me a holy and an irreprovable faith, wereby I may overcome the world, and crucify the flesh, and quench the fiery darts of the devil; and let this faith produce charity, and my sorrow cause amendment, and my fear produce caution, and that caution beget a holy hope: let my repentance be perfect and acceptable, and my affliction bring forth joy, and the pleasant fruit of righteousness. Let my hatred of sin pass into the love of God, and this love be obedience, and this obedience be universal, and that universality be lasting and perpetual; that I may rejoice in my recovery, and may live in health, and proceed in holiness, and abide in thy favour, and die with a blessing, the death of the righteous, and may rest in the arms of the Lord Jesus; and, at the day of judgment, may have my portion in the resurrection of the just; and may enter into the joy of my Lord, to reap from the mercies of God in the harvest of a blessed eternity, what is here sown in tears and penitential sorrow, being pardoned, and accepted, and saved by the mercies of God in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Σωτηρία τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ Ἀρνίῳ.

DEUS JUSTIFICATUS;

OR,

A VINDICATION OF THE GLORY OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES,

IN THE QUESTION OF

ORIGINAL SIN:

AGAINST

THE PRESBYTERIAN WAY OF UNDERSTANDING IT.

IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF QUALITY.

Nam neque tam facilis res ulla est, quin ea primum
Difficilis magis ad credendum constet ——— LUCRET.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RELIGIOUS LADY,

THE LADY CHRISTIAN,

COUNTESS DOWAGER OF DEVONSHIRE.

MADAM,

WHEN I reflect upon the infinite disputes which have troubled the public meetings of christendom concerning original sin, and how impatient and vexed some men lately have been, when I offered to them my endeavours and conjectures concerning that question, with purposes very differing from what were seen in the face of other men's designs, and had handled it so, that God might be glorified in the article, and men might be instructed and edified in order to good life; I could not but think that wise heathen said rarely well in his little adagy, relating to the present subject; Εἰς παραδοξίαν ἔφυμεν. "Mankind was born to be a riddle," and our nativity is in the dark; for men have taken the liberty to think what they please, and to say what they think; and they affirm many things, and can prove but few things; and take the sayings of men for the oracles of God, and bold affirmatives for convincing arguments; and St. Paul's text must be understood by St. Austin's commentary, and St. Austin shall be heard in all, because he spake against such men, who in some things were not to be heard: and after all, because his doctrine was taken for granted by ignorant ages, and being received so long, was incorporated into the resolved doctrine of the church with so great a firmness, it became almost a shame to examine what the world believed so unsuspectingly; and he that shall first attempt it, must resolve to give up a great portion of his reputation to be torn in pieces by the ignorant and by the zealous, by some of the learned, and by all the envious; and they who love to teach in quiet, being at rest in their chairs and pulpits, will be froward when they are awakened; and rather than they will be suspected to have taught amiss, will justify an error by the reproaching of him that tells them truth, which they are pleased to call new.

If any man differs from me in opinion, I am not troubled at it, but tell him that truth is in the understanding, and charity is in the will, and is or ought to be there, before either his or my opinion in these controversies can enter, and therefore that we ought to love alike, though we do not understand alike; but when I find that men are angry at my ingenuity and openness of discourse, and endeavour to hinder

the event of my labours in the ministry of souls, and are impatient of contradiction or variety of explication, and understanding of questions, I think myself concerned to defend the truth which I have published, to acquit it from the suspicion of evil appendages, to demonstrate not only the truth but the piety of it, and the necessity, and those great advantages which by this doctrine so understood may be reaped, if men will be quiet and patient, void of prejudice, and not void of charity.

This, Madam, is reason sufficient why I offer so many justifications of my doctrine, before any man appears in public against it; but because there are many who do enter into the houses of the rich and the honourable, and whisper secret oppositions and accusations rather than arguments against my doctrine; the good women that are zealous for religion, and make up in the passions of one faculty what is not so visible in the actions and operations of another, are sure to be affrighted before they be instructed, and men enter caveats in that court before they try the cause: but that is not all; for I have found, that some men, to whom I gave and designed my labours, and for whose sake I was willing to suffer the persecution of a suspected truth, have been so unjust to me, and so unserviceable to yourself, Madam, and to some other excellent and rare personages, as to tell stories, and give names to my proposition, and by secret murmurs hinder you from receiving that good which your wisdom and your piety would have discerned there, if they had not affrighted you with telling, that a snake lay under the plantain, and that this doctrine, which is as wholesome as the fruits of Paradise, was enwrapped with the infoldings of a serpent, subtle and fallacious.

Madam, I know the arts of these men; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by Mr. Sackville the late Earl of Dorset's uncle; that the cunning sects of the world (he named the jesuits and the presbyterians) did more prevail by whispering to ladies, than all the church of England and the more sober protestants could do by fine force and strength of argument. For they, by prejudice or fears, terrible things and zealous nothings, confident sayings and little stories, governing the ladies' consciences, who can persuade their lords, their lords will convert their tenants, and so the world is all their own. I should wish them all good of their profits and purchases, if the case were otherwise than it is: but because they are questions of souls, of their interest and advantages: I cannot wish they may prevail with the more religious and zealous personages: and therefore, Madam, I have taken the boldness to write this tedious letter to you, that I may give you a right understanding and an easy explication of this great question; as conceiving myself the more bound to do it to your satisfaction, not only because you are zealous for the religion of this church, and are a person as well of reason as of religion, but also because you have passed divers obligations upon me, for which all my services are too little a return.

VINDICATION, &c.

1. In order to which I will plainly describe the great lines of difference and danger, which are in the errors and mistakes about this question.

2. I will prove the truth and necessity of my own, together with the usefulness and reasonableness of it.

3. I will answer those little murmurs, by which (so far as I can yet learn) these men seek to invade the understandings of those, who have not leisure or will to examine the thing itself, in my own words and arguments.

4. And if any thing else falls in by the by, in which I can give satisfaction to a person of your great worthiness, I will not omit it, as being desirous to have this doctrine stand as fair in your eyes, as it is in all its own colours and proportions.

But first, Madam, be pleased to remember, that the question is not, whether there be any such thing as original sin; for it is certain, and confessed on all hands almost. For my part, I cannot but confess that to be, which I feel, and groan under, and by which all the world is miserable.

Adam turned his back upon the sun, and dwelt in the dark and the shadow; he sinned, and fell into God's displeasure, and was made naked of all his supernatural endowments, and was ashamed, and sentenced to death, and deprived of the means of long life, and of the sacrament and instrument of immortality, I mean the tree of life; he then fell under the evils of a sickly body, and a passionate, ignorant, uninstructed soul; his sin made him sickly, his sickness made him peevish; his sin left him ignorant, his ignorance made him foolish and unreasonable: his sin left him to his nature; and by his nature, whoever was to be born at all, was to be born a child, and to do before he could understand, and be bred under laws to which he was always bound, but which could not always be exacted; and he was to choose, when he could not reason,—and had passions most strong, when he had his understanding most weak,—and was to ride a wild horse without a bridle,—and the more need he had of a curb, the less strength he had to use it; and this being the case of all the world, what was every man's evil became all men's greater evil; and though alone it was very bad, yet when they came together it was made much worse; like ships in a storm, every one alone hath enough to do to outride it; but when they meet, besides the evils of the

storm, they find the intolerable calamity of their mutual concussion, and every ship that is ready to be oppressed with the tempest, is a worse tempest to every vessel, against which it is violently dashed. So it is in mankind, every man hath evil enough of his own; and it is hard for a man to live soberly, temperately, and religiously; but when he hath parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies, buyers and sellers, lawyers and physicians, a family and a neighbourhood, a king over him, or tenants under him, a bishop to rule in matters of government spiritual, and a people to be ruled by him in the affairs of their souls; then it is that every man dashes against another, and one relation requires what another denies; and when one speaks, another will contradict him; and that which is well spoken, is sometimes innocently mistaken, and that upon a good cause produces an evil effect; and by these, and ten thousand other concurrent causes, man is made more than most miserable.

But the main thing is this; when God was angry with Adam, the man fell from the state of grace; for God withdrew his grace, and we returned to the state of mere nature, of our prime creation. And although I am not of Petrus Diaconus's mind, who said, "that when we all fell in Adam, we fell into the dirt, and not only so, but we fell also upon a heap of stones; so that we not only were made naked, but defiled also, and broken all in pieces;" yet this I believe to be certain,—that we, by his fall, received evil enough to undo us, and ruin us all; but yet the evil did so descend upon us, that we were left in powers and capacities to serve and glorify God: God's service was made much harder, but not impossible; mankind were made miserable, but not desperate: we contracted an actual mortality, but we were redeemable from the power of death; sin was easy and ready at the door, but it was resistible; our will was abused, but yet not destroyed; our understanding was cozened, but yet still capable of the best instructions; and though the devil had wounded us, yet God sent his Son, who, like the good Samaritan, poured oil and wine into our wounds,—and we were cured before we felt the hurt, that might have ruined us upon that occasion. It is sad enough, but not altogether so intolerable, and decretory, as some would make it, which the Sibylline oracle describes to be the effect of Adam's sin.

Ἄνθρωπος πέπλαστο Θεοῦ παλαμαῖς ἐνὶ αὐταῖς,
Ὅν τε πλάνησεν ὄφις δόλιος ἐπὶ μοῖραν ἀνέλθειν
Τοῦ θανάτου, γνῶσιν τε λαβεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τε κακοῦ τε.

Man was the work of God, fram'd by his hands,
Him did the serpent cheat, that to death's bands
He was subjected for his sin: for this was all,
He tasted good and evil by his fall.

But to this we may superadd that, which Plutarch found to be experimentally true, "Mirum, quod pedes moverunt ad usum rationis,—nullo autem fræno passiones:" "The foot moves at the command of the will and by the empire of reason, but the passions are stiff even then when the knee bends, and no bridle can make the passions regular and temperate." And indeed, Madam, this is, in a manner, the sum total of the evil of our abused and corrupted nature; our soul is in the body as in a prison; it is there "tanquam in alienâ domo," "it is a sojourner," and lives by the body's measures, and loves and hates by the body's interests and inclinations; that which is pleasing and nourishing to the body, the soul chooses and delights in: that which is vexatious and troublesome, it abhors and hath motions accordingly; for passions are nothing else but acts of the will, carried to or from material objects, and effects and impresses upon the man, made by such acts; consequent motions and productions from the will. It is a useless and a groundless proposition in philosophy, to make the passions to be the emanations of distinct faculties, and seated in a differing region; for as the reasonable soul is both sensitive and vegetative, so is the will elective and passionate, the region both of choice and passions, that is, when the object is immaterial, or the motives such, the act of the will is so merely intellectual, that it is then spiritual, and the acts are proper and symbolical, and the act of it we call election or volition; but if the object is material or corporal, the acts of the will are passion, that is, adhesion and aversation, and these it receives by the needs and inclinations of the body; an object can diversify an act, but never distinguish faculties: and if we make it one faculty that chooses a reasonable object, and another that chooses the sensual; we may as well assign a third faculty for the supernatural and religious; and when to choose a sensual object is always either reasonable or unreasonable, and every adherence to pleasure, and mortification or refusing of it, is subject to a command and the matter of duty, it will follow, that even the passions also are issues of the will: by "passions" meaning the actions of prosecution or refusal of sensitive objects, the acts of the concupiscible and irascible appetite, not the impresses made by these upon the body, as trembling, redness, paleness, heaviness, and the like: and therefore to say, the passions rule the will, is an improper saying; but it hath no truth in its meaning but this; that the will is more passionate than wise; it is more delighted with bodily pleasures than spiritual: but as the understanding considers both, and the disputation about them is in that faculty alone; so the choice of both is in the will alone: now because many of the body's needs are naturally necessary, and the rest are made so by being thought needs, and by being so naturally pleasant, and that this is the body's day, and it rules here in its own place and time,—therefore it is that the will is so great a scene of passion, and we so great servants of our bodies.

This was the great effect of Adam's sin, which became therefore to us a punishment, because of the appendant infirmity that went along with it; for Adam being spoiled of all the rectitudes and supernatural heights of grace, and thrust back to the form of nature, and left to derive grace to himself by a new economy, or to be without it; and his posterity left just so as he was left himself;—he was permitted to the power of his enemy, that betrayed him,

and put under the power of his body, whose appetites would govern him; and when they would grow irregular, could not be mastered by any thing that was about him, or born with him; so that his case was miserable and naked, and his state of things was imperfect, and would be disordered.

But now, Madam, things, being thus bad, are made worse by the superinduced doctrines of men, which when I have represented to your Ladyship, and told upon what accounts I have reproved them, you will find that I have reason.

There are one sort of Calvin's scholars, whom we for distinction's sake call Supralapsarians, who are so fierce in their sentences of predestination and reprobation, that they say God looked upon mankind only as his creation and his slaves, over whom he having absolute power, was very gracious, that he was pleased to take some few, and save them absolutely; and to the other greater part he did no wrong, though he was pleased to damn them eternally, only because he pleased; for they were his own; and "Qui jure suo utitur, nemini facit injuriam," says the law of reason; "Every one may do what he please with his own." But this bloody and horrible opinion is held but by a few; as tending directly to the dishonour of God, charging on him alone, that he is the cause of men's sins on earth, and of men's eternal torments in hell: it makes God to be powerful, but his power not to be good; it makes him more cruel to men, than good men can be to dogs and sheep; it makes him give the final sentence of hell without any pretence or colour of justice; it represents him to be that which all the world must naturally fear, and naturally hate, as being a God delighting in the death of innocents; for so they are, when he resolves to damn them: and then most tyrannically cruel, and unreasonable; for it says, that to make a postnate pretence of justice, it decrees that men inevitably shall sin, that they may inevitably, but justly, be damned; like the Roman lictors, who because they could not put to death Sejanus's daughters as being virgins, deflowered them after sentence, that, by that barbarity, they might be capable of the utmost cruelty: it makes God to be all that for which any other thing or person is or can be hated; for it makes him neither to be good, nor just, nor reasonable; but a mighty enemy to the biggest part of mankind; it makes him to hate what himself hath made, and to punish that in another, which, in himself, he decreed should not be avoided: it charges the wisdom of God with folly, as having no means to glorify his justice, but by doing unjustly, by bringing in that which himself hates, that he might do what himself loves; doing as Tiberius did to Brutus and Nero the sons of Germanicus: "variâ fraude induxit ut concitarentur ad convitia, et concitati perderentur;" "provoking them to rail that he might punish their reproachings."[p] This opinion reproaches the words of the spirit of scripture; it charges God with hypocrisy and want of mercy, making him a father of cruelties, not of mercy; and is a perfect overthrow of all religion, and all laws, and all government; it destroys the very being and nature of all election, thrusting a man down to the lowest form of beasts and birds, to whom a spontaneity of doing certain actions is given by God; but it is in them so natural, that it is unavoidable. Now, concerning this horrid opinion, I, for my part, shall say nothing but this; that he that says there was no such man as Alexander, would tell a horrible lie, and be injurious to all story, and to the memory and fame of that great prince; but he that should say, it is true there was such a man as Alexander, but he was a tyrant and a bloodsucker, cruel and injurious, false and dissembling, an enemy of mankind, and for all the reasons of the world to be hated and reproached, would certainly dishonour Alexander more, and be his greatest enemy: so I think in this, that the atheists who deny there is a God, do not so impiously against God, as they that charge him with foul appellatives, or maintain such sentences; which if they were true, God could not be true. But these men, Madam, have nothing to do in the question of original sin, save only, that they say that God did decree that Adam should fall, and all the sins that he sinned, and all the world after him, are no effects of choice, but of predestination, that is, they were the actions of God, rather than man.

But because these men, even to their brethren, seem to speak evil things of God, therefore the more wary and temperate of the Calvinists bring down the order of reprobation lower; affirming, that God looked upon all mankind in Adam as fallen into his displeasure, hated by God, truly guilty of his sin, liable to eternal damnation; and they being all equally condemned, he was pleased to separate some, the smaller number far, and irresistibly bring them to heaven; but the far greater number he passed over, leaving them to be damned for the sin of Adam; and so they think they salve God's justice; and this was the design and device of the synod of Dort.

Now to bring this to pass, they teach concerning original sin,

1. That, by this sin, our first parents fell from their original righteousness and communion with God; and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.

2. That whatsoever death was due to our first parents for this sin, they being the root of all mankind, and the guilt of this sin being imputed, the same is conveyed to all their posterity by ordinary generation.

3. That by this original corruption we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil; and that from hence proceed all actual transgressions.

4. This corruption of nature remains in the regenerate, and although it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin.

5. Original sin, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries,

[p] Sueton. in Vita Tiber. c. 54.

spiritual, temporal, and eternal. These are the sayings of the late assembly at Westminster.

Against this heap of errors and dangerous propositions, I have made my former discoursings, and statings of the question of original sin. These are the doctrines of the presbyterian, whose face is towards us, but it is over-against us in this and many other questions of great concernment.

Nemo tam propè proculque nobis. MART.

"He is nearest to us and furthest from us:" but because I have as great a love to their persons, as I have a dislike to some of their doctrines; I shall endeavour to serve truth and them, by reproving those propositions which make truth and them to stand at distance.

Now I shall, first, speak to the thing in general, and its designs; then I shall make some observations upon the particulars.

1. This device of our presbyterians, and of the synod of Dort, is but an artifice to save their proposition harmless, and to stop the outcries of Scripture and reason, and of all the world, against them. But this way of stating the article of reprobation, is as horrid in the effect as the other. For,

Is it by a natural consequent that we are guilty of Adam's sin,—or is it by the decree of God? Naturally it cannot be; for then the sins of all our forefathers, who are to their posterity the same that Adam was to this, must be ours; and not only Adam's first sin, but his others are ours upon the same account. But if it be by the decree of God, by his choice and constitution, that it should be so, as Mr. Calvin and Dr. Twisse (that I may name no more for that side) do expressly teach, it follows, that God is the author of our sin; so that I may use Mr. Calvin's words; "How is it, that so many nations with their children should be involved in the fall without remedy but because God would have it so?"[r] And if that be the matter, then to God, as to the cause, must that sin, and that damnation, be accounted.

And let it then be considered, whether this be not as bad as the worst; for the supralapsarians say, God did decree that the greatest part of mankind should perish only because he would:—the sublapsarians say, that God made it by his decree necessary, that all we, who were born of Adam, should be born guilty of original sin,—and he it was who decreed to damn whom he pleased for that sin, in which he decreed they should be born; and both these he did for no other consideration, but because he would. Is it not therefore evident, that he absolutely decreed damnation to these persons? For he that decrees the end, and he that decrees the only necessary and effective means to the end, and decrees that it shall be the end of that means, does decree absolutely alike, though by several dispensations; and then all the evil consequents, which I reckoned before to be the monstrous productions of the first way, are all daughters of the other; and if Solomon were here, he could not tell which were the truer mother.

[r] Instit. l. 3. c. 23. sect. 7. Vind. Grat. l. l. p. digres. 4. c. 3.

Now that the case is equal between them, some of their own chiefest do confess; so Dr. Twisse. If God may ordain men to hell for Adam's sin, which is derived unto them by God's only constitution; he may as well do it absolutely without any such constitutions: the same also is affirmed by Maccovius, and by Mr. Calvin:[s] and the reason is plain; for he that does a thing for a reason which himself makes, may as well do it without a reason; or he may make his own will to be the reason, because the thing, and the motive of the thing, come, in both cases, equally from the same principle, and from that alone.

Now, Madam, be pleased to say, whether I had not reason and necessity for what I have taught: you are a happy mother of a fair and hopeful posterity, your children and nephews are dear to you as your right eye, and yet you cannot love them so well as God loves them, and it is possible that a mother should forget her children, yet God even then will not, cannot; but if our father and mother forsake us, God taketh us up: now, Madam, consider, could you have found in your heart, when the nurses and midwives had bound up the heads of any of your children, when you had borne them with pain and joy upon your knees, could you have been tempted to give command, that murderers should be brought to flay them alive, to put them to exquisite tortures, and then, in the midst of their saddest groans, throw any one of them into the flames of a fierce fire, for no other reason, but because he was born at London,—or upon a Friday,—when the moon was in her prime, or for what other reason you had made, and they could never avoid? Could you have been delighted in their horrid shrieks and outcries, or have taken pleasure in their unavoidable and their intolerable calamity? Could you have smiled, if the hangman had snatched your eldest son from his nurse's breasts, and dashed his brains out against the pavement; and would you not have wondered, that any father or mother could espy the innocence and pretty smiles of your sweet babes, and yet tear their limbs in pieces, or devise devilish artifices to make them roar with intolerable convulsions? Could you desire to be thought good, and yet have delighted in such cruelty? I know I may answer for you; you would first have died yourself. And yet I say again, God loves mankind better than we can love one another; and he is essentially just; and he is infinitely merciful; and he is all goodness; and therefore, though we might possibly do evil things, yet he cannot; and yet this doctrine of the presbyterian reprobation says, he both can and does things, the very apprehension of which hath caused many in despair to drown or hang themselves.

Now if the doctrine of absolute reprobation be so horrid, so intolerable a proposition, so unjust and blasphemous to God, so injurious and cruel to men, and that there is no colour or pretence to justify it, but by pretending our guilt of Adam's sin, and damnation to be the punishment:—then because from truth nothing but truth can issue, that must needs be a lie, from which such horrid con-

[s] Disp. 18. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 23.

sequences do proceed. For the case, in short, is this: If it be just for God to damn any one of Adam's posterity for Adam's sin, then it is just in him to damn all; for all his children are equally guilty; and then if he spares any, it is mercy; and the rest who perish, have no cause to complain. But if all these fearful consequences, which reason and religion so much abhor, do so certainly follow from such doctrines of reprobation, and these doctrines wholly rely upon this pretence,—it follows, that the pretence is infinitely false and intolerable; and that (so far as we understand the rules and measures of justice) it cannot be just for God to damn us for being in a state of calamity; to which state we entered no way, but by his constitution and decree.

You see, Madam, I had reason to reprove that doctrine, which said, "It was just in God to damn us for the sin of Adam."

Though this be the main error; yet there are some other collateral things, which I can by no means approve; such is that, 1. That, by the sin of Adam, our parents became wholly defiled in all the faculties and powers of their souls and bodies. And, 2. That by this we also are disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. And, 3. That from hence proceed all actual transgressions. And, 4. That our natural corruption in the regenerate still remains, though it be pardoned, and mortified, and is still properly a sin.

Against this, I opposed these propositions; that the effect of Adam's sin was in himself bad enough; for it divested him of that state of grace and favour, where God placed him; it threw him from Paradise, and all the advantages of that place; it left him in the state of nature; but yet his nature was not spoiled by that sin; he was not wholly inclined to all evil, neither was he disabled and made opposite to all good; only his good was imperfect, it was natural and fell short of heaven; for till his nature was invested with a new nature, he could go no further than the design of his first nature,—that is, without Christ, without the spirit of Christ, he could never arrive at heaven, which is his supernatural condition; but, 1. There still remained in him a natural freedom of doing good or evil. 2. In every one that was born, there are great inclinations to some good. 3. Where our nature was averse to good, it is not the direct sin of nature, but the imperfection of it; the reason being, because God superinduced laws against our natural inclination, and yet there was, in nature, nothing sufficient to make us contradict our nature in obedience to God; all that being to come from a supernatural and Divine principle. These I shall prove together, for one depends upon another.

And first, That the liberty of will did not perish to mankind by the fall of Adam, is so evident, that St. Austin, who is an adversary in some parts of this question, but not yet, by way of question and confidence asks, "Quis autem nostrûm dicat, quod, primi hominis peccato, perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere?"[t] "Which of us can say, that the liberty of our will did perish by the sin of the first man?" And he adds a rare reason; for it is so certain, that it did not perish in a sinner, that this thing only is it by which they do sin, especially when they delight in their sin, and by the love of sin that thing is pleasing to them which they list to do. And therefore, when we are charged with sin, it is worthy of inquiry, whence it is that we are sinners? Is it by the necessity of nature, or by the liberty of our will? If by nature and not choice, then it is good and not evil; for whatsoever is our nature, is of God's making, and consequently is good; but if we are sinners by choice and liberty of will, whence had we this liberty? If from Adam, then we have not lost it; but if we had it not from him, then from him we do not derive all our sin; for by this liberty alone we sin.

If it be replied, that we are free to sin, but not to good; it is such a foolery, and the cause of the mistake so evident, and so ignorant, that I wonder any man of learning or common sense should own it. For if I be free to evil, then I can choose evil, or refuse it; if I can refuse it, then I can do good; for to refuse that evil is good, and it is in the commandment, "Eschew evil;" but if I cannot choose or refuse it, how am I free to evil? For "voluntas et libertas," "will and liberty," in philosophy, are not the same: I may will it, when I cannot will the contrary; as the saints in heaven and God himself wills good; they cannot will evil, because to do so is imperfection, and contrary to felicity; but here is no liberty: for liberty is with power to do or not to do; to do this or the contrary; and if this liberty be not in us, we are not in the state of obedience, or of disobedience; which is the state of all them who are alive, who are neither in hell nor heaven. For it is to many purposes useful, that we consider, that in natural things to be determined shows a narrowness of being; and therefore, liberty of action is better, because it approaches nearer to infinity. But in moral things, liberty is a direct imperfection, a state of weakness, and supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love; the imperfection of the agent, or the unworthiness of the object; liberty of will is like the motion of the magnetic needle towards the north, full of trepidation, till it be fixed where it would fain dwell for ever. Either the object is but good in one regard, or we have but an uncertain apprehension, or but a beginning-love to it; or it could never be, that we could be free to choose, that is, to love it or not to love it. And therefore it is so far from being true, that by the fall of Adam we lost our liberty,—that it is more likely to be the consequent of it; as being a state of imperfection,—proper indeed to them who are to live under laws, and to such who are to work for a reward, and may fail of it; but cannot go away, till we either lose all hopes of good by descending into hell, or are past all fear or possibility of evil by going to heaven. But that this is our case, if I had no other argument in the world, and were never so prejudicate and obstinate a person, I think I should be perfectly convinced by those words of St. Paul: the apostle speaks of a good act tending not only to the keeping of a precept, but to a counsel of per-

[t] Lib. 1. ad Bonifac. c. 2.

fection; and concerning that he hath these words; "Nevertheless, he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doth well;"[u] the words are plain, and need no explication. If this be not a plain liberty of choice, and a power of will, those words mean nothing, and we can never hope to understand one another's meaning. But if sin be avoidable, then we have liberty of choice. If it be unavoidable, it is not imputable by the measures of laws and justice; what it is by empire and tyranny, let the adversaries inquire and prove: but since all theology, all schools of learning, consent in this, that an invincible or unavoidable, ignorance does wholly excuse from sin; why an invincible and an unavoidable necessity shall not also excuse, I confess I have not yet been taught.

But if, by Adam's sin, we be so utterly indisposed, disabled, and opposite to all good, wholly inclined to evil, and from hence come all actual sins,—that is, that by Adam we are brought to that pass, that we cannot choose but sin: it is a strange severity, that this should descend upon persons otherwise most innocent, and that this, which is the most grievous of all evils; for "Prima et maxima peccantium pœna est peccâsse," said Seneca. To be given over to sin, is the worst calamity, the most extreme anger,—never inflicted directly at all for any sin, as I have otherwhere proved,[x] and not indirectly, but upon the extremest anger: which cannot be supposed, unless God be more angry with us for being born men, than for choosing to be sinners.

The consequent of these arguments is this; that our faculties are not so wholly spoiled by Adam's fall, but that we can choose good or evil; that our nature is not wholly disabled and made opposite to all good: but to nature are left and given as much as to the handmaid Agar; nature hath nothing to do with the inheritance, but she and her sons have gifts given them; and by nature we have laws of virtue, and inclinations to virtue,—and naturally we love God, and worship him, and speak good things of him,—and love our parents,—and abstain from incestuous mixtures, and are pleased when we do well, and affrighted within when we sin in horrid instances against God; all this is in nature, and much good comes from nature: "Neque enim quasi lassa et effœta natura est, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat;"[y] "Nature is not so old, so obsolete and dried a trunk, as to bring no good fruits upon its own stock:" and the Frenchmen have a good proverb; "Bonus sanguis non mentitur," "A good blood never lies:" and some men are naturally chaste, and some are abstemious, and many are just, and friendly, and noble, and charitable: and therefore, all actual sins do not proceed from this sin of Adam; for if the sin of Adam left us in liberty to sin, and that this liberty was before Adam's fall; then it is not long of Adam's fall that we sin; by this fall it should rather be, according to their principles, that we cannot choose but do this or that, and then it is no sin: but to say, that our actual sins should any more proceed from Adam's fall, than Adam's fall should proceed from itself, is not to be imagined; for what made Adam sin when he fell? If a fatal decree made him sin, then he was nothing to blame.

> Fati ista culpa est, nemo fit fato nocens. SENECA.
>
> No guilt upon mankind can lie
> For what's the fault of destiny.

And Adam might, with just reason, lay the blame from himself, and say, as Agamemnon did in Homer,

> ———Ἐγὼ ὀ' οὐκ αἴτιος εἰμι,
> Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς, καὶ Μοῖρα, καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐριννύς.

"It was not I that sinned, but it was fate or a fury, it was God and not I;" it was not my act, but the effect of the Divine decree; and then the same decree may make us sin, and not the sin of Adam be the cause of it. But if a liberty of will made Adam sin, then, this liberty to sin being still left us, this liberty, and not Adam's sin, is the cause of all our actual.

Concerning the other clause in the presbyterian article, that our natural corruption in the regenerate still remains, and is still a sin, and properly a sin; I have, I confess, heartily opposed it; and shall, besides my arguments, confute it with my blood if God shall call me; for it is so great a reproach to the Spirit and power of Christ, and to the effects of baptism, to Scripture, and to right reason, that all good people are bound in conscience to be zealous against it.

For when Christ came to reconcile us to his Father, he came to take away our sins, not only to pardon them, but to destroy them; and if the regenerate, in whom the Spirit of Christ rules, and in whom all their habitual sins are dead, are still under the servitude and in the stocks of original sin, —then it follows, not only that our guilt of Adam's sin is greater than our own actual,—the sin that we never consented to, is of a deeper grain than that which we have chosen and delighted in; and God was more angry with Cain that he was born of Adam, than that he killed his brother; and Judas, by descent from the first Adam, contracted that sin which he could never be quit of, but he might have been quit of his betraying the second Adam, if he would not have despaired;—I say, not only these horrid consequences do follow, but this also will follow; that Adam's sin hath done some mischief, that the grace of Christ can never cure; and generation stains so much, that regeneration cannot wash it clean. Besides all this, if the natural corruption remains in the regenerate, and be properly a sin, then either God hates the regenerate, or loves the sinner; and when he dies, he must enter into heaven with that sin, which he cannot lay down but in the grave, as the vilest sinner lays down every sin; and then an unclean thing can go to heaven, or else no man can: and lastly, to say that this natural corruption, though it be pardoned and mortified, yet still remains and is still a sin, is perfect nonsense; for if it be mortified, it is not, it hath no being; if it is

[u] 1 Cor. vii. 37. [x] Doctr. and Pract. of Repent. [y] Plinius Ep. 12. lib.

pardoned, it was indeed, but now is no sin; for till a man can be guilty of sin without obligation to punishment, a sin cannot be a sin that is pardoned; that is, if the obligation to punishment or the guilt be taken away, a man is not guilty. Thus far, Madam, I hope you will think I had reason.

One thing more I did and do reprove in their Westminster articles; and that is, that original sin, meaning our sin derived from Adam, is contrary to the law of God, and doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner; binding him over to God's wrath, &c., that is, that the sin of Adam imputed to us, is properly, formally, and inherently, a sin. If it were properly a sin in us, our sin,—it might indeed be damnable; for every transgression of the Divine commandment is so: but because I have proved it cannot bring eternal damnation, I can as well argue thus: This sin cannot justly bring us to damnation, therefore it is not properly a sin: as to say, This is properly a sin, therefore it can bring us to damnation. Either of them both follow well: but because they cannot prove it to be a sin properly, or any other ways but by a limited imputation to certain purposes, they cannot say it infers damnation. But because I have proved it cannot infer damnation, I can safely conclude, it is not formally, properly, and inherently, a sin in us.

> *Nec* placet, ô superi, vobis cum vertere cuncta
> Propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen. LUCAN.
>
> Nor did it please our God, when that our state
> Was changed, to add a crime unto our fate.

I have now, Madam, though much to your trouble, quitted myself of my presbyterian opponents, so far as I can judge fitting for the present: but my friends also take some exceptions; and there are some objections made, and blows given me, as it happened to our blessed Saviour,—"in domo illorum qui diligebant me;" "in the house of my mother, and in the societies of some of my dearest brethren." For the case is this.

They join with me in all this that I have said; viz. That original sin is ours only by imputation; that it leaves us still in our natural liberty, and though it hath divested us of our supernaturals, yet that our nature is almost the same, and, by the grace of Jesus, as capable of heaven as it could ever be, by derivation of original righteousness from Adam. In the conduct and in the description of this question, being usually esteemed to be only scholastical, I confess they, as all men else, do usually differ; for it was long ago observed, that there are sixteen several famous opinions in this one question of original sin. But my brethren are willing to confess, that for Adam's sin alone, no man did or shall ever perish; and that it is rather to be called a stain than a sin. If they were all of one mind and one voice in this article, though but thus far, I would not move a stone to disturb it; but some draw one way and some another; and they that are aptest to understand the whole secret, do put fetters and bars upon their own understanding, by an importune regard to the great names of some dead men, who are called "masters upon earth," and whose authority is as apt to mislead us into some propositions, as their learning is useful to guide us in others: but so it happens, that because all are not of a mind, I cannot give account of every disagreeing man; but of that which is most material I shall. Some learned persons are content I should say, no man is damned for the sin of Adam alone; but yet that we stand guilty in Adam, and redeemed from this damnation by Christ; and if that the article were so stated, it would not intrench upon the justice or the goodness of God; for his justice would be sufficiently declared, because no man can complain of wrong done him, when the evil that he fell into by Adam, is taken off by Christ; and his goodness is manifest in making a new census for us, taxing and numbering us in Christ, and giving us free redemption by the blood of Jesus: but yet that we ought to confess, that we are liable to damnation by Adam, and saved from thence by Christ; that God's justice may be glorified in that, and his goodness in this, but that we are still real sinners, till washed in the blood of the Lamb; and without God, and without hopes of heaven, till then: and that if this article be thus handled, the presbyterian fancy will disappear; for they can be confuted without denying Adam's sin to be damnable; by saying it is pardoned in Christ, and in Christ all men are restored, and he is the head of the predestination; for in him God looked upon us, when he designed us to our final state; and this, say they, is much for the honour of Christ's redemption.

To these things, Madam, I have much to say; something I will trouble your Ladyship withal at this time, that you, and all that consider the particulars, may see I could not do the work of God and truth, if I had proceeded in that method. For,

1. It is observable, that those wiser persons who will by no means admit, that any one is or ever shall be damned for original sin, do, by this means, hope to salve the justice of God; by which they plainly imply, that to damn us for this, is hard and intolerable; and therefore, they suppose they have declared a remedy. But then this also is to be considered,—if it be intolerable to damn children for the sin of Adam, then it is intolerable to say it is damnable; if that be not just or reasonable, then this is also unjust and unreasonable; for the sentence and the execution of the sentence, are the same emanation and issue of justice, and are to be equally accounted of. For,

2. I demand, Had it been just in God to damn all mankind to the eternal pains of hell for Adam's sin, committed before they had a being, or could consent to it, or know of it? If it could be just, then any thing in the world can be just; and it is no matter who is innocent, or who is criminal, directly and by choice, since they may turn devils in their mothers' bellies; and it matters not whether there be any laws or no, since it is all one that there be no law; and that we do not know, whether there be or no: and it matters not, whether there be any judicial process; for we may as well be damned without judgment, as be guilty without action: and besides, all those arguments will press here, which

I urged in my first discourse. Now if it had been unjust actually to damn us all for the sin of one, it was unjust to sentence us to it; for if he did give sentence against us justly, he could justly have executed the sentence; and this is just, if that be. But,

3. God did put this sentence in execution; for if that be true, which these learned men suppose, that, by Adam's sin we fell into a damnable condition, but, by Christ, we are rescued from an actual damnation for it;—then it will follow, that when he sent the holy Jesus into the world, to die for us and to redeem us, he satisfied his Father's anger for original sin as well as for actual; he paid for our share as well as for Adam's; for our share of that sin which he committed, as well as for those which we committed, and not he; he paid all the price of that as well as of this damnation; and the horrible sentence was bought off: and God was so satisfied, that his justice had full measure for the damnation, to which we stood liable. God, I say, had full measure for all; for so all men say, who speak the voice of the church in the matter of Christ's satisfaction: so that now, although there was the goodness of God in taking the evil from us; yet how to reconcile this process with his justice, viz. That, for the sin of another, God should sentence all the world to the portion of devils to eternal ages, and that he would not be reconciled to us, or take off this horrible sentence, without a full price to be paid to his justice by the Saviour of the world, this, this is it that I require may be reconciled to that notion which we have of the Divine justice.

4. If no man shall ever be damned for the sin of Adam alone, then I demand, whether are they born quit from the guilt? or when are they quitted? If they be born free, I agree to it: but then they were never charged with it, so far as to make them liable to damnation. If they be not born free, when are they quitted? By baptism, before or after? He that says before or after, must speak wholly by chance, and without pretence of Scripture or tradition, or any sufficient warrant; and he cannot guess when it is. If in baptism he is quitted, then he that dies before baptism, is still under the sentence, and what shall become of him? If it be answered, that God will pardon him some way or other, at some time or other, I reply, yea, but who said so? For if the Scriptures have said, that we are all, in Adam, guilty of sin and damnation, and the Scriptures have told us no ways of being quit of it, but by baptism and faith in Christ; is it not plainly consequent, that, till we believe in Christ, or at least till, in the faith of others, we are baptized into Christ, we are reckoned still in Adam, not in Christ; that is, still we are under damnation, and not heirs of heaven, but of wrath only?

5. How can any one bring himself into a belief, that none can be damned for original sin, if he be of this persuasion, that it makes us liable to damnation; for if you say as I say, that it is against God's justice to damn us for the fault of another, then it is also against his justice to sentence us to that suffering, which to inflict is injustice. If you say, it is believed upon this account, because Christ was promised to all mankind; I reply, that yet all mankind shall not be saved; and there are conditions required on our part; and no man can be saved but by Christ, and he must come to him, or be brought to him; or it is not told us, how any one can have a part in him, and therefore that will not give us the confidence which is looked for. If it be at last said, that we hope in God's goodness, that he will take care of innocents, and that they shall not perish; I answer, that if they be innocents, we need not appeal to his goodness, for his justice will secure them. If they be guilty and not innocents, then it is but vain to run to God's goodness, which, in this particular, is not revealed; when to condemn them is not against his justice which is revealed: and to hope God will save them whom he hates, who are gone from him in Adam, who are born heirs of his wrath, slaves of the devil, servants of sin, (for these epithets are given to all the children of Adam, by the opponents in this question,) is to hope for that, against which his justice visibly is engaged, and for which hope there is no ground, unless this instance of Divine goodness were expressed in revelation; for so even wicked persons on their death-bed are bidden to hope without rule, and without reason, or sufficient grounds of trust. But besides, that we hope in God's goodness in this case is not ill, but I ask, is it against God's goodness that any one should perish for original sin? If it be against God's goodness, it is also against his justice; for nothing is just that is not also good. God's goodness may cause his justice to forbear a sentence, but whatsoever is against God's goodness, is against God, and therefore against his justice also; because every attribute in God is God himself: for it is not always true to say, "This is against God's goodness," because "the contradictory" is "agreeable to God's goodness." Neither is it always false to say, that two contradictories may both be agreeable to God's goodness: God's goodness is of such a latitude that it may take in both parts of the contradiction: contradictories cannot both be against God's goodness, but they may both be in with it: whatsoever is against the goodness of God, is essentially evil; but a thing may be agreeable to God's goodness, and yet the other part not be against it. For example, it is against the goodness of God, to hate fools and idiots; and therefore he can never hate them. But it is agreeable to God's goodness to give heaven to them and the joys beatifical; and if he does not give them so much, yet if he does no evil to them hereafter, it is also agreeable to his goodness: to give them heaven, or not to give them heaven, though they be contradictories, yet are both agreeable to his goodness. But in contraries the case is otherwise; for though not to give them heaven is consistent with the Divine goodness, yet to send them to hell is not. The reason of the difference is this. Because to do contrary things must come from contrary principles, and whatsoever is contrary to the Divine goodness is essentially evil. But to do or not to do, supposes but one positive principle; and the other negative, not having a contrary cause, may be wholly innocent, as proceeding from a negative. But to speak more plain; is it against

God's goodness that infants should be damned for original sin? then it could never have been done; it was essentially evil, and therefore could never have been decreed or sentenced. But if it be not against God's goodness that they should perish in hell,—then it may consist with God's goodness; and then to hope that God's goodness will rescue them from his justice, when the thing may agree with both, is to hope without ground; God may be good, though they perish for Adam's sin; and if so, and that he can be just too,—upon the account of what attribute shall these innocents be rescued, and we hope for mercy for them?

6. If Adam's posterity be only liable to damnation, but shall never be damned for Adam's sin, then all the children of heathens, dying in their infancy, shall escape as well as baptized christian children: which if any of my disagreeing brethren shall affirm, he will indeed seem to magnify God's goodness, but he must fall out with some great doctors of the church, whom he would pretend to follow; and besides, he will be hard put to it, to tell what advantage christian children have over heathens, supposing them all to die young: for being bred up in the christian religion is accidental, and may happen to the children of unbelievers, or may not happen to the children of believers; and if baptism adds nothing to their present state, there is no reason infants should be baptized; but if it does add to their present capacity, (as most certainly it does very much,) then that heathen infants should be in a condition of being rescued from the wrath of God, as well as christian infants, is a strange unlooked-for affirmative, and can no way be justified or made probable, but by affirming it to be against the justice of God to condemn any for Adam's sin. Indeed, if it be unjust, (as I have proved it is,) then it will follow, that none shall suffer damnation by it. But if the hopes of the salvation of heathen infants be to be derived only from God's goodness, though God's goodness cannot fail, yet our argument may fail; for it will not follow, because God is good, therefore heathen infants shall be saved; for it might as well follow, God is good, therefore heathens shall be no heathens, but all turn christians; these things do not follow affirmatively, but negatively they do. For if it were against God's goodness that they should be reckoned in Adam unto eternal death, then it is also against his justice, and against God all the way; and then they who affirm they were so reckoned, must show some revelation to assure us, that although it be just in God to damn all heathens, yet that he is so good that he will not. For so long as there is no revelation of any such goodness, there is this principle to contest against it, I mean, their affirming that they are in Adam justly liable to damnation; and therefore, without disparagement to the infinite goodness of God, heathen infants may perish: for it is never against God's goodness to throw a sinner into hell.

7. But to come yet closer to the question, some good men and wise suppose, that the sublapsarian presbyterians can be confuted in their pretended grounds of absolute reprobation, although we grant that Adam's sin is damnable to his posterity, provided we say, that though it was damnable, yet it shall never damn us. Now though I wish it could be done, that they and I might not differ so much as in a circumstance, yet first it is certain that the men they speak of, can never be confuted upon the stock of God's justice, because as the one says, "It is just that God should actually damn all for the sin of Adam;" so the other says, "It is just that God should actually sentence all to damnation;" and so there the case is equal: secondly, they cannot be confuted upon the stock of God's goodness; because the emanations of that are wholly arbitrary, and though there are negative measures of it, as there are of God's infinity, and we know God's goodness to be inconsistent with some things, yet there are no positive measures of this goodness; and no man can tell how much it will do for us: and therefore without a revelation, things may be sometimes hoped, which yet may not be presumed; and therefore, here also they are not to be confuted: and as for the particular scriptures, unless we have the advantage of essential reason taken from the Divine attributes, they will oppose scripture to scripture, and have as much advantage to expound the opposite places, as the Jews have in their questions of the Messias; and therefore, "si meos ipse corymbos necterem," if I might make mine own arguments in their society, and with their leave; I would, upon that very account, suspect the usual discourses of the effects and economy of original sin.

8. For where will they reckon the beginning of predestination? Will they reckon it in Adam after the fall, or in Christ immediately promised? If in Adam, then they return to the presbyterian way, and run upon all the rocks before reckoned, enough to break all the world in pieces. If in Christ they reckon it, (and so they do,) then thus I argue. If we are all reckoned in Christ before we were born, then how can we be reckoned in Adam when we are born (I speak as to the matter of predestination to salvation or damnation)? For as for the intermedial temporal evils, and dangers spiritual, and sad infirmities, they are our nature; and might, with justice, have been all the portion God had given to Adam; and therefore, may be so to us, and consequently not at all to be reckoned in this inquiry: but certainly as to the main.

9. If God looks upon us all in Christ, then by him we are rescued from Adam; so much is done for us before we were born. For if this is not to be reckoned till after we were born, then Adam's sin prevailed really in some periods, and to some effects, for which God in Christ had provided no remedy: for it gave no remedy to children, till after they were born, but irremediably they were born children of wrath; but if a remedy were given to children before they were born, then they are born in Christ, not in Adam: but if this remedy was not given to children before they were born, then it follows, that we were not at first looked upon in Christ, but in Adam, and consequently he was "caput prædestinationis," "the head of predestination," or else there were two, the one before we were born, the other after. So that "hæret lethalis arundo," "the arrow sticks fast," and it cannot be pulled out, unless by

other instruments than are commonly in fashion. However it be, yet, methinks, this is a very good probable argument.

As Adam sinned before any child was born, so was Christ promised before; and that our Redeemer shall not have more force upon children, that they should be born beloved and quitted from wrath, than Adam our progenitor shall have to cause that we be born hated and in a damnable condition,—wants so many degrees of probability, that it seems to dishonour the mercy of God, and the reputation of his goodness, and the power of his redemption.

For this serves as an antidote and antinomy of their great objection pretended by these learned persons: for whereas they say, they the rather affirm this, because it is an honour to the redemption which our Saviour wrought for us, that it rescued us from the sentence of damnation, which we had incurred. To this I say, that the honour of our blessed Saviour does no way depend upon our imaginations and weak propositions; and neither can the reputation and honour of the Divine goodness borrow aids and artificial supports from the dishonour of his justice: and it is no reputation to a physician to say, he hath cured us of an evil which we never had; and shall we accuse the Father of mercies to have wounded us for no other reason, but that the Son may have the honour to have cured us? I understand not that. He that makes a necessity that he may find a remedy, is like the Roman whom Cato found fault withal; he would commit a fault that he might beg a pardon; he had rather write bad Greek, that he might make an apology, than write good Latin, and need none. But however, Christ hath done enough for us, even all that we did need; and since it is all the reason in the world we should pay him all honour, we may remember, that it is a greater favour to us, that by the benefit of our blessed Saviour, who was the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, we were reckoned in Christ, and born in the accounts of the Divine favour; I say, it is a greater favour that we were born under the redemption of Christ, than under the sentence and damnation of Adam; and to prevent an evil is a greater favour than to cure it; so that, if to do honour to God's goodness and to the graces of our Redeemer, we will suppose a need, we may do him more honour to suppose, that the promised seed of the woman did do us as early a good as the sin of Adam could do us mischief; and therefore, that in Christ we are born quitted from any such supposed sentence; and not that we bring it upon our shoulders into the world with us. But this thing relies only upon their suppositions.

For if we will speak of what is really true and plainly revealed; from all the sins of all mankind Christ came to redeem us; he came to give us a supernatural birth; to tell us all his Father's will; to reveal to us those glorious promises, upon the expectation of which we might be enabled to do every thing that is required: he came to bring us grace, and life, and spirit; to strengthen us against all the powers of hell and earth; to sanctify our afflictions, which from Adam by natural generation descended on us; to take out the sting of death, to make it an entrance to immortal life; to assure us of resurrection, to intercede for us, and to be an advocate for us, when we by infirmity commit sin; to pardon us when we repent. Nothing of which could be derived to us from Adam by our natural generation; mankind, now taken in his whole constitution and design, are like the birds of Paradise, which travellers tell us of in the Moluccas Islands; born without legs; but by a celestial power they have a recompence made to them for that defect; and they always hover in the air, and feed on the dew of heaven: so are we birds of Paradise, but cast out from thence, and born without legs, without strength to walk in the laws of God, or to go to heaven; but by a power from above we are adopted in our new birth to a celestial conversation, we feed on the dew of heaven; "the just does live by faith," and breathes in this new life by the Spirit of God. For from the first Adam nothing descended to us but an infirm body and a naked soul, evil example, and a body of death, ignorance and passion, hard labour and a cursed field, a captive soul and an imprisoned body, that is, a soul naturally apt to comply with the appetites of the body, and its desires whether reasonable or excessive; and though these things were not direct sins to us in their natural abode and first principle, yet they are proper inherent miseries and principles of sin to us in their emanation. But from this state Christ came to redeem us all by his grace and by his Spirit, by his life and by his death, by his doctrine and by his sacraments, by his promises and by his revelations, by his resurrection and by his ascension, by his interceding for us and judging of us; and if this be not a conjugation of glorious things, great enough to amaze us, and to merit from us all our services, and all our love, and all the glorifications of God, I am sure nothing can be added to it by any supposed need, of which we have no revelation: there is as much done for us as we could need, and more than we could ask,

> Nempe quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
> Auderet, volvenda dies, en, attulit ultro!
> Vivite felices *animæ*, quibus est fortuna peracta
> Jam sua ——— VIRG. Æn.

The meaning of which words I render, or at least recompense, with the verse of a psalm:

> To thee, O Lord, I'll pay my vow,
> My knees in thanks to thee shall bow,
> For thou my life keep'st from the grave,
> And dost my feet from falling save,
> That with the living in thy sight
> I may enjoy eternal light.[e]

For thus what Ahasuerus said to Esther, "Veteres literas muta," "Change the old letters,"—is done by the birth of our blessed Saviour. *Eva* is changed into *Ave*; and although it be true what Ben Sirach said, "From the woman is the beginning of sin, and by her we all die," yet it is now changed by the birth of our Redeemer; "from a woman is the beginning of our restitution, and in him we all live;" thus are all the four quarters of the world renewed

[e] Psal. lvi. by Bp. King.

by the second Adam; *ἀνατολὴ, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία*, "the east, west, north, and south," are represented in the second Adam as well as the first, and rather, and to better purposes; because if sin did abound, grace shall superabound.

I have now, Madam, given to you such accounts, as I hope, being added to my other papers, may satisfy not only your Ladyship, but those to whom this account may be communicated. I shall only now beg your patience, since you have been troubled with questions, and inquiries, and objections, and little murmurs, to hear my answers to such of them as have been brought to me.

1. I am complained of, that I would trouble the world with a new thing; which let it be never so true, yet unless it were very useful, will hardly make recompence for the trouble I put the world to in this inquiry.

I answer, that for the newness of it, I have already given accounts, that the opinions which I impugn, as they are no direct parts of the article of original sin, so they are newer than the truth which I have asserted. But let what I say seem as new as the Reformation did, when Luther first preached against indulgences, the pretence of novelty did not, and we say ought not, to have affrighted him; and therefore, I ought also to look to what I say, that it be true, and the truth will prove its age. But, to speak freely, Madam, though I have a great reverence for antiquity, yet it is the prime antiquity of the church, the ages of martyrs and holiness, that I mean; and I am sure that in them my opinion hath much more warrant than the contrary; but for the descending ages, I gave that veneration to the great names of them that went before us, which themselves gave to their predecessors; I honour their memory, I read their books, I imitate their piety, I examine their arguments; for therefore they did write them, and where the reasons of the moderns and theirs seem equal, I turn the balance on the elder side, and follow them; but where a scruple or a grain of reason is evidently in the other balance, I must follow that; "Nempe qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces sunt;"[f] "They that taught of this article before me, are good guides, but no lords and masters;" for I must acknowledge none upon earth; for so I am commanded by my Master that is in heaven: and I remember what we were taught in Palingenius, when we were boys.

> Quicquid Aristoteles, vel quivis dicat eorum,
> Dicta nihil moror, à vero cum fortè recedunt:
> Sæpe graves magnosque viros, famâque verendos
> Errare et labi contingit; plurima secum
> Ingenia in tenebras consueti nominis alti
> Auctores, ubi connivent, deducere easdem.
>
> If Aristotle be deceived, and say that 's true,
> What nor himself nor others ever knew,
> I leave his text, and let his scholars talk
> Till they be hoarse or weary in their walk:
> When wise men err, though their fame ring like bells,
> I scape a danger when I leave their spells.

For although they that are dead some ages before we were born, have a reverence due to them, yet more is due to truth that shall never die; and God is not wanting to our industry any more than to theirs; but blesses every age with the understanding of his truths. "Ætatibus omnibus, omnibus hominibus, communis sapientia est; nec illam, ceu peculium, licet antiquitati gratulari;" "All ages and all men have their advantages in their inquiries after truth; neither is wisdom appropriate to our fathers." And because even wise men may be deceived, and therefore that when I find it, or suppose it so, (for that is all one as to me and my duty,) I must go after truth wherever it is; certainly it will be less expected from me to follow the popular noises and the voices of the people, who are not to teach us but to be taught by us: and I believe myself to have reason to complain, when men are angry at a doctrine because it is not commonly taught; that is, when they are impatient to be taught a truth, because most men do already believe a lie; "Recti apud nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus est," so Seneca[g] complained in his time: it is a strange title to truth which error can pretend, "for its being public;" and we refuse to follow an unusual truth, "Quasi honestius sit, quia frequentius;" and indeed it were well to do so in those propositions, which have no truth in them but what they borrow from men's opinions, and are for nothing tolerable, but that they are usual.

Object. 2. But what necessity is there in my publication of this doctrine, supposing it were true? for all truths are not to be spoken at all times; and if a truth gives offence, it is better to let men alone, than to disturb the peace.

I answer with the labouring man's proverb, "a pennyworth of ease is worth a penny at any time;" and a little truth is worth a little peace every day of the week: and "cæteris paribus," truth is to be preferred before peace: not every trifling truth to a considerable peace: but if the truth be material, it makes recompence, though it brings a great noise along with it; and if the breach of peace be nothing but that men talk in private, or declaim a little in public, truly, Madam, it is a very pitiful little proposition, the discovery of which in truth will not make recompence for the prattling of disagreeing persons. Truth and peace make an excellent yoke, but the truth of God is always to be preferred before the peace of men, and therefore our blessed Saviour came "not to send peace, but a sword;" that is, he knew his doctrine would cause great divisions of heart, but yet he came to persuade us to peace and unity. Indeed, if the truth be clear, and yet of no great effect in the lives of men, in government, or in the honour of God, then it ought not to break the peace: that is, it may not run out of its retirement, to disquiet them, to whom their rest is better than that knowledge. But if it be brought out already, it must not be deserted positively, though peace goes away in its stead. So that peace is rather to be deserted, than any truth should be renounced or denied: but peace is rather to be procured or continued, than some truth offered. This is my sense, Madam, when the case is otherwise than I suppose

[f] Sen. Ep. 33.

[g] Ep. 123.

it to be at present. For as for the present case, there must be two, when there is a falling out, or a peace broken; and therefore, I will secure it now: for let any man dissent from me in this article, I will not be troubled at him; he may do it with liberty, and with my charity. If any man is of my opinion, I confess I love him the better; but if he refuses it, I will not love him less after than I did before: but he that dissents and reviles me, must expect from me no other kindness but that I forgive him, and pray for him, and offer to reclaim him, and that I resolve nothing shall ever make me either hate him, or reproach him: and that still, in the greatest of his difference, I refuse not to give him the communion of a brother; I believe I shall be chidden by some or other for my easiness, and want of fierceness, which they call zeal, but it is a fault of my nature, a part of my original sin:

> Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato,
> Mi natura aliquid semper amare dedit. PROPERT.
>
> Some weakness to each man by birth descends,
> To me too great a kindness nature lends.

But if the peace can be broken no more than thus; I suppose the truth which I publish will do more than make recompence for the noise, that in clubs and conventicles is made over and above. So long as I am thus resolved there may be injury done to me; but there can be no duel, or loss of peace abroad. For a single anger, or a displeasure on one side, is not a breach of peace on both; and a war cannot be made by fewer than a bargain can, in which always there must be two at least.

Object. 3. But as to the thing, if it be inquired, Τίς λόγος εἰς οἰκοδομίαν χρείας; "What profit, what use, what edification, is there, what good to souls, what honour to God," by this new explication of the article? I answer; that the usual doctrines of original sin are made the great foundation of the horrible proposition concerning absolute reprobation; the consequences of it reproach God with injustice, they charge God foolishly, and deny his goodness and his wisdom in many instances: and whatsoever can, upon the account of the Divine attributes, be objected against the fierce way of absolute decrees; all that can be brought for the reproof of their usual propositions concerning original sin. For the consequences are plain; and by them the necessity of my doctrine, and its usefulness, may be understood.

For, 1. If God decrees us to be born sinners, then he makes us to be sinners; and then where is his goodness?

2. If God does damn any for that, he damns us for what we could not help, and for what himself did; and then where is his justice?

3. If God sentence us to that damnation, which he cannot in justice inflict, where is his wisdom?

4. If God, for the sin of Adam, brings upon us a necessity of sinning; where is our liberty? where is our nature? what is become of all laws, and of all virtue and vice? How can men be distinguished from beasts? or the virtuous from the vicious?

5. If, by the fall of Adam, we are so wholly ruined in our faculties, that we cannot do any good, but must do evil; how shall any man take care of his ways? or how can it be supposed he should strive against all vice, when he can excuse so much upon his nature? or indeed how shall he strive at all? For if all actual sins are derived from the original, and which is unavoidable, and yet an irresistible cause, then no man can take care to avoid any actual sin, whose cause is natural, and not to be declined. And then where is his providence and government?

6. If God does cast infants into hell for the sin of others, and yet did not condemn devils, but for their own sin; where is his love to mankind?

7. If God chooseth the death of so many millions of persons who are no sinners upon their own stock, and yet swears that he does not love the death of a sinner, viz. sinning with his own choice; how can that be credible, he should love to kill innocents, and yet should love to spare the criminal? Where then is his mercy, and where is his truth?

8. If God hath given us a nature by derivation, which is wholly corrupted, then how can it be, that all which God made is good? For though Adam corrupted himself, yet in propriety of speaking, we did not; but this was the decree of God; and then where is the excellency of his providence and power, where is the glory of the creation?

Because therefore that God is all goodness, and justice, and wisdom, and love, and that he governs all things, and all men, wisely and holily, and according to the capacities of their natures and persons; that he gives us a wise law, and binds that law on us by promises and threatenings; I had reason to assert these glories of the Divine Majesty, and remove the hinderances of a good life: since every thing can hinder us from living well, but scarcely can all the arguments of God and man, and all the powers of heaven and hell, persuade us to strictness and severity.

> Qui serere ingenuum volet agrum,
> Liberet arva priùs fruticibus;
> Falce rubos, silicemque resecet,
> Ut novâ fruge gravis ceres eat.
> BOETH. lib. 3. Metr. 1.
>
> He that will sow his field with hopeful seed,
> Must every bramble, every thistle weed:
> And when each hinderance to the grain is gone,
> A fruitful crop shall rise of corn alone.

When, therefore, there were so many ways made to the devil, I was willing amongst many others to stop this also; and I dare say, few questions in christendom can say half so much in justification of their own usefulness and necessity.

I know, Madam, that they who are of the other side, do and will disavow most of these consequences; and so do all the world, all the evils which their adversaries say do follow from their opinions; but yet all the world of men that perceive such evils to follow from a proposition, think themselves bound to stop the progression of such opinions, from whence they believe such evils may arise. If the church of Rome did believe, that all those horrid things were chargeable upon transubstantiation, and upon worshipping of images, which

we charge upon the doctrines, I do not doubt but they would as much disown the propositions, as now they do the consequents; and yet I do as little doubt, but that we do well to disown the first, because we espy the latter: and though the man be not, yet the doctrines are, highly chargeable with the evils that follow: it may be, the men espy them not, yet from the doctrines they do certainly follow; and there are not in the world many men, who own that which is evil in the pretence, but many do such as are dangerous in the effect; and this doctrine, which I have reproved, I take to be one of them.

Object. 4. But if original sin be not a sin properly, why are children baptized? And what benefit comes to them by baptism?

I answer, 1. As much as they need, and are capable of: and it may as well be asked, Why were all the sons of Abraham circumcised, when, in that covenant, there was no remission of sins at all? for little things, and legal impurities, and irregularities, there were; but there being no sacrifice there but of beasts, whose blood could not take away sin, it is certain and plainly taught us in Scripture, that no rite of Moses was expiatory of sins. But, 2. This objection can press nothing at all; for why was Christ baptized, who knew no sin? But yet so it behoved him to fulfil all righteousness. 3. Baptism is called "regeneration," or the "new birth," and therefore, since in Adam children are born only to a natural life and a natural death, and by this they can never arrive at heaven,—therefore infants are baptized, because, until they be born anew, they can never have title to the promises of Jesus Christ, or be heirs of heaven, and coheirs of Jesus. 4. By baptism children are made partakers of the Holy Ghost and of the grace of God; which I desire to be observed in opposition to the Pelagian heresy, who did suppose nature to be so perfect,[k] that the grace of God was not necessary, and that by nature alone they could go to heaven; which because I affirm to be impossible, and that baptism is therefore necessary, because nature is insufficient, and baptism is the great channel of grace; there ought to be no envious and ignorant load laid upon my doctrine, as if it complied with the Pelagian, against which it is so essentially and so mainly opposed in the main difference of his doctrine. 5. Children are therefore baptized, because, if they live, they will sin, and though their sins are not pardoned beforehand, yet in baptism they are admitted to that state of favour, that they are within the covenant of repentance and pardon: and this is expressly the doctrine of St. Austin.[l] But of this I have already given larger accounts in my discourse of baptism.[m] 6. Children are baptized for the pardon even of original sin; this may be affirmed truly, but yet improperly: for so far as it is imputed, so far also it is remissible; for the evil that is done by Adam, is also taken away in Christ; and it is imputed to us to very evil purposes, as I have already explicated: but as it was among the Jews, who believed then the sin to be taken away when the evil of punishment is taken off; so is original sin taken away in baptism; for though the material part of the evil is not taken away, yet the curse, in all the sons of God, is turned into a blessing, and is made an occasion of reward, or an entrance to it. Now in all this I affirm all that is true, and all that is probable; for in the same sense, as original stain is a sin, so does baptism bring the pardon. It is a sin metonymically, that is, because it is the effect of one sin, and the cause of many; and just so, in baptism, it is taken away, that it is now the matter of a grace, and the opportunity of glory; and upon these accounts the church baptizes all her children.

Object. 5. But to deny original sin to be a sin properly and inherently, is expressly against the words of St. Paul in the fifth chapter to the Romans.—If it be, I have done; but that it is not, I have these things to say. 1. If the words be capable of any interpretation, and can be permitted to signify otherwise than is vulgarly pretended, I suppose myself to have given reasons sufficient why they ought to be. For any interpretation, that does violence to right reason, to religion, to holiness of life, and the divine attributes of God,—is therefore to be rejected, and another chosen; for in all scriptures, all good and all wise men do it.

2. The words in question, "sin" and "sinner" and "condemnation," are frequently used in Scripture[n] in the lesser sense, and "sin" is taken for the punishment of sin; and "sin" is taken for him who bore the evil of the sin; and "sin" is taken for legal impurity, and for him who could not be guilty, even for Christ himself; as I have proved already; and in the like manner "sinners" is used, by the rule of conjugates and denominatives; but it is so also in the case of Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon.[o] 3. For the word "condemnation," it is, by the apostle himself, limited to signify temporal death; for when the apostle says, "Death passed upon all men, inasmuch as all men have sinned;" he must mean "temporal death;" for eternal death did not pass upon all men; or if he means "eternal death," he must not mean, that it came for Adam's sin; but "inasmuch as all men have sinned, that is, upon all those upon whom eternal death did come it came, because they also have sinned. For if it had come for Adam's sin; then it had absolutely descended upon all men, because from Adam all men descended; and therefore all men, upon that account, were equally guilty: as we see all men die naturally. 4. The apostle here speaks of sin imputed; therefore, not of sin inherent: and if imputed only to such purposes as he here speaks of, viz. to temporal death, then it is neither a sin properly, nor

[k] Vide August. de Gestis Palestin. et lib. de Natur. et Grat. c. 21. Opus Imperf. in Julian. l. 1. c. 51. et lib. de Peccat. Orig. c. 21.

[l] Lib. 1. de Nupt. et Concup. cap. 26. et cap. 33. et tract. 121. in Johan.

[m] Part 2. p. 131. in the Great Exemplar.

[n] 1 Kings i. 21. Zech. xiv. 19. 2 Cor. v. 21. Isa. liii. 10. Heb. ix. 28.

[o] 1 Kings i. 21.

yet imputable to eternal death, so far as is, or can be, implied by the apostle's words. And in this I am not a little confirmed by the discourse of St. Irenæus to this purpose;[p] "Propter hoc et initio transgressionis Adæ," &c. "Therefore, in the beginning of Adam's transgression, as the Scripture tells, God did not curse Adam, but the earth in his labours; as one of the ancients saith, God removed the curse upon the earth, that it might not abide on man. But the condemnation of his sin he received, weariness, and labour, and to eat in the sweat of his brows, and to return to dust again: and likewise the woman had for her punishment, tediousness, labours, groans, sorrows of child-birth, and to serve her husband; that they might not wholly perish in the curse, nor yet despise God, while they remained without punishment. But all the curse ran upon the serpent, who seduced them,—and this our Lord in the gospel saith to them on his left hand: 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which my Father prepared for the devil and his angels:' signifying, that not to man, in the prime intention, was eternal fire prepared, but to him who was the seducer;—but this they also shall justly feel, who, like them, without repentance and departing from them, persevere in the works of malice." 5. The apostle says; "By the disobedience of one many were made sinners:" by which it appears, that we, in this, have no sin of our own, neither is it at all our own formally and inherently; for though efficiently it was his, and effectively ours, as to certain purposes of imputation; yet it could not be a sin to us formally, because it was "unius inobedientia," "the disobedience of one man;" therefore in no sense could it be properly ours. For then it were not "unius," but "inobedientia singulorum," "the disobedience of all men." 6. Whensoever another man's sin is imputed to his relative, therefore, because it is another's and imputed, it can go no further but to effect certain evils, to afflict the relative, and to punish the cause, not formally to denominate the descendant or relative to be a sinner; for it is as much a contradiction to say, that I am formally by him a sinner, as that I did really do his action. Now to "impute," in Scripture, signifies, to reckon as if he had done it; "not to impute" is to treat him so, as if he had not done it. So far then as the imputation is, so far we are reckoned as sinners; but Adam's sin being by the apostle signified to be imputed but to the condemnation or sentence to a temporal death; so far we are sinners in him, that is, so as that for his sake death was brought upon us; and indeed the word "imputare," "to impute," does never signify more, nor always so much. "Imputare verò frequenter ad significationem exprobrantis accedit, sed citra reprehensionem," says Laurentius Valla; "It is like an exprobration, but short of a reproof:" so Quintilian; "Imputas nobis propitios ventos, et secundum mare, ac civitatis opulentæ liberalitatem:" "Thou dost impute, that is, upbraid to us, our prosperous voyages, and a calm sea, and the liberality of a rich city."—"Imputare" signifies oftentimes the same as "computare," to "reckon or account:" "Nam hæc in quartâ non imputantur," say the lawyers, "they are not imputed," that is, they are not computed or reckoned. Thus Adam's sin is imputed to us, that is, it is put into our reckoning: and when we are sick and die, we pay our symbols, the portion of evil that is laid upon us: and what Marcus said, I may say in this case with a little variety; "Legata in hæreditate—sive legatum datum sit hæredi, sive percipere, sive deducere vel retinere passus est, ei imputantur:" "The legacy, whether it be given or left to the heir, whether he may take it or keep it, is still imputed to him;" that is, it is within his reckoning.

But no reason, no scripture, no religion, does enforce, and no Divine attribute does permit, that we should say, that God did so impute Adam's sin to his posterity, that he did really esteem them to be guilty of Adam's sin; equally culpable, equally hateful: for if, in this sense, it be true that in him we sinned, then we sinned as he did, that is, with the same malice, in the same action; and then we are as much guilty as he: but if we have sinned less, then we did not sin in him; for to sin in him, could not by him be lessened to us; for what we did in him, we did by him, and therefore as much as he did; but if God imputed this sin less to us than to him, then this imputation supposes it only to be a collateral and indirect account to such purposes as he pleased: of which purposes we judge by the analogy of faith, by the words of Scripture, by the proportion and notices of the Divine attributes. 7. There is nothing in the design or purpose of the apostle, that can or ought to infer any other thing; for his purpose is to signify, that by man's sin death entered into the world; which the Son of Sirach[q] expresses thus; "A muliere factum est initium peccati, et inde est quod morimur:" "From the woman is the beginning of sin; and from her it is that we all die:" and again;[r] "By the envy of the devil, death came into the world;" this evil being universal, Christ came to the world, and became our head, to other purposes, even to redeem us from death; which he hath begun and will finish; and to become to us our parent in a new birth, the author of a spiritual life: and this benefit is of far more efficacy by Christ, than the evil could be by Adam; and as by Adam we are made sinners, so by Christ we are made righteous; not just so, but so and more; and therefore as our "being made sinners" signifies that by him we die,—so being by Christ made righteous, must at least signify that by him we live; and this is so evident to them who read St. Paul's words, Rom. v. from verse 12. to verse 19. inclusively, that I wonder any man should make a further question concerning them; especially since Erasmus and Grotius, who are to be reckoned amongst the greatest and the best expositors of Scripture that any age, since the apostles and their immediate successors, hath brought forth, have so understood and rendered it. But, Madam, that your Honour may read the words and their sense together, and see that without violence they signify what I have said and no more, I have here subjoined a paraphrase of them; in

[p] Lib. iii. cap. 35.

[q] Eccles. xxv. 33.

[r] Eccles. i. 24.

which if I use any violence, I can very easily be reproved.

Rom. v. 12.—" As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned:" i. e.

As, by the disobedience of Adam, sin had its beginning; and by sin death, that is, the sentence and preparations, the solemnities and addresses of death, sickness, calamity, diminution of strengths, old age, misfortunes, and all the affections of mortality, for the destroying of our temporal life; and so this mortality and condition or state of death, passed actually upon all mankind; for Adam being thrown out of Paradise, and forced to live with his children where they had no trees of life, as he had in Paradise, was remanded to his mortal, natural state; and therefore death passed upon them, mortally seized on all, " for that all have sinned;" that is, the sin was reckoned to all, not to make them guilty like Adam; but Adam's sin passed upon all, imprinting this real calamity on us all: but yet death descended also upon Adam's posterity for their own sins; for since all did sin, all should die. But some Greek copies leave out the second καὶ, which indeed seems superfluous and of no signification: but then the sense is clearer; and the following words are the second part of a similitude: " As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned;" but ἐφ' ᾧ signifies neutrally: and the meaning is; As Adam died in his own sin; so death passed upon all men for their own sin: in the sin which they sinned, in that sin they died: as it did at first to Adam, by whom sin first entered, and by sin death; so death passed upon all men upon whom sin passed: that is, in the same method, they who did sin, should die. But then he does not seem to say that all did sin: for he presently subjoins; " that death reigned (even upon those who did not sin) after the similitude of Adam's transgression; but this was upon another account, as appears in the following words. But others expound, ἐφ' ᾧ to signify masculinely, and to relate to Adam; viz. that in him we all sinned. Now although this is less consonant to the mind of the apostle, and is harsh and improper both in the language and in the sense, yet if it were so, it could mean but this; that the sin of Adam was of universal obligation; and in him we are reckoned as sinners, obnoxious to his sentence; for by his sin human nature was reduced to its own mortality.

13.—" For until the law sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed where there is no law."

And marvel not, that death did presently descend on all mankind, even before a law was given them with an appendant penalty, viz. with the express interminination of death; for they did do actions unnatural and vile enough; but yet these things, which afterwards, upon the publication of the law, were imputed to them upon their personal account, even unto death, " were not yet so imputed." For nature alone gives rules, but does not directly bind to penalties. But death came upon them before the law for Adam's sin: for with him God being angry, was pleased to curse him also in his posterity, and leave them also in their mere natural condition, to which yet they disposed themselves, and had deserved but too much by committing evil things; to which things, although before the law, death was not threatened, yet for the anger which God had against mankind, he left that death which he threatened to Adam expressly, by implication, to fall upon the posterity.

14.—" Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, (even over them that had not sinned,) after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him which was to come."

And therefore it was, that death reigned from Adam to Moses, from the first law to the second; from the time that a law was given to one man, till the time a law was given to one nation: and although men had not sinned to grievously as Adam did, who had no excuse, many helps, excellent endowments, mighty advantages, trifling temptations, communication with God himself, no disorder in his faculties, free will, perfect immunity from violence, original righteousness, perfect power over his faculties; yet those men, such as Abel and Seth, Noah and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Joseph and Benjamin, who sinned less, and, in the midst of all their disadvantages, were left to fall under the same sentence. But it is to be observed that these words, " even over them that had not sinned," according to some interpretations, are to be put into a parenthesis; and the following words, " after the similitude of Adam's transgression," are an ὑπέρθατον, and to be referred to the first words thus,—" death reigned from Adam to Moses—after the similitude of Adam's transgression;" that is, as it was at first, so it was afterwards: death reigned upon men (who had not sinned) after the similitude of Adam's transgression; that is, like as it did in the transgression of Adam, so it did afterward; they in their innocence died, as Adam did in his sin and prevarication, and this was in the similitude of Adam: as they who obtain salvation, obtain it in the similitude of Christ, or by a conformity to Christ; so they who die, do die in the likeness of Adam; Christ and Adam being the two representatives of mankind: for this, besides that it was the present economy of the Divine Providence and government, it did also, like Janus, look πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω, " it looked forwards as well as backwards," and became a type of Christ, or of him that was to come. For as from Adam evil did descend upon his natural children, upon the account of God's intercourse with Adam; so did good descend upon the spiritual children of the second Adam.

15.—" But not as the offence, so also is the free gift: for if, through the offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many."

This should have been the latter part of a similitude, but upon further consideration, it is found,

that as in Adam we die, so in Christ we live, and much rather, and much more; therefore I cannot say, "as by one man," verse 12. "so by one man," verse 15. "But much more;" for not as the offence, so also is the free gift: for the offence of one did run over unto many, and those many, even as it were all, except Enoch, or some very few more, of whom mention peradventure is not made, are already dead upon that account; but when God comes by Jesus Christ to show mercy to mankind, he does it in much more abundance; he may be angry to the third and fourth generation, in them that hate him, but he will show mercy unto thousands of them that love him; to a thousand generations, and in ten thousand degrees; so that now although a comparison proportionate was at first intended, yet the river here rises far higher than the fountain; and now no argument can be drawn from the similitude of Adam and Christ, but that as much hurt was done to human nature by Adam's sin, so very much more good is done to mankind by the incarnation of the Son of God.

16.—"And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification."

And the first disparity and excess are in this particular: for the judgment was δι' ἑνὸς ἁμαρτήσαντος and ἐξ ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, "by one man sinning one sin," that one sin was imputed; but by Christ, not only one sin was forgiven freely, but many offences were remitted unto justification: and secondly, a vast disparity there is in this; that the descendants from Adam were perfectly like him in nature, his own real natural production, and they sinned, though not so bad, yet very much; and therefore there was a great parity of reason, that the evil which was threatened to Adam, and not to his children, should yet, for the likeness of nature and of sin, descend upon them. But in the other part the case is highly differing; for Christ being our patriarch in a supernatural birth, we fall infinitely short of him, and are not so like him as we were to Adam; and yet that we, in greater unlikeness should receive a greater favour, this was the excess of the comparison, and this is the free gift of God.

17.—"For if by one offence, [*so it is in the King's MS.* or,] if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ."

And this is the third degree, or measure of excess of efficacy on Christ's part, over it was on the part of Adam. For if the sin of Adam alone could bring death upon the world, who, by imitation of his transgression on the stock of their own natural choice, did sin against God, though not after the similitude of Adam's transgression: much more shall we, who not only receive the aids of the Spirit of grace, but receive them also in an abundant measure, receive also the effect of all this, even to reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.

18.—"Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life."

Therefore, now to return to the other part of the similitude, where I began; although I have shown the great excess and abundance of grace by Christ, over the evil that did descend by Adam; yet the proportion and comparison lie in the main emanation of death from one, and life from the other; "judgment unto condemnation,"—that is, the sentence of death came upon all men by the offence of one; even so, by a like economy and dispensation, God would not be behind in doing an act of grace, as he did before of judgment: and as that judgment was to condemnation by the offence of one, so the free gift and the grace came upon all to justification of life, by the righteousness of one.

19.—"For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

The sum of all is this; by the disobedience of one man, κατεστάθησαν οἱ πόλλοι, "many were constituted" or put into the order of sinners, they were made such by God's appointment; that is, not that God could be the author of a sin to any, but that he appointed the evil, which is the consequent of sin, to be upon their heads, who descended from the sinner: and so it shall be on the other side; for by the obedience of one, even of Christ, many shall be made or constituted righteous. But still this must be with a supposition of what was said before, that there was a vast difference; for we are made much more righteous by Christ, than we were sinners by Adam; and the life we receive by Christ, shall be greater than the death by Adam; and the graces we derive from Christ, shall be more and mightier than the corruption and declination by Adam; but yet as one is the head, so is the other: one is the beginning of sin and death, and the other of life and righteousness.

It were easy to add many particulars out of St. Paul; but I shall choose only to recite the Æthiopic version of the New Testament, translated into Latin by that excellent linguist and worthy person Dr. Dudley Loftus: the words are these: "And therefore, as by the iniquity of one man, sin entered into the world, and by *that sin* death came upon all men,[s] therefore, because *that sin is imputed to all men*, even those who knew not what that sin was. Until the law came, sin remained in the world not known what it was, when sin was not reckoned; because as yet, at that time, the commandment of the law was not come. Nevertheless, death did after reign from Adam until Moses, 'as well in those that did sin, as in those that did not sin by that sin of Adam,' because every one was created in the similitude of Adam, and because Adam was a type of him that was to come. But not according to the quantity of our iniquity was the grace of God to us. If, for the offence of one man, many

[s] Rom. v. 12, &c.

are dead,—how much more, by the grace of God, and by the gift of him who did gratify us, by one man, to wit, Jesus Christ, life hath abounded upon many! Neither for the measure of the sin, which was of one man, was there the like reckoning or account of the grace of God. For if the condemnation of sin proceeding from one man, caused, that, by that sin, all should be punished,—how much rather shall his grace purify us from our sins, and give to us eternal life! If the sin of one made death to reign, and by the offence of one man death did rule in us, how much more therefore shall the grace of one man, Jesus Christ, and his gift, justify us and make us to reign in life eternal! And as, by the offence of one man, many are condemned; likewise also, by the righteousness of one man, shall every son of man be justified and live. And as, by one man, many are made sinners, (or, as the Syriac version renders it, 'there were many sinners,') in like manner, again, many are made righteous."—Now this reddition of the apostle's discourse in this article, is a very great light to the understanding of the words, which not the nature of the thing, but the popular glosses had made difficult. But here it is plain, that all the notice of this article, which those churches derived from these words of St. Paul, was this:—"That the sin of Adam brought death into the world: that it was his sin alone that did the great mischief: that this sin was made ours not by inherence, but by imputation: that they who suffered the calamity, did not know what the sin was: that there was a difference of men even in relation to this sin; and it passed upon some more than upon others; that is, some were more miserable than others: that some did not sin by that sin of Adam, and some did; that is, some there were, whose manners were not corrupted by that example, and some were; that it was not our sin but his; that the sin did not multiply by the variety of subject, but was still but one sin; and that it was his and not ours:"—all which particulars are as so many verifications of the doctrine I have delivered, and so many illustrations of the main article. But in verification of one great part of it, I mean that concerning infants, and that they are not corrupted properly or made sinners by any inherent impurity, is clearly affirmed by St. Peter, whose words are thus rendered in the same Æthiopic Testament.[t] "And be ye like unto newly-begotten infants, who are begotten every one without sin, or malice, and as milk not mingled." And to the same sense those words of our blessed Saviour to the Pharisees asking "who sinned, this man or his parents," (John ix.) the Syriac Scholiast does give this paraphrase: "Some say it is an indirect question: for how is it possible for a man to sin before he was born? And if his parents sinned, how could he bear their sin? But if they say, that the punishment of the parents may be upon the children, let them know that this is spoken of them that came out of Egypt, and is not universal." And those words of David, "In sin hath my mother conceived me," R. David Kimchi and Aben Ezra say, that they are expounded of Eve, who did not conceive till she had sinned. But to return to the words of St. Paul.

[t] 1 Pet. ii. 2.

The consequent of this discourse must needs at least be this; that it is impossible that the greatest part of mankind should be left in the eternal bonds of hell by Adam; for then, quite contrary to the discourse of the apostle, there had been abundance of sin, but a scarcity of grace; and the access had been on the part of Adam, not on the part of Christ, against which he so mightily and artificially contends: so that the presbyterian way is perfectly condemned by this discourse of the apostle; and the other more gentle way, which affirms, that we were sentenced in Adam to eternal death, though the execution is taken off by Christ, is also no way countenanced by any thing in this chapter; for that the judgment, which, for Adam's sin, came unto the condemnation of the world, was nothing but temporal death, is here affirmed; it being in no sense imaginable that the death, which here St. Paul says "passed upon all men," and which "reigned from Adam to Moses," should be eternal death; for the apostle speaks of that death which was threatened to Adam; and of such a death, which was afterwards threatened in Moses's law; and such a death, which fell even upon the most righteous of Adam's posterity, Abel and Seth and Methuselah, that is, upon them who did not sin after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Since then, all the judgment, which, the apostle says, came by the sin of Adam, was sufficiently and plainly enough affirmed to be death temporal; that God should sentence mankind to eternal damnation for Adam's sin, though in goodness through Christ he afterwards took it off,—is not at all affirmed by the apostle; and because in proportion to the evil, so was the imputation of the sin, it follows that Adam's sin is ours metonymically, and improperly; God was not finally angry with us, nor had so much as any designs of eternal displeasure upon that account; his anger went no further than the evils of this life, and therefore the imputation was not of a proper guilt,—for that might justly have passed beyond our grave, if the sin had passed beyond a metonymy, or a juridical, external imputation. And of this God and man have given this further testimony; that as no man ever imposed penance for it, so God himself in nature did never for it afflict or affright the conscience, and yet the conscience never spares any man that is guilty of a known sin.

> Exemplò quodcunque malum committitur, ipsi
> Displicet auctori. JUVEN.
>
> He that is guilty of a sin
> Shall rue the crime that he lies in.

And why the conscience shall be for ever at so much peace for this sin, that a man shall never give one groan for his share of guilt in Adam's sin, unless some or other scares him with an impertinent proposition; why, I say, the conscience should not naturally be afflicted for it, nor so much as naturally know it, I confess I cannot yet make any reasonable conjecture, save this only, that it is not properly a

sin, but only metonymically and improperly. And indeed there are some whole churches, which think themselves so little concerned in the matter of original sin, that they have not a word of it in all their theology: I mean, the christians in the East Indies, concerning whom friar Luys di Urretta in his Ecclesiastical Story of Ethiopia, says, "that the christians in Æthiopia, under the empire of Prestre Juan, never kept the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, 'no se entremetieron en essas theologias del peccato original; porque nunca tuvieron los entendimientes muy metafisicos, antes como gente afable, benigna, Llana, de entendimientos conversables, y alaguenos, seguian la dotrina de los santos antiguos, y de los sagrados concilios, sin disputas, ni diferencias,' 'nor do they insert into their theology any propositions concerning original sin, nor trouble themselves with such metaphysical contemplations; but being of an affable, ingenuous, gentle comportment and understanding, follow the doctrine of the primitive saints and holy councils without disputation or difference;'" so says the story. But we unfortunately trouble ourselves by raising ideas of sin, and afflict ourselves with our own dreams, and will not believe but it is a vision. And the height of this imagination hath wrought so high in the church of Rome, that when they would do great honours to the Virgin Mary, they were pleased to allow to her an immaculate conception without any original sin, and a holy day appointed for the celebration of the dream. But the christians in the other world are wiser, and trouble themselves with none of these things; but in simplicity, honour the Divine attributes, and speak nothing but what is easy to be understood. And indeed religion is then the best, and the world will be sure to have fewer atheists and fewer blasphemers, when the understandings of witty men are not tempted, by commanding them to believe impossible articles and unintelligible propositions: when every thing is believed by the same simplicity it is taught; when we do not call that a mystery, which we are not able to prove, and tempt our faith to swallow that whole, which reason cannot chew.

One thing I am to observe more, before I leave considering the words of the apostle. The apostle here having instituted a comparison between Adam and Christ; that as death came by one, so life by the other; "as by one we are made sinners, so by the other we are made righteous;" some from hence suppose, they argue strongly to the overthrow of all that I have said,—thus:—"Christ and Adam are compared: therefore, as by Christ we are made really righteous, so by Adam we are made really sinners; our righteousness by Christ is more than imputed, and therefore so is our unrighteousness by Adam;" to this, besides what I have already spoken in my humble addresses to that wise and charitable prelate the Lord Bishop of Rochester, delivering the sense and objections of others; in which I have declared my sense of the imputation of Christ's righteousness; and besides, that although the apostle offers a similitude, yet he finds himself surprised, and that one part of the similitude does far exceed the other,—and therefore nothing can follow hence, but that if we receive evil from Adam, we shall much more receive good from Christ;—besides this, I say, I have something very material to reply to the form of the argument, which is a very trick and fallacy. For the apostle argues thus: "As by Adam we are made sinners, so by Christ we are made righteous;" and that is very true, and much more; but to argue from hence, "As by Christ we are made really righteous, so by Adam we are made really sinners," is to invert the purpose of the apostle (who argues from the less to the greater); and to make it conclude affirmatively from the greater to the less in matter of power, is as if one should say, If a child can carry a ten pound weight, much more can a man: and therefore whatsoever a man can do, that also a child can do. For though I can say, "If this thing be done in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" yet I must not say therefore, "If this be done in the dry tree, what shall be done in the green?" for the dry tree of the cross could do much more than the green tree in the garden of Eden. It is a good argument to say, If the devil be so potent to do a shrewd turn, much more powerful is God to do good: but we cannot conclude from hence, but God can by his own mere power and pleasure save a soul, therefore the devil can by his power ruin one: in a similitude, the first part may be, and often is, less than the second; but never greater: and therefore, though the apostle said, "As by Adam," &c. "so by Christ," &c.; yet we cannot say, "As by Christ, so by Adam:" we may well reason thus: "As by nature there is a reward to evil doers, so much more is there by God;" but we cannot, by way of conversion, reason thus: "As by God there is an eternal reward appointed to good actions, so by nature there is an eternal reward for evil ones." And who would not deride this way of arguing; "As by our fathers we receive temporal good things, so much more do we by God: but by God we also receive an immortal soul; therefore from our fathers we receive an immortal body?" For not the consequent of a hypothetical proposition, but the antecedent, is to be the assumption of the syllogism: this therefore is a fallacy; which when those wise persons, who are unwarily persuaded by it, shall observe, I doubt not but the whole way of arguing will appear unconcluding.

Object. 6. But it is objected, that my doctrine is against the ninth article in the church of England; and that I hear, Madam, does most of all stick with you.

Of this, Madam, I should not now have taken notice, because I have already answered it in some additional papers, which are already published; but that I was so delighted to hear and to know, that a person of your interest and piety, of your zeal and prudence, is so earnest for the church of England, that I could not pass it by, without paying you that regard and just acknowledgment, which so much excellency deserves. But then, Madam, I am to say, that I could not be delighted in your zeal for our excellent church, if I were not as zealous myself for it too: I have oftentimes subscribed that article,

and though, if I had cause to dissent from it, I would certainly do it in those just measures, which my duty on one side, and the interest of truth on the other, would require of me; yet because I have no reason to disagree, I will not suffer myself to be supposed to be of a differing judgment from my dear mother, which is the best church of the world. Indeed, Madam, I do not understand the words of the article as most men do; but I understand them as they can be true, and as they can very fairly signify, and as they agree with the word of God and right reason. But I remember that I have heard from a very good hand, and there are many alive this day that may remember to have heard it talked of publicly, that when Mr. Thomas Rogers had, in the year 1584, published an exposition of the thirty-nine articles, many were not only then, but long since, very angry at him, that he by his interpretation, had limited the charitable latitude, which was allowed in the subscription to them. For the articles being framed in a church but newly reformed, in which many complied with some unwillingness, and were not willing to have their consent broken by too great a straining, and even in the convocation itself so many being of a differing judgment, it was very great prudence and piety to secure the peace of the church by as much charitable latitude as they could contrive; and therefore, the articles in those things, which were publicly disputed at that time, even amongst the doctors of the Reformation, (such were the articles of predestination, and this of original sin,) were described with incomparable wisdom and temper; and therefore I have reason to take it ill, if any man shall deny me liberty to use the benefit of the church's wisdom, for I am ready a thousand times to subscribe the article, if there can be just cause to do it so often: but as I impose upon no man my sense of the article, but leave my reasons and him to struggle together for the best; so neither will I be bound to any one man, or any company of men but to my lawful superiors, speaking there where they can and ought to oblige. Madam, I take nothing ill from any man, but that he should think I have a less zeal for our church than himself, and I will by God's assistance be all my life confuting him; and though I will not contend with him, yet I will die with him in behalf of the church, if God shall call me; but for other little things and trifling arrests and little murmurs, I value none of it.

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum:
Condo et compono quod mox depromere possim.
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri:
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor—— Hor.

I could translate these also into bad English verse, as I do the others; but that now I am earnest for my liberty, I will not so much as confine myself to the measures of feet. But in plain English I mean by rehearsing these Latin verses, that although I love every man, and value worthy persons in proportion to their labours and abilities, whereby they can and do serve God and God's church, yet "I inquire for what is fitting, not what is pleasing: I search after ways to advantage souls, not to comply with humours, and sects, and interests; and I am tied to no man's private opinion any more than he is to mine;" if he will bring Scripture and right reason from any topic, he may govern me and persuade me, else I am free as he is; but I hope I am beforehand with him in this question.

But one thing more I am willing to add. By the confession of all the schools of learning, it is taught, that baptism hath, infallibly, all that effect upon infants, which God designed and the church intends to them in the ministry of that sacrament: because infants cannot "ponere obicem," they cannot impede the gift of God, and they hinder not the effect of God's Spirit. Now all hinderances of the operation of the sacrament is sin; and if sin, before the ministration, be not morally rescinded, it remains, and remaining is a disposition contrary to the effect of the sacrament. Every inherent sin is the "obex," bars the gates that the grace of the sacrament shall not enter. Since, therefore, infants do not bar the gates, do not hinder the effect of the sacrament, it follows they have no sin inherent in them, but imputed only. If it be replied, that original sin, though it be properly a sin and really inherent, yet it does not hinder the effect of the sacrament;—I answer, then it follows, that original sin is of less malignity than the least actual sin in the world; and if so, then either by it no man is hated by God of eternal damnation, no man is by it an enemy of God, a son of wrath, an heir of perdition; or if he be, then, at the same time, he may be actually hated by God, and yet worthily disposed for receiving the grace and sacrament of baptism; and that sin, which, of all the sins of the world, is supposed to be the greatest, and of most universal and permanent mischief,—shall do the least harm, and is less opposed to God's grace, and indisposes a man less then a single wanton thought, or the first consent to a forbidden action; which he that can believe, is very much in love with his own proposition, and is content to believe it upon any terms. I end with the words of Lucretius.

Desine quapropter, novitate exterritus ipsâ,
Exspuere ex animo rationem; sed magis acri
Judicio perpende, et, si tibi vera videntur,
Dede manus; aut, si falsum est, accingere contra.

Fear not to own what's said, because 'tis new,
Weigh well and wisely if the thing be true.
Truth and not conquest is the best reward;
'Gainst falsehood only stand upon thy guard.

Madam,

I humbly beg you will be pleased to entertain these papers, not only as a testimony of my zeal for truth and peace below, and for the honour of God above; but also of my readiness to seize upon every occasion, whereby I may express myself to be,

Your most obliged
And most humble Servant
In the religion of the holy Jesus,
JER. TAYLOR.

AN ANSWER TO A LETTER

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,

CONCERNING THE CHAPTER OF

ORIGINAL SIN,

IN THE

"UNUM NECESSARIUM."

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER AND MY GOOD LORD,

YOUR Lordship's letter, dated July 28, I received not till September 11: it seems R. Royston detained it in his hands, supposing it could not come safely to me, while I remain a prisoner now in Chepstow-castle. But I now have that liberty, that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person. It was necessary I should tell this to your Lordship, that I may not be under a suspicion of neglecting to give accounts in those particulars which, with so much prudence and charity, you were pleased to represent in your letter, concerning my discourse of original sin. My Lord, in all your exceptions, I cannot but observe your candour and your paternal care concerning me. For when there was nothing in the doctrine, but your greater reason did easily see the justice and the truth of it, and I am persuaded could have taught me to have said many more material things in confirmation of what I have taught; yet so careful is your charity of me, that you would not omit to represent to my consideration, what might be said by captious and weaker persons; or by the more wise and pious, who are of a different judgment.

But, my Lord, first, you are pleased to note, that this discourse runs not in the ordinary channel. True; for if it did, it must nurse the popular error: but when the disease is epidemical, as it is so much the worse, so the extraordinary remedy must be acknowledged to be the better. And if there be in it some things hard to be understood, as it was the fate of St. Paul's epistles, (as your Lordship notes out of St. Peter,) yet this difficulty of understanding proceeds not from the thing itself, nor from the manner of handling it, but from the indisposition and prepossession of men's minds to the contrary; who are angry when they are told that they have been deceived; for it is usual with men to be more displeased when they are told they were in error, than to be pleased with them who offer to lead them out of it.

But your Lordship doth with great advantages represent an objection of some captious persons, which relates not to the material part of the question, but to the rules of art. If there be no such thing as original sin transmitted from Adam to his posterity, then all that sixth chapter is a strife about a shadow, a "non ens."—Ans. It is true, my Lord, the question, as it is usually handled, is so. For when the Franciscan and Dominican do eternally dispute about the conception of the blessed Virgin, whether it was with or without original sin,—meaning, by way of grace and special exemption, this is "de non ente;" for there was no need of any such exemption; and they supposing, that commonly it was otherwise, troubled themselves about the exception of a rule, which in that sense, which they supposed it, was not true at all: she was born as innocent from any impurity or formal guilt, as Adam was created,—and so was her mother, and so were all her family. When the Lutheran and the Roman dispute, whether justice and original righteousness in Adam were natural or by grace, it is "de non ente;" for it was positively neither, but negatively only; he had original righteousness till he sinned,—that is, he was righteous till he became unrighteous. When the Calvinist troubles himself and his parishioners with fierce declamations against natural inclinations or concupiscence, and disputes whether it remains in baptized persons, or whether it be taken off by election, or by the sacrament, whether to all christians or to some few;—this is a *σκιαμαχία*; for it is no sin at all in persons baptized or unbaptized, till it be consented to.

My Lord, when I was a young man in Cambridge, I knew a learned professor of divinity, whose ordinary lectures in the Lady Margaret's chair, for many years together, nine as I suppose, or thereabouts,—were concerning original sin, and

the appendant questions: this indeed could not choose but be "andabatarum conflictus." But then my discourse representing that these disputes are useless, and as they discourse, usually to be "de non ente,"—is not to be reproved. For I profess to evince, that many of those things, of the sense of which they dispute, are not true at all in any sense; I declare them to be "de non ente," that is, I untie their intricate knots by cutting them in pieces. For when a false proposition is the ground of disputes, the process must needs be infinite, unless you discover the first error. He that tells them, they both fight about a shadow, and with many arguments proves the vanity of their whole process,—they, (if he says true,) not he, is the σκιάμαχος. When St. Austin was horribly puzzled about the traduction of original sin, and thought himself forced to say, that either the father begat the soul—or that he could not transmit sin, which is subjected in the soul,—or at least he could not tell how it was transmitted: he had no way to be relieved but by being told, that original sin was not subjected in the soul, because, properly and formally, it was no real sin of ours at all; but that it was only by imputation, and to certain purposes, not any inherent quality, or corruption: and so in effect all his trouble was "de non ente." But now some wits have lately risen in the church of Rome, and they tell us another story. The soul follows the temperature of the body, and so original sin comes to be transmitted by contact: because the constitution of the body is the "fomes" or nest of the sin, and the soul's concupiscence is derived from the body's lust. But besides that this fancy disappears at the first handling, and there would be so many original sins as there are several constitutions, and the guilt would not be equal,—and they who are born eunuchs, should be less infected by Adam's pollution, by having less of concupiscence in the great instance of desires;—and after all, concupiscence itself could not be a sin in the soul, till the body was grown up to strength enough to infect it; and, in the whole process, it must be an impossible thing, because the instrument, which hath all its operations by the force of the principal agent, cannot, of itself, produce a great change and violent effect upon the principal agent: besides all this, I say, while one does not know how original sin can be derived, and another, who thinks he can, names a wrong way, and both the ways infer it to be another kind of thing than all the schools of learning teach:—does it not too clearly demonstrate, that all that infinite variety of fancies, agreeing in nothing but in an endless uncertainty, is nothing else but a being busy about the quiddities of a dream, and the constituent parts of a shadow? But then, my Lord, my discourse representing all this to be vanity and uncertainty ought not to be called or supposed to be a σκιαμαχία· as he,—that ends the question between two schoolmen disputing about the place of purgatory, by saying they need not trouble themselves about the place; for that which is not, hath no place at all,—ought not to be told he contends about a shadow, when he proves that to be true, which he suggested to the two trifling litigants.

But as to the thing itself: I do not say there is no such thing as original sin, but it is not that which it is supposed to be: it is not our sin formally, but by imputation only; and it is imputed so, as to be an inlet to sickness, death, and disorder; but it does not introduce a necessity of sinning, nor damn any one to the flames of hell. So that original sin is not a "non ens," unless that be nothing which infers so many real mischiefs.

The next thing your Lordship is pleased to note to me, is, that in your wisdom you foresee some will argue against my explication of the word damnation, in the ninth article of our church, which affirms that original sin deserves damnation. Concerning which, my Lord, I do thus (and I hope fairly) acquit myself.

1. That it having been affirmed by St. Austin, that infants dying unbaptized are damned, he is deservedly called "durus pater infantum," and generally forsaken by all sober men of the later ages: and it will be an intolerable thing to think the church of England guilty of that, which all her wiser sons, and all the christian churches, generally abhor. I remember that I have heard, that King James, reproving a Scottish minister, who refused to give private baptism to a dying infant, being asked by the minister, "if he thought the child should be damned for want of baptism?" answered, "No; but I think you may be damned for refusing it:" and he said well. But then, my Lord, if original sin deserves damnation, then may infants be damned if they die without baptism. But if it be a horrible affirmative, to say, that the poor babes shall be made devils, or enter into their portion, if they want that ceremony, which is the only gate, the only way, of salvation that stands open, then the word "damnation" in the ninth article, must mean something less than what we usually understand by it: or else the article must be salved by expounding some other word to an allay and lessening of the horrible sentence; and particularly the word "deserves," of which I shall afterwards give account. Both these ways I follow. The first is the way of the schoolmen.

For they suppose the state of unbaptized infants to be a "pœna damni;" and they are confident enough to say, that this may be well supposed without inferring their suffering the pains of hell. But this sentence of theirs I admit and explicate with some little difference of expression. For so far I admit this "pain of loss," or rather a deficiency from going to heaven, to be the consequence of Adam's sin, that by it we being left "in meris naturalibus," could never, by these strengths alone, have gone to heaven. Now whereas your Lordship in behalf of those, whom you suppose may be captious, is pleased to argue, that as loss of sight or eyes infers a state of darkness or blindness, so the loss of heaven infers hell; and if infants go not to heaven in that state, whither can they go but to hell? and that is damnation in the greatest sense. I grant it, that if, in the event of things, they do not go to heaven, (as things are now ordered,) it is

but too likely that they go to hell: but I add, that as all darkness does not infer horror and distraction of mind, or fearful apparitions and phantasms; so neither does all hell, or states in hell, infer all those torments which the schoolmen signify by a "pœna sensus:" for I speak now in pursuance of their way. So that there is no necessity of a third place; but it concludes only, that, in the state of separation from God's presence, there is a great variety of degrees and kinds of evil, and every one is not the extreme: and yet, by the way, let me observe, that Gregory Nazianzen and Nicetas taught, that there is a third place for infants and heathens; and Irenæus affirmed, that the evils of hell were not eternal to all, but to the devils only and the greater criminals. But neither they, nor we, nor any man else, can tell whether hell be a place or no. It is a state of evil; but whether all the damned be in one or in twenty places, we cannot tell.

But I have no need to make use of any of this. For when I affirm, that infants, being by Adam reduced and left to their mere natural state, fall short of heaven; I do not say, they cannot go to heaven at all; but they cannot go thither by their natural powers,—they cannot without a new grace and favour go to heaven. But then it cannot presently be inferred, that therefore they go to hell; but this ought to be inferred, which indeed was the real consequent of it; therefore it is necessary that God's grace should supply this defect, if God intends heaven to them at all; and because nature cannot, God sent a Saviour by whom it was effected. But if it be asked, What if this grace had not come? and that it be said, that without God's grace they must have gone to hell, because without it they could not go to heaven? I answer, That we know how it is, now that God in his goodness hath made provisions for them: but if he had not made such provisions, what would have been we know not, any more than we know what would have followed, if Adam had not sinned; where he should have lived, and how long; and in what circumstances the posterity should have been provided for, in all their possible contingencies. But yet, this I know, that it follows not, that if without this grace we could not have gone to heaven, that therefore we must have gone to hell. For although the first was ordinarily impossible, yet the second was absolutely unjust, and against God's goodness, and therefore more impossible. But because the first could not be done by nature, God was pleased to promise and to give his grâce, that he might bring us to that state whither he had designed us, that is, to a supernatural felicity. If Adam had not fallen, yet heaven had not been a natural consequent of his obedience, but a gracious; it had been a gift still: and of Adam, though he had persisted in innocence, it is true to say, that, without God's grace, that is, by the mere force of nature, he could never have arrived to a supernatural state, that is, to the joys of heaven; and yet it does not follow, that, if he had remained in innocence, he must have gone to hell. Just so it is in infants; hell was not made for man, but for devils; and therefore it must be something besides mere nature that can bear any man thither: mere nature goes neither to heaven nor hell. So that when I say, "Infants naturally cannot go to heaven, and that this is a punishment of Adam's sin, he being for it punished with a loss of his gracious condition, and devolved to the state of nature, and we by him left so;" my meaning is, that this damnation, which is of our nature, is but negative, that is, as a consequent of our patriarch's sin; our nature is left imperfect and deficient, in order to a supernatural end, which the schoolmen call a "pœna damni," but improperly; they indeed think it may be a real event, and final condition of persons as well as things: but I affirm, it was an evil effect of Adam's sin: but in the event of things, it became to the persons the way to a new grace, and hath no other event as to heaven and hell, directly and immediately. In the same sense and to the same purpose, I understand the word "damnation" in the ninth article.

But the word "damnation" may very well, truly and sufficiently, signify all the purposes of the article, if it be taken only for the effect of that sentence which was inflicted upon Adam, and descended on his posterity, that is, for condemnation to death, and the evils of mortality. So the word is used by St. Paul;[y] "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself." Κρίμα is the word; but that it did particularly signify temporal death and evils, appears by the instances of probation in the next words; "For, for this cause some are weak amongst you, some are sick, and some are fallen asleep." This also in the article. Original sin deserves damnation; that is, it justly brought in the angry sentence of God upon man, it brought him to death, and deserved it: it brought it upon us, and deserved it too. I do not say, that we, by that sin, deserved that death, neither can death be properly a punishment of us, till we superadd some evil of our own; yet Adam's sin deserved it so, that it was justly left to fall upon us, we, as a consequent and punishment of his sin, being reduced to our natural portion. "In odiosis quod minimum est, sequimur." The lesser sense of the word is certainly agreeable to truth and reason: and it were good we used the word in that sense, which may best warrant her doctrine, especially for that use of the word, having the precedent of Scripture.

I am confirmed in this interpretation by the second section of the article, viz. of the remanency of concupiscence or original sin in the regenerate. All the sinfulness of original sin is the lust or concupiscence, that is, the proneness to sin. Now then I demand, whether concupiscence before actual consent be a sin or no? And if it be a sin, whether it deserves damnation? That all sin deserves damnation, I am sure our church denies not. If therefore concupiscence before consent be a sin, then this also deserves damnation, wherever it is: and if so, then a man may be damned for original sin even after baptism. For even after baptism concupiscence (or the sinfulness of original sin) remains in the regenerate:

[y] 1 Cor. xi. 29.

and that which is the same thing, the same viciousness, the same enmity to God after baptism, is as damnable, it deserves damnation as much, as that did that went before. If it be replied, that baptism takes off the guilt or formal part of it, but leaves the material part behind, that is, though concupiscence remains, yet it shall not bring damnation to the regenerate or baptized:—I answer, that though baptismal regeneration puts a man into a state of grace and favour, so that what went before shall not be imputed to him afterwards, that is, Adam's sin shall not bring damnation in any sense, yet it hinders not, but that what is sinful afterwards shall be then imputed to him, that is, he may be damned for his own concupiscence. He is quitted from it as it came from Adam; but, by baptism, he is not quitted from it as it is subjected in himself, if, I say, concupiscence before consent be a sin. If it be no sin, then for it infants unbaptized cannot with justice be damned; it does not deserve damnation: but if it be a sin, then so long as it is there, so long it deserves damnation; and baptism did only quit the relation of it to Adam, (for that was all that went before it,) but not the danger of the man. But because the article supposes, that it does not damn the regenerate or baptized, and yet that it hath the nature of sin, it follows, evidently and undeniably, that both the phrases are to be diminished, and understood in a favourable sense. As the phrase "the nature of sin" signifies, so does "damnation;" but "the nature of sin" signifies something that brings no guilt, because it is affirmed to be in the regenerate; therefore "damnation" signifies something that brings no hell: but "to deserve damnation" must mean something less than ordinary; that is, that concupiscence is a thing not morally good, not to be allowed of, not to be nursed, but mortified, fought against, disapproved, condemned and disallowed of men, as it is of God.

And truly, my Lord, to say that, for Adam's sin, it is just in God to condemn infants to the eternal flames of hell; and to say, that concupiscence or natural inclinations before they pass into any act, could bring eternal condemnation from God's presence into the eternal portion of devils, are two such horrid propositions, that if any church in the world would expressly affirm them, I for my part should think it unlawful to communicate with her in the defence or profession of either, and to think it would be the greatest temptation in the world to make men not to love God, of whom men so easily speak such horrid things. I would suppose the article to mean any thing rather than either of these. But yet one thing more I have to say.

The article is certainly to be expounded according to the analogy of faith, and the express words of Scripture, if there be any that speak expressly in this matter. Now whereas the article explicating original sin, affirms it to be that fault or corruption of man's nature, "vitium naturæ," not "peccatum," by which he is far gone from original righteousness, and is inclined to evil: because this is not full enough, the article adds, by way of explanation, "so that the flesh lusteth against the spirit," that is, it really produces a state of evil temptations; it lusteth, that is, actually and habitually; "it lusteth against the spirit, and therefore deserves God's wrath and damnation;" so the article: "Therefore;" for no other reason but because the flesh lusteth against the spirit; not because it can lust, or is "apta nata" to lust, but because it lusteth actually, "therefore it deserves damnation:" and this is original sin; or, as the article expresses it, "it hath the nature of sin;" it is the "fomes," or matter of sin, and is in the original of mankind, and derived from Adam as our body is; but it deserves not damnation in the highest sense of the word, till the concupiscence be actual. Till then the words of "wrath and damnation" must be meant in the less and more easy signification, according to the former explication; and must only relate to the personal sin of Adam. To this sense of the article I heartily subscribe. For besides the reasonableness of the thing, and the very manner of speaking used in the article; it is the very same way of speaking, and exactly the same doctrine, which we find in St. James,[z] ἐπιθυμία συλλαβοῦσα: "concupiscence," when it is impregnated, "when it hath conceived," then it brings forth sin; and sin, when it is in production, and "birth, brings forth death." But in infants, concupiscence is innocent and a virgin; it conceives not, and therefore is without sin; and therefore without death or damnation. Against these expositions I cannot imagine what can be really and materially objected.

But, my Lord, I perceive the main outcry is like to be upon the authority of the "Harmony of Confessions." Concerning which I shall say this, that, in this article, the Harmony makes as good music as bells ringing backward; and they agree, especially when they come to be explicated and untwisted into their minute and explicit meanings, as much as Lutheran and Calvinist, as Papist and Protestant, as Thomas and Scotus, as Remonstrant and Dordrechtan, that is, as much as *pro* and *con*, or but a very little more. I have not the book with me here in prison, and this neighbourhood cannot supply me, and I dare not trust my memory to give a scheme of it: but your Lordship knows, that in nothing more do the reformed churches disagree, than in this and its appendages; and you are pleased to hint something of it, by saying, that some speak more of this than the church of England: and Andrew Rivet, though unwillingly, yet confesses, "De Confessionibus nostris et earum syntagmate vel Harmoniâ, etiamsi in non nullis capitibus non planè conveniant, dicam tamen, melius in concordiam redigi posse quàm in ecclesiâ Romanâ concordantiam discordantium canonum, quo titulo decretum Gratiani, quod canonistis regulas præfigit, solet insigniri." And what he affirms of the whole collection, is most notorious in the article of original sin. For my own part, I am ready to subscribe the first Helvetian confession, but not the second. So much difference there is in the confessions of the same church.

Now whereas your Lordship adds, that, though

[z] Jam. i. 14.

they are fallible, yet when they bring evidence of Holy Writ, their assertions are infallible, and not to be contradicted: I am bound to reply, that, when they do so, whether they be infallible or no, I will believe them; because then, though they might, yet they are not deceived. But as evidence of Holy Writ had been sufficient without their authority, so, without such evidence, their authority is nothing. But then, my Lord, their citing and urging the words of St. Paul,[a] is so far from being an evident probation of their article, that nothing is to me a surer argument of their fallibility, than the urging of that, which evidently makes nothing for them, but much against them: as, 1. Affirming expressly that death was the event of Adam's sin; the whole event, for it names no other; temporal death; according to that saying of St. Paul,' "In Adam we all die."[b] And, 2. Affirming this process of death to be ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, which is, and ought to be, taken to be the allay or condition of the condemnation. It became a punishment to them only who did sin; but upon them also inflicted for Adam's sake.

A like expression to which is in the Psalms; "They angered him also at the waters of strife, so that he punished Moses for their sakes."[c]—Here was plainly a traduction of evil from the nation to Moses, their relative: for their sakes he was punished, and yet ἐφ' ᾧ Μωσῆς ἥμαρτε, "forasmuch as Moses had sinned:" for so it follows, "because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips."—So it is between Adam and us. He sinned, and God was highly displeased. This displeasure went further than upon Adam's sin: for though that only was threatened with death, yet the sins of his children, which were not so threatened, became so punished, and they were by nature heirs of wrath and damnation; that is, for his sake our sins inherited his curse. The curse, that was specially and only threatened to him, we, when we sinned, did inherit for his sake. So that it is not so properly to be called original sin, as an original curse upon our sin.

To this purpose we have also another example of God transmitting the curse from one to another: both were sinners, but one was the original of the curse or punishment. So said the prophet to the wife of Jeroboam: "He shall give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who made Israel to sin:"[d] Jeroboam was the root of the sin and of the curse. Here it was also (that I may use the words of the apostle) that "by the sin of one man, *Jeroboam*, sin went out into all *Israel*, and *the curse, captivity, or* death by sin, and so death went upon all men *of Israel*, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, inasmuch as all men *of Israel* have sinned." If these men had not sinned, they had not been punished: I cannot say they had not been afflicted; for David's child was smitten for his father's fault: but though they did sin, yet, unless their root and principal had sinned, possibly they should not have so been punished: for his sake the punishment came. Upon the same account it may be, that we may inherit the damnation or curse for Adam's sake, though we deserve it; yet it being transmitted from Adam, and not particularly threatened to the first posterity, we were his heirs, the heirs of death, deriving from him an original curse, but due also, if God so pleased, to our sins. And this is the full sense of the twelfth verse, and the effect of the phrase ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον.

But your Lordship is pleased to object, that though ἐφ' ᾧ does once signify "forasmuch as," yet three times it signifies "in" or "by." To this I would be content to submit; if the observation could be verified, and be material, when it were true. But besides that it is so used in 2 Cor. v. 4. your Lordship may please to see it used (as not only myself, but indeed most men, and particularly the church of England, does read it and expound it) in Matt. xxvi. 50. And yet if ἐφ' ᾧ were written ἐν ᾧ, which is the same with *in* or *by*, if it be rendered word for word, yet ἐν ᾧ twice in the Scripture signifies *forasmuch as*, as you may read Rom. viii. 3. and Heb. ii. 18. So that here are two places besides this in question, and two more "ex abundanti" to show, that if it were not ἐφ' ᾧ, but said in words expressly as you would have it in the meaning, yet even so neither the thing, nor any part of the thing, could be evicted against me: and lastly, if it were not only said ἐν ᾧ, but that that sense of it were admitted which is desired, and that it did mean *in* or *by* in this very place; yet the question were not at all the nearer to be concluded against me. For I grant that it is true, "in him we are all sinners," as it is true, that "in him we all die:" that is, for his sake we are used as sinners; being miserable really, but sinners in account and effect: as I have largely discoursed in my book. But then for the place here in question, it is so certain that it signifies the same thing (as our church reads it) that it is not sense without it, but a violent breach of the period without precedent or reason. And after all; I have looked upon those places where ἐφ' ᾧ is said to signify *in* or *by*; and in one of them I find it so, Matt. ii. 4. but in Acts iii. 16. and Phil. i. 3. I find it not at all in any sense: but ἐπὶ indeed is used for *in* or *by*, in that of the Acts; and in the other it signifies *at* or *upon*; but if all were granted that is pretended to, it no way prejudices my cause, as I have already proved.

Next to these your Lordship seems a little more zealous and decretory in the question, upon the confidence of verses 17, 18, and 19, of the fifth chapter to the Romans. The sum of which, as your Lordship most ingeniously sums it up, is this: "As, by one, many were made sinners; so, by one, many were made righteous; that by Adam, this by Christ. But by Christ we are made δίκαιοι, 'just,' not by imputation only, but effectively and to real purposes; therefore, by Adam, we are really made sinners." And this your Lordship confirms by the observation of the sense of two words here used by the apostle. The first is κατάκριμα, which signifies a "sentence of guilt," or "punishment for sin;" and this sin to be theirs, upon whom the condemnation comes, because God punishes none but for their

[a] Rom. v. 12. [b] 1 Cor. xv. [c] Psalm cvi. 32, 33. [d] 1 Kings xiv. 16.

own sin (Ezek. xviii. 2.):—from the word δίκαιοι, "clear from sin," so your Lordship renders it: and in opposition to this ἁμαρτωλοὶ is to be rendered, that is, "guilty, criminal persons," really and properly.—This is all which the wit of man can say from this place of St. Paul; and if I make it appear that this is invalid, I hope I am secure.

To this then I answer: that the antithesis in these words here urged, (for there is another in the chapter,) and this whole argument of St. Paul, are full and entire whithout descending to minutes. Death came in by one man; much more shall life come by one man; if that by Adam,—then much more this by Christ: by him to condemnation, by this man to justification. This is enough to verify the argument of St. Paul, though life and death did not come in the same manner to the several relatives; as indeed they did not: of which afterward. But for the present, it runs thus: "By Adam we were made sinners; by Christ we are made righteous: as certainly one as the other, though not in the same manner of dispensation. By Adam θάνατος ἐβασίλευσε, "death reigned;" by this man the reign of death shall be destroyed, and life set up instead of it: by him we were used as sinners, for in him we died; but by Christ we are justified, that is, used as just persons, for "by him we live."—This is sufficient for the apostle's argument; and yet no necessity to affirm that we are sinners in Adam any more than by imputation; for we are by Christ made just no otherwise than by imputation.

In the proof or persuasion I will use no indirect arguments, as to say, that to deny us to be just by imputation, is the doctrine of the church of Rome and of the Socinian conventicles, but expressly disliked by all the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zuinglian churches, and particularly by the church of England; and indeed by the whole Harmony of Confessions: this, I say, I will not make use of; not only because I myself do not love to be pressed by such prejudices rather than arguments; but because the question of the imputation of righteousness is very much mistaken and misunderstood on all hands. They that say that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us for justification, do it upon this account,—because they know all that we do is imperfect, therefore they think themselves constrained to fly to Christ's righteousness, and think it must be imputed to us, or we perish. The other side, considering that this way would destroy the necessity of holy living, and that in order to our justification there were conditions required on our parts, think it necessary to say, that we are justified by inherent righteousness. Between these the truth is plain enough to be read. Thus:

Christ's righteousness is not imputed to us for justification directly and immediately; neither can we be justified by our own righteousness: but our faith and sincere endeavours are, through Christ, accepted instead of legal righteousness; that is, we are justified through Christ by imputation, not of Christ's nor our own righteousness; but of our faith and endeavours of righteousness, as if they were perfect: and we are justified by a non-imputation, viz. of our past sins, and present unavoidable imperfections: that is, we are handled as if we were just persons and no sinners. So faith was imputed to Abraham for righteousness; not that it made him so legally, but evangelically, that is, by grace and imputation.

And indeed, my Lord, that I may speak freely in this great question: when one man hath sinned, his descendants and relatives cannot possibly, by him, or for him, or in him, be made sinners properly and really. For in sin there are but two things imaginable; the irregular action,—and the guilt, or obligation to punishment. Now we cannot, in any sense, be said to have done the action which another did, and not we: the action is as individual as the person; and Titius may as well be Caius, and the son be his own father, as he can be said to have done the father's action; and, therefore, we cannot possibly be guilty of it: for guilt is an obligation to punishment for having done it; the action and the guilt are relatives; one cannot be without the other: something must be done inwardly or outwardly, or there can be no guilt. But then for the evil of punishment, that may pass further than the action. If it passes upon the innocent, it is not a punishment to them, but an evil inflicted by right of dominion; but yet, by reason of the relation of the afflicted to him that sinned, to him it is a punishment. But if it passes upon others that are not innocent, then it is a punishment to both; to the first principally; to the descendants or relatives for the other's sake; his sin being imputed so far.

How far that is in the present case, and what it is, the apostle expresses thus: it was ἀρὰ εἰς κατάκριμα· (verse 18.) or κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα, (verse 16.) "a curse unto condemnation," or "a judgment unto condemnation;" that is, a curse inherited from the principal; deserved by him, and yet also actually descending upon us, after we had sinned, ἀρὰ or κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα· that is, the judgment passed upon Adam; the ἀρὰ or κρίμα was on him; but it proved to be a κατάκριμα, or a thorough condemnation, when from him it passed upon all men that sinned. Κρίμα and κατάκριμα sometimes differ in degrees: so the words are used by St. Paul otherwhere; (1 Cor. xi. 32.) κρινόμενοι ἵνα μὴ κατακριθῶμεν, a judgment to prevent a punishment, or a less to forestall a greater, in the same kind; so here the ἀρὰ passed further; the κρίμα was fulfilled in his posterity passing on further, viz. that all who sinned, should pass under the power of death as well as he: but this became formally and actually a punishment to them only, who did sin personally; to them it was κατάκριμα.

This ἀρὰ or κρίμα is the βασίλεια τοῦ θανάτου, (verse 17.) "the reign of death;" this is called βασίλεια τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, (verse 21.) "the reign of sin in death:" that is, the effect which Adam's sin had, was only to bring in the reign of death, which is already broken by Jesus Christ, and, at last, shall be quite destroyed. But to say, that sin here is properly transmitted to us from Adam, formally, and so as to be inherent in us, is to say,

that we were made to do his action; which is a perfect contradiction.

Now then your Lordship sees, that what you note of the meaning of *κατάκριμα* I admit, and is indeed true enough, and agreeable to the discourse of the apostle, and very much in justification of what I taught. *Κατάκριμα* signifies a punishment for sin, and this sin to be theirs upon whom the condemnation comes. I easily subscribe to it: but then take in the words of St. Paul, *δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος*, "by one sin," or "by the sin of one," the curse passed upon all men unto condemnation; that is, the curse descended from Adam; for his sake it was propagated *εἰς κατάκριμα* to a real condemnation, viz. when they should sin. For though this *ἀρὰ* or "the curse" of death was threatened only to Adam, yet, upon God's being angry with him, God resolved it should descend: and if men did sin as Adam, or if they did sin at all, though less than Adam, yet the *ἀρὰ* or "the curse" threatened to him should pass, *εἰς κατάκριμα*, "unto the same actual condemnation" which fell upon him; that is, it should actually bring them under the reign of death.

But then, My Lord, I beseech you let it be considered, if this *κατάκριμα* must suppose a punishment for sin, for the sin of him, his own sin that is so condemned, as your Lordship proves perfectly out of Ezek. xviii., how can it be just, that the *κατάκριμα* "condemnation" should pass upon us for Adam's sin, that is, not for his own sin who is so condemned, but for the sin of another? St. Paul easily resolves the doubt, if there had been any. The *κατάκριμα*, the reign of death, passed upon all men, *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, "inasmuch as all men have sinned."—And now why shall we suppose, that we must be guilty of what we did not, when, without any such *φαινόμενον*, there is so much guilt of what we did really and personally? Why shall it be, that we die only for Adam's sin, and not rather, as St. Paul expressly affirms, *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*, "inasmuch as all men have sinned," since by your own argument it cannot be "inasmuch as all men have not sinned;" this you say cannot be, and yet you will not confess this which can be, and which St. Paul affirms to have been indeed: as if it were not more just and reasonable to say, that, from Adam, the curse descended unto the condemnation of the sins of the world;—than to say, the curse descended without consideration of their sins; but a sin must be imagined to make it seem reasonable and just to condemn us. Now I submit it to the judgment of all the world, which way of arguing is most reasonable and concluding. You, my Lord, in behalf of others, argue thus:—*Κατάκριμα* or "condemnation" cannot pass upon a man for any sin but his own; therefore every man is truly guilty of Adam's sin, and that becomes his own. Against this I oppose mine:—*Κατάκριμα* or "condemnation" cannot pass upon a man for any sin but his own; therefore it did not pass upon man for Adam's sin; because Adam's sin was Adam's, not our own: but we all have sinned, we have sins of our own; therefore, for these the curse passed from Adam to us. To back mine, besides that common notices of sense and reason defend it, I have the plain words of St. Paul; "Death passed upon all men, forasmuch as all men have sinned;" all men, that is, the generality of mankind, all that lived till they could sin; the others that died before, died in their nature, not in their sin, neither Adam's nor their own, save only that Adam brought it in upon them, or rather left it to them, himself being disrobed of all that which could hinder it.

Now for the word *δίκαιοι*, which your Lordship renders "clear from sin," I am sure no man is so justified in this world, as to be clear from sin; and if we all be sinners, and yet healed as just persons, it is certain, we are just by imputation only; that is, Christ imputing our faith, and sincere, though not unerring, obedience to us for righteousness; and then the antithesis must hold thus; "By Christ comes justification to life, as by Adam came the curse or the sin to the condemnation of death: but our justification, which comes by Christ, is by imputation and acceptilation, by grace and favour: not that we are made really, that is, legally and perfectly, righteous, but by imputation of faith and obedience to us, as if it were perfect: and therefore Adam's sin was but by imputation only to certain purposes; not real or proper, not formal or inherent. For the grace by Christ is more than the sin by Adam: if therefore that was not legal and proper, but evangelical and gracious, favourable and imputative, much more is the sin of Adam in us improperly, and by imputation." And truly, my Lord, I think that no sound divine, of any of our churches, will say that we are *δικαιωθέντες* or *δίκαιοι* in any other sense: not that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us without any inherent graces in us; but that our imperfect services, our true faith and sincere endeavours of obedience, are imputed to us for righteousness through Jesus Christ: and since it is certainly so, I am sure the antithesis between Christ and Adam can never be salved by making us sinners really by Adam, and yet just or righteous by Christ, only in acceptation and imputation. For then sin should abound more than grace; expressly against the honour of our blessed Saviour, the glory of our redemption, and the words of St. Paul. But rather on the contrary is it true, that though by Christ we were really and legally made perfectly righteous, it follows not, that we were made sinners by Adam, in the same manner and measure: for this similitude of St. Paul ought not to extend to an equality in all things; but still the advantage and prerogative, the abundance and the excess, must be on the part of grace: for, "if sin does abound, grace does much more abound;" and we do more partake of righteousness by Christ, than of sin by Adam. Christ and Adam are the several fountains of emanation, and are compared "æquè," but not "æqualiter." Therefore this argument holds redundantly, since by Christ we are not made legally righteous, but by imputation only; much less are we made sinners by Adam. This, in my sense, is so infinitely far from being an objection, that it perfectly demonstrates the main question; and for my part, I mean to rely upon it.

As for that which your Lordship adds out of Rom. v. 19. that ἁμαρτωλοὶ signifies "sinners," not by imitation, as the Pelagians dream, but sinners really and effectively; I shall not need to make any other reply; but that, 1. I do not approve of that gloss of the Pelagians, that in Adam we are made sinners by imitation; and much less of that which affirms, we are made so properly and formally. But "made sinners" signifies, used like sinners; so as "justified" signifies, healed like just persons: in which interpretation I follow St. Paul, not the Pelagians; they, who are on the other side of the question, follow neither. And unless men take in their opinion before they read, and resolve not to understand St. Paul in this epistle, I wonder why they should fancy that all that he says, sounds that way, which they commonly dream of: but as men fancy, so the bells will ring. But I know your Lordship's grave and wiser judgment sees not only this that I have now opened, but much beyond it; and that you will be a zealous advocate for the truth of God, and for the honour of his justice, wisdom, and mercy.

That which follows, makes me believe your Lordship resolved to try me, by speaking your own sense in the line, and your temptation in the interline. For when your Lordship had said, that "My arguments for the vindication of God's goodness and justice are sound and holy," your hand run it over again, and added, "as abstracted from the case of original sin." But why should this be abstracted from all the whole economy of God, from all his other dispensations? Is it, in all cases of the world, unjust for God to impute our fathers' sins to us unto eternal condemnation; and is it otherwise in this only? Certainly a man would think this were the more favourable case; as being a single act, done but once, repented of after it was done, not consented to by the parties interested, not stipulated by God that it should be so, and being against all laws and all the reason of the world: therefore it were but reason that, if any where, here much rather, God's justice and goodness should be relied upon as the measure of the event. And if, in other cases, laws be never given to idiots and infants and persons incapable, why should they be given here? But if they were not capable of a law, then neither could they be of sin; for where there is no law there is no transgression. And is it unjust to condemn one man to hell for all the sin of a thousand of his ancestors actually done by them? And shall it be accounted just to damn all the world for one sin of one man? But if it be said, that it is unjust to damn the innocent for the sin of another; but the world is not innocent, but really guilty in Adam;—besides that this is a begging of the question, it is also against common sense, to say that a man is not innocent of that which was done before he had a being; for if that be not sufficient, then it is impossible for a man to be innocent. And if this way of answer be admitted, any man may be damned for the sin of any father; because it may be said here as well as there, that although the innocent must not perish for another's fault, yet the son is not innocent, as being in his father's loins when the fault was committed, and the law calls him and makes him guilty. And if it were so indeed, this were so far from being an excuse, to say that the law makes him guilty, that this were absolute tyranny, and the thing that were to be complained of.

I hope, by this time, you Lordship perceives, that I have no reason to fear that I prevaricate St. Paul's rule: Μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν. I only endeavour to understand St. Paul's words, and I read them, κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, in proportion to, and so as they may not intrench upon, the reputation of God's goodness and justice: that is φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, "to be wise unto sobriety." But they that do so δουλεύειν ὑποθέσει, as to resolve it to be so, whether God be honoured in it, or dishonoured, and to answer all arguments, whether they can or cannot be answered, and to efform all their theology to the air of that one great proposition, and to find out ways for God to proceed in, which he hath never told of, ὁδοὶ ἄβατοι, ways that are crooked and not to be insisted in, ways that are not right, if these men do not ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, then I hope I shall have less need to fear that I do, who do none of these things.

And in proportion to my security here, I am confident that I am unconcerned in the consequent threatening. If any man shall evangelize παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, "any other doctrine than what ye have received," something for gospel which is not gospel, something that ye have not received,—let him be accursed. My Lord, if what I teach were not that which we have received, that God is just, and righteous, and true: that the soul that sins, the same shall die: that we shall have no cause to say, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge:" that God is a gracious Father, pardoning iniquity, and therefore not exacting it where it is not: that infants are, from their mothers' wombs, beloved of God their Father: that of such is the kingdom of God: that he pities those souls, who cannot discern the right hand from the left, as he declared in the case of the Ninevites: that to infants there are special angels appointed, who always behold the face of God: that Christ took them in his arms and blessed them, and therefore they are not hated by God, and accursed heirs of hell, and coheirs with Satan: that the Messias was promised before any children were born; as certainly as that Adam sinned, before they were born: that if sin abounds, grace does superabound; and therefore, children are, with greater effect, involved in the grace than they could be in the sin; and the sin must be gone before it could do them mischief:—if this were not the doctrine of both Testaments, and if the contrary were, then the threatening of St. Paul might well be held up against me: but else, my Lord, to show such a scorpion to him that speaks the truth of God in sincerity and humility, though it cannot make me to betray the truth and the honour of God, yet the very fear and affrightment, which must needs seize upon every good man that does but behold it, or hear the words of that angry voice, shall and hath made me to pray not only that myself be preserved in truth, but that it

would please God to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.

My Lord, I humbly thank your Lordship for your grave and pious counsel, and kiss the hand that reaches forth so paternal a rod. I see you are tender both of truth and me: and though I have not made this tedious reply to cause trouble to your Lordship, or to steal from you any part of your precious time, yet because I see your Lordship was persuaded "induere personam," to give some little countenance to a popular error out of jealousy against a less usual truth, I thought it my duty to represent to your Lordship such things, by which as I can, so I ought to be, defended against captious objectors. It is hard, when men will not be patient of truth, because another man offers it to them, and they did not first take it in; or, if they did, were not pleased to own it.

But from your Lordship I expect, and am sure to find, the effects of your piety, wisdom, and learning; and that an error, for being popular, shall not prevail against so necessary, though unobserved truth. A necessary truth I call it; because without this, I do not understand how we can declare God's righteousness and justify him, with whom unrighteousness cannot dwell: but, if men, of a contrary opinion, can reconcile their usual doctrines of original sin with God's justice, and goodness, and truth, I shall be well pleased with it, and think better of their doctrine than now I can.

But until that be done, it were well, my Lord, if men would not trouble themselves or the church with impertinent contradictions; but patiently give leave to have truth advanced, and God justified in his sayings and in his judgments, and the church improved, and all errors confuted, that what did so prosperously begin the Reformation, may be admitted to bring it to perfection, that men may no longer go "quà itur," but "quà eundum est."

THE

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S LETTER

TO DR. TAYLOR:

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARTICULARS THERE GIVEN IN CHARGE.

Worthy Sir,

Let me request you to weigh that of St. Paul, Ephes. ii. 5. which are urged by some ancients; and to remember, how often he calls concupiscence *sin;* whereby it is urged, that although baptism take away the guilt, as concretively redounding to the person,—yet the simple abstracted guilt, as to the nature, remains: for sacraments are administered to persons, not to natures. I confess, I find not the fathers so fully and plainly speaking of original sin, till Pelagius had puddled the stream; but, after this, you may find St. Jerome[d] saying, "In Paradiso, omnes prævaricati sunt in Adamo."—And St. Ambrose,[e] "Manifestum est omnes peccâsse in Adam, quasi in massâ; ex eo igitur cuncti peccatores, quia ex eo sumus omnes;" and St. Gregory,[f] "Sine culpâ in mundo esse non potest, qui in mundum cum culpâ venit."—But St. Austin is so frequent, so full and clear, in his assertions, that his words and reasons will require your most judicious examinations, and more strict weighing of them; he saith, "Scimus, secundùm Adam, nos primâ nativitate contagium mortis contrahere; nec liberamur à supplicio mortis æternæ, nisi per gratiam renascamur in Christo."[g] "Peccatum à primo homine in omnes homines pertransiit, etenim illud peccatum non in fonte mansit, sed pertransiit;"[h] and "Ubi te invenit? venundatum sub peccato, trahentem peccatum primi hominis, habentem peccatum antequam possis habere arbitrium."—"Si infans unius diei non sit sine peccato, qui proprium habere non potuit, conficitur, ut illud traxerit alienum; de quo apostolus,[i] 'Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum;' quod qui negat, negat profectò nos esse mortales; quoniam mors est pœna peccati, sequitur, necesse est, pœna peccatum."[k]—"Sola gratia redemptos discernit à perditis, quos in unam perditionis massam concreverat, ab origine ducta, communis contagio."[l]—"Concupiscentia carnis peccatum est, quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis. Quid potest, aut potuit nasci ex servo, nisi servus? ideo sicut omnis homo ab Adamo est, ita et omnis homo per Adamum servus est peccati."[m]—"Falluntur ergo omnino, qui dicunt mortem solam, non et peccatum transiisse in genus humanum. Prosperus respondet ad articulum Augustino falsò impositum; omnes homines prævaricationis reos, et damnationi obnoxios nasci perituros, nisi in Christo renascamur, asserimus."[n]—"Secundum fidem catholicam tenendum est, quod primum peccatum primi hominis originaliter transit in posteros, propter quod etiam pueri, mox nati, deferuntur ad baptismum, ab interiore culpâ abluendi. Contrarium est hæresis Pelag., unde peccatum quod sic à primo parente derivatur, dicitur originale;

[d] In Hos. [e] Rom. i. 5. [f] 39. Hom. in Ezek.
[g] Epist. 107. [h] Id. de Verb. Apost. Ser. 4. [i] Rom. v.
[k] Id. de Prædestin. et Grat. c. 2. [l] Id. Enchir. c. 9. 29.
[m] Id. de Peccator. Mer. et Remiss. lib. 1. c. 3. [n] Rom. v.

sicut peccatum, quod ab animâ derivatur ad membra corporis, dicitur actuale."[o]—"Sicut peccatum actuale tribuitur alicui ratione singularis personæ: ita peccatum originale tribuitur ratione naturæ; corpus infectum traducitur, quia persona Adæ infecit naturam, et natura infecit personam. Anima enim inficitur à carne per colligantiam, quum unita carni traxit ad se alterius proprietates."[p] "Peccatum originale per corruptionem carnis, in animâ fit: in vase enim dignoscitur vitium esse, quod vinum accescit."[q]

If you take into consideration the covenant made between Almighty God and Adam as relating to his posterity, it may conduce to the satisfaction of those, who urge it for a proof of original sin. Now that the work may prosper under your hands, to the manifestation of God's glory, the edification of the church, and the satisfaction of all good christians, is the hearty prayer of,

Your Fellow-servant in our most
Blessed Lord Christ Jesu,
JO. ROFFENS.

My Lord,

I PERCEIVE that you have a great charity to every one of the sons of the church, that your Lordship refuses not to solicit their objections, and to take care that every man be answered, that can make objections against my doctrine; but as your charity makes you refuse no work or labour of love, so shall my duty and obedience make me ready to perform any commandment, that can be relative to so excellent a principle.

I am indeed sorry your Lordship is thus haunted with objections about the question of original sin; but because you are pleased to hand them to me, I cannot think them so inconsiderable, as, in themselves, they seem; for what your Lordship thinks worthy the reporting from others, I must think are fit to be answered and returned by me.

In your Lordship's of November 10, these things I am to reply to:

"Let me request you to weigh that of St. Paul, Ephes. ii. 5."—The words are these, "Even when we were dead in sins, (God) hath quickened us together with Christ;" which words I do not at all suppose relate to the matter of original sin, but to the state of heathen sins, habitual idolatries and impurities; in which the world was dead before the great reformation by Christ. And I do not know any expositor of note, that suspects any other sense of it; and the second verse of that chapter makes it so certain and plain, that it is too visible to insist upon it longer. But your Lordship adds further:

"And to remember how often he calls concupiscence *sin*."—I know St. Paul reckons concupiscence to be one of the works of the flesh, and consequently such as excludes from heaven; "evil concupiscence;"[r] concupiscence with something superadded, but certainly that is nothing that is natural; for God made nothing that is evil, and whatsoever is natural and necessary cannot be mortified; but this may and must, and the apostle calls upon us to do it; but that this is a superinducing, and an actual or habitual lusting, appears by the following words, "in which ye also walked sometimes when ye lived in them,"[s] such a concupiscence as that which is the effect of habitual sins or an estate of sins, of which the apostle speaks: "Sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence;"[t] that is, so great a state of evil, such strong inclinations and desires to sin, that I grew as captive under it; it introduced a necessity, like those in St. Peter, who had eyes μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος, "full of an adulteress:" the women had possessed their eyes, and therefore they were ἀκατάπαυστοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, "they could not cease from sin:" because having πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν, "all concupiscence," that is, the very spirit of sinful desires, they could relish nothing but the productions of sin, they could fancy nothing but coloquintida and toadstools of the earth. Once more I find St. Paul speaking of concupiscence: "Let every man know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour: not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the gentiles which know God."[u] In the "lust of concupiscence," that is plainly, in lustfulness and impurity: for it is a Hebraism, where a superlative is usually expressed by the synonymon; as "lutum cœni;" "pluvia imbris;" so "the gall of bitterness," and the "iniquity of sins;" "robur virium;" the blackness of darkness," that is, σκότος ἐξώτερον, "the outer darkness," or the greatest darkness: so here "the lust of concupiscence," that is, the vilest and basest of it. I know no where else that the apostle uses the word in any sense. But the like is to be said of the word "lust," which the apostle often uses, for the "habits produced," or, "the pregnant desires," but never for the natural principle and affection, when he speaks of sin.

But your Lordship is pleased to add a subtilty in pursuance of your former advices and notices, which, I confess, I shall never understand.

"Although baptism take away the guilt as concretively redounding to the person, yet the simple abstracted guilt, as to the nature, remains; for sacraments are administered to persons, not to natures:"—This I suppose those persons, from whom your Lordship reports it, intended as an answer to a secret objection. For if concupiscence be a sin, and yet remains after baptism, then what good does baptism effect? But if it be no sin after, then it is no sin before. To this it is answered as you see: there is a double guilt; a guilt of person, and of nature. That is taken away, this is not: for sacraments are given to persons, not to natures.

[o] Tho. 12. q. 8. [p] Bonavent. in 2. sent. dist. 31. [q] Lombar. 2. sent. dist. 31.
[r] Col. iii. 5. [s] Col. iii. 7. [t] Rom. vii. 8. [u] 1 Thess. iv. 5.

But, first, where is there such a distinction set down in Scripture, or in the prime antiquity, or in any moral philosopher? There is no human nature but what is in the persons of men; and though our understanding can make a separate consideration of these, or rather consider a person in a double capacity, in his personal and in his natural, that is, if I am to speak sense, a person may be considered in that which is proper to him, and in that which is common to him and others; yet these two considerations cannot make two distinct subjects capable of such different events. I will put it to the trial.

This guilt, that is in nature, what is it? Is it the same thing that was in the person? that is, is it an obligation to punishment? If it be not, I know not the meaning of the word; and therefore I have nothing to do with it. If it be, then if this guilt or obligation to punishment remains in the nature, after it is taken from the person, then, if this concupiscence deserve damnation, this nature shall be damned, though the person be saved. Let the objectors, my Lord, choose which they will. If it does not deserve damnation, why do they say it does? If it does, then the guilty may suffer what they deserve, but the innocent or the absolved must not; the person then being acquitted, and the nature not acquitted, the nature shall be damned and the person be saved.

But if it be said, that the guilt remains in the nature to certain purposes, but not to all; then I reply, So it does in the person; for it is in the person after baptism, so as to be a perpetual possibility and proneness to sin, and a principle of trouble; and if it be no otherwise in the nature, then this distinction is to no purpose; if it be otherwise in the nature, then it brings damnation to it, when it brings none to the man, and then the former argument must return. But whether it prevail or no, yet I cannot but note, that what is here affirmed is expressly against the words commonly attributed to St. Cyprian, "de Ablutione Pedum;" "Sic abluit, quos parentalis labes infecerat, ut nec actualis nec originalis macula, post ablutionem illam, ulla sui vestigia derelinquat." How this, supposing it of baptism, can be reconciled with the guilt remaining in the nature, I confess, I cannot give an account. It is expressly against St. Austin, (tom. 9. tract 41. in Johan. Epist. ad Ocean.) saying, "Deleta est tota iniquitas!" expressly against St. Jerome; "Quomodo justificati sumus et sanctificati, si peccatum aliquid in nobis relinquitur?"

But again, my Lord, I did suppose, that concupiscence or original sin had been founded in nature, and had not been a personal but a natural evil. I am sure, so the article of our church affirms; "it is the fault and corruption of our nature." And so St. Bonaventure affirms in the words, cited by your Lordship in your letter; "Sicut peccatum actuale tribuitur alicui, ratione singularis personæ: ita peccatum originis tribuitur, ratione naturæ." Either then the sacrament must have effect upon our nature, to purify that which is vitiated by concupiscence, or else it does no good at all. For if the guilt or sin be founded in the nature, as the article affirms, and baptism does not take off the guilt from the nature,—then it does nothing.

Now since your Lordship is pleased, in the behalf of the objectors, so warily to avoid what they thought pressing, I will take leave to use the advantages it ministers; for so the serpent teaches us where to strike him, by his so warily and guiltily defending his head. I therefore argue thus:

Either baptism does not take off the guilt of original sin, or else there may be punishment where there is no guilt, or else natural death was not it which God threatened as the punishment of Adam's fact. For it is certain, that all men die, as well after baptism as before, and more after than before. That which would be properly the consequent of this dilemma, is this, that when God threatened death to Adam, saying, "On the day thou eatest of the tree thou shalt die the death," he inflicted, and intended to inflict, the evils of a troublesome mortal life. For Adam did not die that day, but Adam began to be miserable that day, to live upon hard labour, to eat fruits from an accursed field, till he should return to the earth whence he was taken.[x] So that death, in the common sense of the word, was to be the end of his labour, not so much the punishment of the sin. For it is probable he should have gone off from the scene of this world to a better, though he had not sinned; but if he had not sinned, he should not be so afflicted, and he should not have died daily till he had died finally, that is, till he had "returned to his dust whence he was taken," and whither he would naturally have gone: and it is no new thing in Scripture, that miseries and infelicities should be called "dying" or "death."[y] But I only note this as probable; as not being willing to admit what the Socinians answer in this argument; who affirm, that God, threatening death to the sin of Adam, meant "death eternal:" which is certainly not true; as we learn from the words of the apostle, saying, "In Adam we all die;" which is not true of death eternal, but it is true of the miseries and calamities of mankind, and it is true of temporal death in the sense now explicated, and in that which is commonly received.

But I add also this problem. That which would have been, had there been no sin, and that which remains, when the sin or guiltiness is gone, is not properly the punishment of the sin. But dissolution of the soul and body should have been, if Adam had not sinned; for the world would have been too little to have entertained those myriads of men, which must in all reason have been born from that blessing of "Increase and multiply," which was given at the first creation; and to have confined mankind to the pleasures of this world, in case he had not fallen, would have been a punishment of his innocence; but however, it might have been, though God had not been angry, and shall still be, even when the sin is taken off. The proper consequent of this will be, that when the apostle says, "Death came in by sin," and that "Death is the wages of

[x] Gen. iii. 17—19.

[y] Exod. x. 17. 1 Cor. xv. 31. 2 Cor. i. 10. iv. 10—12. xi. 23.

sin," he primarily and literally means the solemnities, and causes, and infelicities, and untimeliness, of temporal death, and not merely the dissolution, —which is directly no evil, but an inlet to a better state. But I insist not on this, but offer it to the consideration of inquisitive and modest persons.

And now, that I may return thither, from whence this objection brought me; I consider, that if any should urge this argument to me:

Baptism delivers from original sin:—

Baptism does not deliver from concupiscence; therefore concupiscence is not original sin.

I did not know well what to answer; I could possibly say something to satisfy the boys and young men at a public disputation, but not to satisfy myself, when I am upon my knees, and giving an account to God of all my secret and hearty persuasions. But I consider, that by "concupiscence" must be meant either the first inclinations to their object; or the proper acts of election, which are the second acts of concupiscence. If the first inclinations be meant, then certainly that cannot be a sin, which is natural, and which is necessary. For I consider that concupiscence and natural desires are like hunger; which, while it is natural and necessary, is not for the destruction but conservation of man: when it goes beyond the limits of nature, it is violent and a disease; and so is concupiscence; but desires, or lustings, when they are taken for the natural propensity to their proper object, are so far from being a sin, that they are the instruments of felicity for this duration; and when they grow towards being irregular, they may, if we please, grow instruments of felicity in order to the other duration, because they may serve a virtue by being restrained; and to desire that to which all men tend naturally, is no more a sin, than to desire to be happy is a sin: "desire" is no more a sin than "joy" or "sorrow" is; neither can it be fancied, why one passion more than another can be, in its whole nature, criminal: either all or none are so; when any of them grows irregular or inordinate, joy is as bad as desire, and fear as bad as either.

But if, by concupiscence, we mean the second acts of it, that is, avoidable consentings, and deliberate elections,—then let it be as much condemned, as the apostle and all the church after him hath sentenced it; but then it is not Adam's sin, but our own, by which we are condemned; for it is not his fault that we choose: if we choose, it is our own; if we choose not, it is no fault. For there is a natural act of the will as well as of the understanding, and in the choice of the supreme good, and in the first apprehension of its proper object, the will is as natural as any other faculty; and the other faculties have degrees of adherence as well as the will: so have the potestative and intellective faculties; they are delighted in their best objects. But because these only are natural, and the will is natural sometimes, but not always,—there it is that a difference can be.

For I consider, if the first concupiscence be a sin, original sin, (for actual it is not,) and that this is properly, personally, and inherently our sin by traduction,—that is, if our will be necessitated to sin by Adam's fall, as it must needs be if it can sin when it cannot deliberate,—then there can be no reason told, why it is more a sin to will evil than to understand it: and how does that which is moral differ from that which is natural? For the understanding is first and primely moved by its object, and in that motion by nothing else but by God, who moves all things: and if that, which hath nothing else to move it but the object, yet is not free; it is strange, that the will can, in any sense, be free, when it is necessitated by wisdom and by power, and by Adam, that is, "from within" and "from without," besides what God and violence do and can do.

But, in this, I have not only Scripture and all the reason of the world on my side, by the complying sentences of the eminent writers of the primitive church; I need not trouble myself with citations of many of them, since Calvin[z] confesses, that St. Austin hath collected their testimonies, and is of their opinion, that concupiscence is not a sin, but an infirmity only. But I will here set down the words of St. Chrysostom,[a] because they are very clear: "Ipsæ passiones, in se, peccatum non sunt: effrænata verò ipsarum immoderantia peccatum operata est. Concupiscentia quidem peccatum non est; quando verò egressa modum foras eruperit, tunc demum adulterium fit, non à concupiscentiâ, sed à nimio et illicito illius luxu."

By the way, I cannot but wonder why men are pleased, wherever they find the word "concupiscence" in the New Testament, presently to dream of original sin, and make that to be the sum total of it; whereas "concupiscence," if it were the product of Adam's fall, is but one small part of it; "et ut, exempli gratiâ, unam illarum tractem," said St. Chrysostom in the forecited place; concupiscence is but one of the passions, and in the utmost extension of the word, it can be taken but for one half of the passion; for not only all the passions of the concupiscible faculty can be a principle of sin, but the irascible does more hurt in the world; that is more sensual, this is more devilish. The reason why I note this, is because upon this account it will seem, that concupiscence is no more to be called a sin than anger is; and as St. Paul said, "Be angry but sin not;" so he might have said, "Desire, or lust, but sin not."—For there are some lustings and desires without sin, as well as some angers; and that which is indifferent to virtue and vice, cannot of itself be a vice: to which I add, that if concupiscence, taken for all desires, be a sin, then so are all the passions of the irascible faculty. Why one more than the other is not to be told; but that anger, in the first motions, is not a sin, appears, because it is not always sinful in the second; a man may be actually angry, and yet really innocent: and so he may be lustful and full of desire, and yet he may be not only that which is good, or he may overcome his desires to that which is bad. I have now considered what your Lordship received from others, and gave me in charge yourself, concerning concupiscence.

Your next charge is concerning antiquity, in-

[z] Lib. 3. Inst. c. 3. sect. 10. [a] Homil. 13. in Ep. Rom.

timating, that although the first antiquity is not clearly against me, yet the second is. For thus your Lordship is pleased to write their objection: "I confess, I find not the fathers so fully and plainly speaking of original sin, till Pelagius had puddled the stream; but after this you may find St. Jerome," &c.

That the fathers, of the first four hundred years, did speak plainly and fully of it, is so evident as nothing more; and I appeal to their testimonies, as they are set down in the papers annexed in their proper place; and, therefore, that must needs be one of the little arts, by which some men use to escape from the pressure of that authority, by which, because they would have other men concluded, sometimes upon strict inquiry they find themselves entangled. Original sin, as it is at this day commonly explicated, was not the doctrine of the primitive church; but when "Pelagius had puddled the stream," St. Austin was so angry that he stamped and disturbed it more: and truly, my Lord, I do not think, that the gentlemen, that urged against me St. Austin's opinion, do well consider, that I profess myself to follow those fathers who were before him; and whom St. Austin did forsake, as I do him, in the question. They may as well press me with his authority in the article of the damnation of infants dying unbaptized, or of absolute predestination. In which article, St. Austin's words are equally urged by the Jansenists and Molinists, by the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants; and they can serve both; and, therefore, cannot determine me. But then, my Lord, let it be remembered, that they are as much against St. Chrysostom as I am against St. Austin, with this only difference; that St. Chrysostom speaks constantly in the argument, which St. Austin did not, —and particularly in that part of it which concerns concupiscence. For in the inquiry, whether it be a sin or no, he speaks so variously, that though Calvin complains of him, that he calls it only an "infirmity," yet he also brings testimonies from him to prove it to be a "sin:" and let any man try if he can tie these words together; "Concupiscentia carnis peccatum est, quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis;"[b] which are the words your Lordship quotes: "Concupiscence is a sin, because it is a disobedience to the empire of the Spirit." But yet in another place; "Illa concupiscentialis inobedientia quanto magis absque culpâ est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpâ est in corpore dormientis?"[c] It is a sin, and it is no sin; it is criminal, but is without fault; it is culpable because it is a disobedience, and yet this disobedience, without actual consent, is not culpable. If I do believe St. Austin, I must disbelieve him: and which part soever I take, I shall be reproved by the same authority. But when the fathers are divided from each other, or themselves, it is indifferent to follow either; but when any of them are divided from reason and Scripture, then it is not indifferent for us to follow them, and neglect these; and yet if these, who object St. Austin's authority to my doctrine, will be content to be subject to all that he says, I am content they shall follow him in this too; provided that they will give me my liberty, because I will not be tied to him that speaks contrary things to himself, and contrary to them that went before him; and though he was a rare person, yet he was as fallible as any of my brethren at this day. He was followed by many ignorant ages, and all the world knows by what accidental advantages he acquired a great reputation: but he who made no scruple of deserting all his predecessors, must give us leave, upon the strength of his own reasons, to quit his authority.

All that I shall observe, is this; that the doctrine of original sin, as it is explicated by St. Austin, had two parents; one was the doctrine of the Encratites, and some other heretics, who forbade marriage,—and, supposing it to be evil, thought they were warranted to say, it was the bed of sin, and children the spawn of vipers and sinners. And St. Austin himself, and especially St. Jerome, whom your Lordship cites, speaks some things of marriage, which if they were true, then marriage were highly to be refused, as being the increaser of sin rather than of children,—and a semination in the flesh, and contrary to the Spirit, —and such a thing which, being mingled with sin, produces univocal issues; the mother and the daughter are so like, that they are the worse again. For if a proper inherent sin be effected by chaste marriages, then they are, in this particular, equal to adulterous embraces, and rather to be pardoned than allowed; and if all concupiscence be vicious, then no marriage can be pure. These things, it may be, have not been so much considered; but your Lordship, I know, remembers strange sayings in St. Jerome, in Athenagoras, and in St. Austin, which possibly have been countenanced and maintained at the charge of this opinion. But the other parent of this is the zeal against the Pelagian heresy, which did serve itself by saying too little in this article; and therefore was thought fit to be confuted by saying too much; and that I conjecture right in this affair, I appeal to the words, which I cited out of St. Austin, in the matter of concupiscence; concerning which he speaks the same thing that I do, when he is disengaged; as in his books "de Civitate Dei:" but in his tractate "de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione," which was written in his heat against the Pelagians, he speaks quite contrary. And whoever shall with observation read his one book of original sin against Pelagius, his two books "de Nuptiis et Concupiscentia" to Valerius, his three books to Marcellinus, "de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione," his four books to Boniface, "contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum," his six books to Claudius against Julianus, —and shall think himself bound to believe all that this excellent man wrote, will not only find it impossible he should, but will have reason to say, that zeal against an error is not always the best instrument to find out truth. The same complaint hath been made of others; and St. Jerome hath suffered

[b] De Peccator. Mer. et Remission. l. 1. c. 3.

[c] Lib. 1. de Civit. Dei, cap. 25.

deeply in the infirmity. I shall not therefore trouble your Lordship with giving particular answers to the words of St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, because, besides what I have already said, I do not think, that their words are an argument fit to conclude against so much evidence, nor against a much less than that, which I have, every where, brought in this article,—though indeed their words are capable of a fair interpretation,—and, besides, the words quoted out of St. Ambrose are none of his; and for Aquinas, Lombard, and Bonaventure, your Lordship might as well press me with the opinion of Mr. Calvin, Knox, and Buchanan, with the synod of Dort, or the Scots' presbyteries: I know they are against me, and therefore I reprove them for it; but it is no disparagement to the truth, that other men are in error. And yet of all the schoolmen, Bonaventure should least have been urged against me, for the proverb's sake: for "Adam non peccavit in Bonaventura;" Alexander of Hales would often say, that "Adam never sinned in Bonaventure." But, it may be, he was not in earnest: no more am I.

The last thing your Lordship gives to me in charge in the behalf of the objectors, is, that "I would take into consideration the covenant made between Almighty God and Adam, as relating to his posterity."

To this I answer, That I know of no such thing; God made a covenant with Adam indeed, and used the right of his dominion over his posterity, and yet did nothing but what was just; but I find in Scripture no mention made of any such covenant, as is dreamt of about the matter of original sin: only the covenant of works God did make with all men till Christ came; but he did never exact it after Adam; but for a covenant that God should make with Adam, that if he stood, all his posterity should be I know not what; and if he fell, they should be in a damnable condition; of this, I say, there is "nec vola nec vestigium" in Holy Scripture, that ever I could meet with: if there had been any such covenant, it had been but equity, that, to all the persons interested, it should have been communicated, and caution given to all who were to suffer, and abilities given to them to prevent the evil: for else it is not a covenant with them, but a decree concerning them; and it is impossible that there should be a covenant made between two, when one of the parties knows nothing of it.

I will enter no further into this inquiry, but only observe, that though there was no such covenant, yet the event that happened might, without any such covenant, have justly entered in at many doors. It is one thing to say, that God, by Adam's sin, was moved to a severer intercourse with his posterity,—for that is certainly true; and it is another thing to say, that Adam's sin, of itself, did deserve all the evil that came actually upon his children: death is the wages of sin; one death for one sin, but not ten thousand millions for one sin; but therefore the apostle affirms it to have descended on all, "inasmuch as all men have sinned;" but if from a sinning parent a good child descends; the child's innocence will more prevail with God for kindness, than the father's sin shall prevail for trouble. "Non omnia parentum peccata dii in liberos convertunt. Sed siquis de malo nascitur bonus, tanquam benè affectus corpore natus de morboso, is generis pœnâ liberatur, tanquam ex improbitatis domo, in aliam familiam datus. Qui verò morbo in similitudinem generis refertur atque redigitur vitiosi, ei nimirum convenit, tanquam hæredi, debitas pœnas vitii persolvere," said Plutarch "De iis, qui serò à Numine puniuntur ex interpr. Cluserii." "God does not always make the fathers' sins descend upon the children. But if a good child is born of a bad father, like a healthful body from an ill-affected one, he is freed from the punishment of his stock, and passes from the house of wickedness into another family. But he who inherits the disease, he also must be heir of the punishment:" "quorum natura complexa est cognatam malitiam, hos justitia similitudinem privitatis persequens supplicio affecit;" "if they pursue their kindred's wickedness, they shall be pursued by a cognation of judgment."

Other ways there are, by which it may come to pass, that the sins of others may descend upon us. He that is author or the persuader, the minister or the helper, the approver or the follower, may derive the sins of others to himself; but then it is not their sins only, but our own too; and it is like a dead taper put to a burning light and held there, this derives light and flames from the other, and yet then hath it of its own, but they dwell together and make one body. These are the ways by which punishment can enter; but there are evils, which are no punishments, and they may come upon more accounts,—by God's dominion,—by natural consequence,—by infection,—by destitution and dereliction,—for the glory of God,—by right of authority,—for the institution or exercise of the sufferers,—or for their more immediate good.

But that, directly and properly, one should be punished for the sins of others, was indeed practised by some commonwealths; "Utilitatis specie, sæpissime in repub. peccari," said Cicero; they do it sometimes for terror; and because their way of preventing evil is very imperfect; and when Pedianus Secundus, the prætor, was killed by a slave, all the family of them was killed in punishment; this was "secundum veterem morem," said Tacitus:[d] for, in the slaughter of Marcellus, the slaves fled for fear of such usage;—it was thus, I say, among the Romans; but "habuit aliquid iniqui;" and God forbid we should say such things of the fountain of justice and mercy. But I have done, and will move no more stones, but hereafter carry them as long as I can, rather than make a noise by throwing them down; I shall only add this one thing: I was troubled with an objection lately; for it being propounded to me, why it is to be believed that the sin of Adam could spoil the nature of man, and yet the nature of devils could not be spoiled by their sin, which was worse; I could not well tell what to say, and therefore I held my peace.

[d] Annal. 14.

THE

REAL PRESENCE

AND

SPIRITUAL OF CHRIST IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT,

PROVED, AGAINST

THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

Oportuit enim certè ut non solùm anima per Spiritum Sanctum in beatam vitam ascenderet, verùm etiam ut rude, atque terrestre hoc corpus cognato sibi gustu, tactu, et cibo ad immortalitatem reduceretur. S. Cyril. in Joh. l. 4. c. 14.

Literam sequi, et signa pro rebus accipere servilis infirmitatis est. S. Aug. l. 3. de doct. Christ.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND DR. WARNER,

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

Right Reverend Father,

I am, against my resolution and proper disposition, by the overruling power of the Divine Providence, which wisely disposes all things, accidentally engaged in the question of transubstantiation, which hath already so many times passed by the fire and under the saw of contention; that, it might seem, nothing could remain which had not been already considered, and sifted to the bran. I had been by chance engaged in a conference with a person of another persuasion, the man not unlearned nor unwary, but much more confident than I perceived the strength of his argument could warrant; and yet he had some few of the best which their schools did furnish out and ordinarily minister to their προσηλυτο-δεκταὶ, their emissaries and ministers of temptation to our people. I then began to consider, whether there were not much more in the secret of the question, which might not have persuaded him more fiercely than I could then see cause for, or others at least, from whom, upon the strength of education, he might have derived his confidence; and searching into all the secrets of it, I found infinite reason to reprove the boldness of those men, who, in the sum of affairs and upon examination, will be found to think men damned if they will not speak nonsense, and disbelieve their eyes and ears, and defy their own reason, and recede from antiquity, and believe them in whatsoever they dream, or list to obtrude upon the world who hath been too long credulous, or it could never have suffered such a proposition to be believed by so many men against all the demonstration in the world. And certainly it is no small matter of wonder, that those men of the Roman church should pretend learning, and yet rest their new articles of faith upon propositions against all learning; that they should engage their scholars to read and believe Aristotle, and yet destroy his philosophy, and reason by their article; that they should think all the world fools but themselves, and yet talk and preach such things, which if men had spoken before this new device arose, they would have been thought mad. But if these men had, by chance or interest, fallen upon the other opinion, which we maintain against them, they would have filled the world with declamations against the impossible propositions and the δόγματα ἀφιλόσοφα of their adversaries; they would have called us dunces, idiots, men without souls, without philosophy, without sense, without reason, without logic, destroyers of the very first notions of mankind. But now that they are engaged upon the impossible side, they proceed with a prodigious bold-

ness; and seem to wonder that mankind does not receive from them all their first principles, and credit the wildness and new notions of their cataphysics; for metaphysics it is not. Their affirmatives and negatives are neither natural, nor above, nor besides nature, but against it in those first principles, which are primely credible. For, that I may use St. Austin's words, "Nemo enim huic evidentiæ contradicet, nisi quem plus defensare delectat quod sentit, quàm quid sentiendum sit invenire." But I see it is possible for a man to believe any thing that he hath a mind to; and this, to me, seems to have been permitted to reprove the vanity of man's imagination, and the confidence of opinion, to make us humble, apt to learn, inquisitive, and charitable; for if it be possible, for so great a company of men, of all sorts and capacities, to believe such impossible things, and to wonder that others do not "eandem insaniam insanire," it will concern the wisest man alive to be inquisitive in the articles of his first persuasion, to be diligent in his search, modest in his sentences, to prejudge no man, to reprove the adversaries with meekness, and a spirit conscious of human weakness, and aptness to be abused. But if we remember that Père Coton, confessor to Henry the Fourth of France, was wont to say, "that he could do any thing when he had his God in his hand and his king at his feet," meaning him at confession and the other in effigy of the crucifix or in the host, we may well perceive, that they are not such fools but they will consider the advantages that come to their persons and calling, if they can be supposed to make, with pronouncing four words, bread to become God. Upon the reputation of this great thing, the priests were exempt from secular jurisdiction and violence, in the council in Dalmatia held by the legates of Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1199, can. 5. Upon this account Pope Urban the Second, in a council which he held at Rome, 1097, against the emperor Henry the Fourth, took from secular princes the investiture of benefices, and advanced the clergy above kings, because "their hands create God their Creator," as Simeon Dunelmensis reports, lib. 2. Chron. apud Vigner. Hist. Eccles. And the same horrible words are used in the famous book called "Stella Clericorum:" where the priest is called "the creator of his Creator;" and thence also infers his privilege and immunity from being condemned. I will not, with any envy and reproach, object to them that saying of a Bohemian priest, against which John Huss wrote a book on purpose, that "before the priest said his first mass, he was but the son of God, but afterwards he was the father of God and the creator of his body:" it was a rude kind of blasphemy, but not much more than that, which their severest men do say, and were never corrected by their expurgatory indices, and is to be seen in Biel on canon of the mass, lection. 4., and Père de Bessé in his "Royal Priesthood," lib. 1. c. 3. where the priest, upon the stock of his power, is advanced above angels, and the blessed Virgin herself; which is the biggest expression which they can devise, unless they advance him above God himself. The consequent of this is a double honour, that is, an honour and maintenance in such a manner, as may serve the design of ambition, and fill the belly of covetousness.

This was enough to make them willing to introduce it, and, as to them, the wonder ceases; but it is strange the world could receive it; for though men might be willing to believe a thing, that would make for their profit and reputation, yet that they should entertain it to their prejudice, as the other part must do, that, at so great a price, and with so great a diminution of their rights, they should suffer themselves to be cozened of their reason, is the stranger thing of the two. But to this also there were many concurrent causes; for, 1. This doctrine entered upon the world in the most barbarous, most ignorant, and most vicious ages of the world: for we know when it began, by what steps and progressions it prevailed, and by what instruments. It began in the ninth age; and in the tenth was suckled with little arguments and imperfect pleadings; in the eleventh it grew up with illusions and pretence of miracles; and was christened and confirmed in the twelfth, and afterwards lived upon blood, and craft, and violence: but when it was disputed by Pascasius Ratbert, the deacon, in the ninth century, the first collateral device, by which they attempted to set up their fancy, was to devise miracles; which we find done accordingly in the same Pascasius, telling a tale of Plegilus seeing upon the altar a babe like that which was pictured in the arms of Simeon; in Joannes Diaconus telling a story of something in the days of St. Gregory the Great, but never told by any before him, viz. in the year 873, that is, two hundred and seventy years after the death of St. Gregory; and extracted from the archives of Rome or Italy out of England, where it seems they could better tell what was so long before done at Rome: by Damianus in the year 1060, who tells two more; by Guitmond writing against Berengarius out of the Vitæ Patrum, by Lanfranck, who served his end upon the report of strange apparitions, and from him Alexander of Hales also tells a pretty tale. For they then observed, that the common people did not only then believe all reports of miracles, but desired them passionately, and with them would swallow any thing: but how vainly and falsely the world was then abused, we need no greater witness than the learned bishop of the Canaries, Melchior Canus. And yet even one of these authors, though possibly apt enough to credit or report any such fine device, for the promotion of his new opinion, yet it is vehemently suspected, that even the tale which was reported out of Pascasius, was, a long time after his death, thrust in by some monk in a place to which it relates not, and which, without that tale, would be more united and more coherent: and yet if this and the other miracles pretended, had not been illusions or directly fabulous, it had made very much against the present doctrine of the Roman church: for they represent the body in such manner, as by their explications it is not, and it cannot be: they represent it broken, a finger, or a piece of flesh, or bloody, or bleeding, or in the form of an infant; and then, when it is in the species of bread: for if, as they say, Christ's body is present no longer than the form of bread remained, how can it be Christ's body in the miracle, when the species being gone, it is no

longer a sacrament? But the dull inventors of miracles in those ages considered nothing of this; the article itself was then gross and rude, and so were the instruments of probation. I noted this, not only to show at what door so incredible a persuasion entered, but that the zeal of prevailing in it hath so blinded the refiners of it in this age, that they still urge these miracles for proof, when, if they do any thing at all, they reprove the present doctrine.

But, besides this device, they enticed the people forward by institution of the solemn feast of Corpus Christi day, entertained their fancies by solemn and pompous processions, and rewarded their worshippings and attendances on the blessed sacrament, with indulgences granted by Pope Urban the Fourth, inserted in the Clementines, and enlarged by John the Twenty-second, and Martin the Fifth, and for their worshipping of the consecrated water they had authentic precedents, even the example of Bonaventure's lamb, St. Francis's mule, St. Anthony of Padua's ass; and if these things were not enough to persuade the people to all this matter, they must needs have weak hearts and hard heads; and because they met with opponents at all hands, they proceeded to a more vigorous way of arguing: they armed legions against their adversaries; they confuted, at one time, in the town of Beziers, sixty thousand persons,—and in one battle disputed so prosperously and acutely, that they killed about ten thousand men that were sacramentaries: and this Bellarmine gives as an instance of the marks of his church; this way of arguing was used in almost all the countries of christendom, till, by crusadoes, massacres, and battles, burnings, and the constant carnificia, and butchery of the inquisition, which is the main prop of the papacy, and does more than "Tu es Petrus,"—they prevailed far and near; and men durst not oppose the evidence whereby they fought. And now the wonder is out, it is not strange that the article hath been so readily entertained. But in the Greek church it could not prevail, as appears not only in Cyril's book of late, dogmatically affirming the article in our sense, but in the answer of Cardinal Humbert to Nicetas, who maintained the receiving the holy sacrament does break the fast, which it could not do, if it were not, what it seems, bread and wine, as well as what we believe it to be, the body and blood of Christ.

And now in prosecution of their strange improbable success, they proceed to persuade all people that they are fools, and do not know the measures of sense, nor understand the words of Scripture, nor can tell when any of the fathers speak affirmatively or negatively; and after many attempts made by divers unprosperously enough, (as the thing did constrain and urge them,)—a great wit, Cardinal Perron, hath undertaken the question, and hath spun his thread so fine, and twisted it so intricately, and adorned it so sprucely with language and sophisms, that although he cannot resist the evidence of truth, yet he is too subtile for most men's discerning; and though he hath been contested by potent adversaries and wise men, in a better cause than his own, yet he will always make his reader believe that he prevails; which puts me in mind of what Thucydides told Archidamus the King of Sparta, asking him, "whether he or Pericles were the better wrestler?" he told him, that "when he threw Pericles on his back, he would, with fine words, persuade the people that he was not down at all, and so he got the better."—So does he; and is, to all considering men, a great argument of the danger that articles of religion are in, and consequently men's persuasions and final interest, when they fall into the hands of a witty man and a sophister, and one who is resolved to prevail by all means. But truth is stronger than wit, and can endure when the other cannot: and I hope it will appear so in this question, which although it is managed by weak hands, that is, by mine, yet to all impartial persons it must be certain and prevailing, upon the stock of its own sincerity, and derivation from God.

And now, Right Reverend, though this question hath so often been disputed, and some things so often said,—yet I was willing to bring it once more upon the stage, hoping to add some clearness to it, by fitting it with a good instrument, and clear conveyance and representment, by saying something new, and very many which are not generally known, and less generally noted; and I thought there was a present necessity of it, because the emissaries of the church of Rome are busy now to disturb the peace of consciences by troubling the persecuted, and ejecting scruples into the unfortunate, who suspect every thing, and being weary of all, are most ready to change from the present. They have got a trick to ask, Where is our church now? What is become of your articles of your religion? We cannot answer them as they can be answered; for nothing satisfies them but being prosperous, and that we cannot pretend to, but upon the accounts of the cross, and so we may indeed "rejoice and be exceeding glad," because we hope that "great is our reward in heaven." But although they are pleased to use an argument, that, like Jonah's gourd, or asparagus, is in season only at some times, yet we, according to the nature of truth, inquire after the truth of their religion upon the account of proper and theological objections: our church may be a beloved church and dear to God though she be persecuted, when theirs is in an evil condition by obtruding upon the christian world articles of religion, against all that which ought to be the instruments of credibility and persuasion, by distorting and abusing the sacraments, by making error to be an art, and that a man must be witty to make himself capable of being abused, by outfacing all sense and reason,—by damning their brethren for not making their understanding servile and sottish,—by burning them they can get, and cursing them that they cannot get,—by doing so much violence to their own reasons,—and forcing themselves to believe, that no man ever spake against their new device,—by making a prodigious error to be necessary to salvation,—as if they were lords of the faith of christendom.

But these men are grown to that strange triumphal gaiety, upon their joy that the church of England, as they think, is destroyed, that they tread upon her grave, which themselves have digged for her, who

lives and pities them; and they wonder, that any man should speak in her behalf, and suppose men do it out of spite and indignation, and call the duty of her sons, who are by persecution made more confident pious, and zealous, in defending those truths for which she suffers on all hands, by the name of "anger," and suspect it of "malicious vile purposes." I wondered when I saw something of this folly in one, that was her son once, but is run away from her sorrow, and disinherited himself, because she was not able to give him a temporal portion, and thinks he hath found out reasons enough to depart from the miserable. I will not trouble him, or so much as name him, because if his words are as noted as they are public, every good man will scorn them; if they be private, I am not willing to publish his shame, but leave him to consideration and repentance; but for our dear afflicted mother, she is under the portion of a child, in the state of discipline, her government indeed hindered, but her worshippings the same, the articles as true and those of the church of Rome as false, as ever, of which I hope the following book will be one great instance. But I wish that all tempted persons would consider the illogical deductions, by which these men would impose upon their consciences: if the church of England be destroyed, then transubstantiation is true; which indeed had concluded well, if that article had only pretended false, because the church of England was prosperous. But put the case the Turk should invade Italy, and set up the Alcoran in St. Peter's church, would it be endured that we should conclude that Rome was antichristian, because her temporal glory is defaced? The apostle, in this case, argued otherwise. The church of the Jews was cut off for their sins; "Be not high-minded, O gentile, but fear," lest he also cut thee off; it was counsel given to the Romans. But though, blessed be God, our afflictions are great, yet we can and do enjoy the same religion, as the good christians in the first three hundred years did theirs; we can serve God in our houses, and sometimes in churches; and our faith, which was not built upon temporal foundations, cannot be shaken by the convulsions of war and the changes of state. But they who make our afflictions an objection against us, unless they have a promise that they shall never be afflicted, might do well to remember, that if they ever fall into trouble, they have nothing left to represent or make their condition tolerable; for by pretending religion is destroyed when it is persecuted, they take away all that, which can support their own spirits and sweeten persecution: however, let our church be where it pleases God it shall, it is certain that transubstantiation is an evil doctrine, false and dangerous; and I know not any church in christendom, which hath any article more impossible, or apt to render the communion dangerous, than this in the church of Rome: and since they command us to believe all, or will accept none, I hope the just reproof of this one will establish the minds of those who can be tempted to communicate with them in others. I have now given an account of the reasons of my present engagement; and though it may be inquired also, why I presented it to you, I fear I shall not give so perfect an account of it; because those excellent reasons, which invited me to this signification of my gratitude, are such which, although they ought to be made public, yet I know not whether your humility will permit it; for you had rather oblige others than be noted by them. Your predecessor in the see of Rochester, who was almost a cardinal, when he was almost dead, did, publicly, in those evil times, appear against the truth defended in this book,—and yet he was more moderate and better tempered than the rest; but because God hath put the truth into the hearts and mouths of his successors, it is not improper, that to you should be offered the opportunities of owning that which is the belief and honour of that see, since the religion was reformed. But lest it be thought that this is an excuse, rather than a reason of my address to you, I must crave pardon of your humility, and serve the end of glorification of God in it, by acknowledging publicly that you have assisted my condition by the emanations of that grace, which is the crown of martyrdom; expending the remains of your lessened fortunes, and increasing charity upon your brethren, who are dear to you, not only by the band of the same ministry, but the fellowship of the same sufferings. But indeed the cause, in which these papers are engaged, is such, that it ought to be owned by them that can best defend it; and since the defence is not with secular arts and aids, but by spiritual; the diminution of your outward circumstances cannot render you a person unfit to patronize this book, because where I fail, your wisdom, learning, and experience, can supply: and therefore, if you will pardon my drawing your name from the privacy of your retirement into a public view, you will singularly oblige, and increase those favours, by which you have already endeared the thankfulness and service of,

Right Reverend,

Your most affectionate

And endeared Servant in the Lord Jesus,

JER. TAYLOR.

SECTION I.

State of the Question.

1. THE tree of knowledge became the tree of death to us; and the tree of life is now become an apple of contention. The holy symbols of the eucharist were intended to be a contesseration, and a union of christian societies to God, and with one another; and the evil taking it, disunites us from God; and the evil understanding it, divides us from each other. *Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν, εἰ γῆ χρηστὴ μὲν ἁμαρτοῦσ' ᾧν χρεὼν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν, κακὸν δίδωσι καρπόν.* And yet if men would but do reason, there were in all religion no article, which might more easily excuse us from meddling with questions about it, than this of the holy sacrament. For as the man in Phædrus, that being asked what he carried hidden under his cloak, answered, it was hidden under his cloak; meaning, that he would not have hidden it, but that he intended it should be secret: —so we may say in this mystery to them that curiously ask, what, or how it is? "Mysterium est;" "It is a sacrament, and a mystery;" by sensible instruments it consigns spiritual graces; by the creatures it brings us to God; by the body it ministers to the spirit. And that things of this nature are undiscernible secrets, we may learn by the experience of those men, who have, in cases not unlike, vainly laboured to tell us, how the material fire of hell should torment an immaterial soul, and how baptismal water should cleanse the spirit, and how a sacrament should nourish a body, and make it sure of the resurrection.

2. It was happy with christendom, when she, in this article, retained the same simplicity which she always was bound to do in her manners and intercourse; that is, to believe the thing heartily, and not to inquire curiously; and there was peace in this article for almost a thousand years together; and yet that transubstantiation was not determined, I hope to make very evident: "In synaxi transubstantiationem serò definivit ecclesia: diù satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi;" so said the great Erasmus:[m] "It was late before the church defined transubstantiation; for a long time together it did suffice to believe, that the true body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated bread or any other way:" so the thing was believed, the manner was not stood upon. And it is a famous saying of Durandus;[n] "Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus:" "We hear the word, we perceive the motion, we know not the manner, but we believe the presence;" and Ferus,[o] of whom Sixtus Senensis[p] affirms that he was "vir nobiliter doctus, pius et eruditus," hath these words: "Cum certum sit ibi esse corpus Christi, quid opus est disputare, num panis substantiâ maneat, vel non?" "When it is certain that Christ's body is there, what need we dispute whether the substance of bread remain or no?" and therefore Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of Duresme, would have every one left to his conjecture concerning the manner: "De modo quo id fieret, satius erat curiosum quemque relinquere suæ conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante concilium Lateranum:"[q] "Before the Lateran council, it was free for every one to opine as they please, and it were better it were so now." —But St. Cyril[r] would not allow so much liberty; not that he would have the manner determined, but not so much as thought upon. "Firmam fidem mysteriis adhibentes, nunquam in tam sublimibus rebus, illud *quomodo*, aut cogitemus aut proferamus." For if we go about to think it or understand it, we lose our labour. "Quomodo enim id fiat, ne in mente intelligere, nec linguâ dicere possumus, sed silentio et firmâ fide id suscipimus:" "We can perceive the thing by faith, but cannot express it in words, nor understand it with our mind," said St. Bernard.[s] "Oportet igitur, (it is at last, after the steps of the former progress, come to be a duty,) nos in sumptionibus divinorum mysteriorum, indubitatam retinere fidem, et non quærere quo pacto." The sum is; The manner was defined but very lately: there is no need at all to dispute it; no advantages by it; and therefore it were better it were left at liberty to every man to think as he please; for so it was in the church for above a thousand years together; and yet it were better men would not at all trouble themselves concerning it; for it is a thing impossible to be understood; and therefore it is not fit to be inquired after. This was their sense: and I suppose we do, in no sense, prevaricate their so pious and prudent counsel by saying, "The presence of Christ is real and spiritual; because this account does still leave the article in his deepest mystery; not only because spiritual formalities and perfections are undiscernible and incommensurable by natural proportions, and the measures of our usual notices of things, but also because the word "spiritual" is so general a term, and operations so various and many, by which the Spirit of God brings his purposes to pass, and does his work upon the soul, that we are, in this specific term, very far from limiting the article to a minute and special manner. Our word of "spiritual presence" is particular in nothing, but that it excludes the corporal and natural manner; we say it is not this, but it is to be understood figuratively, that is, not naturally, but to the purposes and in the manner of the Spirit and spiritual things; which how they operate or are effected, we know no more than we know how a cherub sings or thinks, or by what private conveyances a lost notion returns suddenly into our memory, and stands placed in the eye of reason. Christ is present spiritually, that is, by effect and blessing; which, in true speaking, is rather the consequent of his presence than the formality. For though we are taught and feel *that*, yet *this* we profess we cannot understand; and therefore curi-

[m] 1 Cor. vii. [n] Neand. Synops. Chron. p. 203.
[o] In Matt. xxvi.
[p] Biblioth. Sixt. Senensis, lib. 4. tit. Johannes Ferus.
[q] Tonstal. de Eucharist. lib. 1. p. 46.
[r] Cyril. in Joh. lib. 4. c. 13. [s] Epist. 77.

ously inquire not. Σαφὴς ἔλεγχος, ἀπιστίας τὸ πῶς περὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν, said Justin Martyr; "It is a manifest argument of infidelity, to inquire, concerning the things of God, *How*, or *After what manner?*" And in this it was, that many of the fathers of the church laid their hands upon their mouths, and revered the mystery, but like the remains of the sacrifice, they burnt it; that is, as themselves expound the allegory, it was to be adored by faith, and not to be discussed with reason; knowing that, as Solomon said, "Scrutator majestatis opprimetur à gloriâ:" "He that pries too far into the majesty, shall be confounded with the glory."

3. So far it was very well; and if error or interest had not unravelled the secret, and looked too far into the sanctuary, where they could see nothing but a cloud of fire, majesty and secrecy indiscriminately mixed together,—we had kneeled before the same altars, and adored the same mystery, and communicated in the same rites, to this day. For, in the thing itself, there is no difference amongst wise and sober persons; nor ever was, till the manner became an article, and declared or supposed to be of the substance of the thing. But now the state of the question is this:

4. The doctrine of the church of England, and generally of the protestants, in this article is,—that after the minister of the holy mysteries hath rightly prayed, and blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, in a spiritual real manner: so that all that worthily communicate, do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of his passion: the wicked receive not Christ, but the bare symbols only; but yet to their hurt,[t] because the offer of Christ is rejected, and they pollute the blood of the covenant, by using it as an unholy thing. The result of which doctrine is this: It is bread, and it is Christ's body. It is bread in substance, Christ in the sacrament; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed, as the symbols are; each as they can; Christ as Christ can be given; the bread and wine as they can; and to the same real purposes to which they are designed; and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul, as the elements do the body. It is here, as in the other sacrament; for as there natural water becomes the lava of regeneration; so here bread and wine becomes the body and blood of Christ; but, there and here too, the first substance is changed by grace, but remains the same in nature.

5. That this is the doctrine of the church of England, is apparent in the church catechism; affirming "the inward part or thing signified" by the consecrated bread and wine to be "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's supper;" and the benefit of it to be, "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine:" and the same is repeated severally in the exhortation, and in the prayer of the address before the consecration, in the canon of our communion; "verily and indeed" is "reipsâ," that is, "really enough;" that is our sense of the real presence; and Calvin[u] affirms as much, saying, "In the supper Christ Jesus, viz. his body and blood, is truly given under the signs of bread and wine." And Gregory de Valentiâ gives this account of the doctrine of the protestants; that "although Christ be corporally in heaven, yet is he received of the faithful communicants in this sacrament truly, both spiritually by the mouth of the mind, through a most near conjunction of Christ with the soul of the receiver by faith, and also sacramentally with the bodily mouth," &c. And, which is the greatest testimony of all, we, who best know our own minds, declare it to be so.

6. Now that the spiritual is also a real presence, and that they are hugely consistent, is easily credible to them, that believe that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are real graces, and a spirit is a proper substance: and τὰ νοητὰ are amongst the Hellenists τὰ ὄντα, "intelligible things;" or things discerned by the mind of a man, are more truly and really such, and of a more excellent substance and reality, than things only sensible. And therefore, when things spiritual are signified by materials, the thing under the figure is called true, and the material part is opposed to it, as less true or real. The examples of this are not unfrequent in Scripture: "the tabernacle," into which the high priest entered, was a type or a figure of heaven. Heaven itself is called σκηνὴ ἀληθινὴ, "the true tabernacle;"[x] and yet the other was the material part. And when they are joined together, that is, when a thing is expressed by a figure, ἀληθῆ, "true," is spoken of such things, though they are spoken figuratively: "Christ, the true light, that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world;"[y] he is also "the true vine,"[z] and "verè cibus," "truly or really meat," and "panis verus è cœlo," "the true[a] bread from heaven;" and spiritual goods are called "the true riches:"[b] and in the same analogy, the spiritual presence of Christ is the most true, real, and effective; the other can be but the image and shadow of it, something in order to this: for if it were in the sacrament naturally or corporeally, it could be but in order to this spiritual, celestial, and effective presence, as appears beyond exception in this; that the faithful and pious communicants receive the ultimate end of his presence, that is, spiritual blessings: the wicked (who by the affirmation of the Roman doctors,[c] do receive Christ's body and blood in the natural and corporal manner) fall short of that for which this is given, that is, of the blessings and benefits.

7. So that, as St. Paul[d] said, "He is not a Jew, who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outwardly, in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is inwardly," ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, and περι-

[t] Dum enim sacramenta violantur, ipse cujus sunt sacramenta violatur.—S. Hieron. in 1 Malac.
[u] Lib. 4. Inst. c. 7. sect. 32. De Missæ Sacrific.
[x] Heb. viii. 2. [y] 1 John ii. 8. [z] John xv. 1.
[a] John vi. 32, 55. [b] Luke xvi. 12.
[c] Concil. Trident. sess. 4. sub Julio 3. 1551. Can. 8.
[d] Rom. ii. 28, 29.

τομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, that is the real Jew, and "the true circumcision, that which is of the heart, and in the spirit;" and in this sense it is that Nathaniel is said to be ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης, really and "truly an Israelite:"[e] so we may say of the blessed sacrament, "Christ is more truly and really present in spiritual presence than in corporal, in the heavenly effect than in the natural being;" this, if it were at all, can be but the less perfect; and, therefore, we are, to the most real purposes, and in the proper sense of Scripture, the more real defenders of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament: for the spiritual sense is the most real, and most true, and most agreeable to the analogy and style of Scripture, and right reason, and common manner of speaking. For every degree of excellency is a degree of being, of reality, and truth; and therefore spiritual things, being more excellent than corporal and natural, have the advantage both in truth and reality. And this is fully the sense of the christians, who use the Egyptian liturgy. "Sanctifica nos, Domine noster, sicut sanctificâsti has oblationes propositas; sed fecisti illas *non fictas* (that is for *real*); et quicquid apparet, est mysterium tuum *spirituale* (that is for *spiritual*)." To all which I add the testimony of Bellarmine[f] concerning St. Austin; "Apud Augustinum sæpissimè, illud solum dici tale, et verè tale, quod habet effectum suum conjunctum: res enim ex fructu æstimatur: itaque illos dicit verè comedere corpus Christi, qui utiliter comedunt:" "They only truly eat Christ's body, that eat it with effect; for then a thing is really or truly such, when it is not to no purpose; when it hath his effect."—And in his eleventh book "against Faustus the Manichee," chap. 7. he shows that, in Scripture, the words are often so taken, as to signify not the substance, but the quality and effect, of a thing. So when it is said, "*flesh and blood* shall not inherit the kingdom of God," that is, "*corruption* shall not inherit:" and, in the resurrection, our bodies are said to be spiritual, that is, not in substance, but in effect and operation: and in the same manner he often speaks concerning the blessed sacrament; and Clemens Romanus affirms expressly, Τοῦτ' ἔστι πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας· "This is to drink the blood of Jesus, to partake of the Lord's immortality."

8. This may suffice for the word "real," which the English papists much use, but, as it appears, with less reason than the sons of the church of England: and when the real presence is denied, the word "real" is taken for "natural;" and does not signify "transcendenter," or, in his just and most proper signification. But the word "substantialiter" is also used by protestants in this question: which I suppose may be the same with that which is in the article of Trent; "sacramentaliter præsens Salvator substantiâ suâ nobis adest," "in substance, but after a sacramental manner:"[g] which words, if they might be understood in the sense in which the protestants use them, that is, really, truly, without fiction or the help of fancy, but "in rei veritate," so, as Philo calls spiritual things ἀναγκαιότατα οὐσίαι, "most necessary, useful, and material substances," it might become an instrument of a united confession; and this is the manner of speaking which St. Bernard[h] used in his sermon of St. Martin, where he affirms, "In sacramento exhiberi nobis veram carnis substantiam, sed spiritualiter, non carnaliter:" "In the sacrament is given us the true substance of Christ's body or flesh, but not carnally, but spiritually;" that is, not to our mouths, but to our hearts; not to be chewed by teeth, but to be eaten by faith. But they mean it otherwise, as I shall demonstrate by and by. In the mean time it is remarkable, that Bellarmine, when he is stating this question, seems to say the same thing, for which he quotes the words of St. Bernard now mentioned; for he says "that Christ's body is there truly, substantially, really; but not corporally; nay, you may say spiritually:" and now a man would think we had him sure; but his nature is labile and slippery, you are never the nearer for this; for first he says, "It is not safe to use the word 'spiritually,' nor yet safe to say, he is not there 'corporally,' lest it be understood, not of the manner of his presence, but to the exclusion of the nature." For he intends not (for all these fine words) that Christ's body is present spiritually, as the word is used in Scripture, and in all common notices of usual speaking; but spiritually, with him, signifies after the manner of spirits,—which, besides that it is a cozening the world in the manner of expression, is also a direct folly and contradiction, that a body should be substantially present, that is, with the nature of a body, naturally,—and yet be not as a body but as a spirit, with that manner of being with which a spirit is distinguished from a body. In vain, therefore, it is, that he denies the carnal manner, and admits a spiritual,—and ever after requires, that we believe a carnal presence, even in the very manner. But this caution and exactness in the use of the word "spiritual" is, therefore, carefully to be observed, lest the contention of both parties should seem trifling, and to be for nothing. We say that Christ's body is in the sacrament "really, but spiritually." They say it is there "really, but spiritually." For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here, by "spiritually" they mean "present after the manner of a spirit;" by "spiritually" we mean, "present to our spirits only;" that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith or spiritual susception; but their way makes his body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction; a body not after the manner of a body, a body like a spirit; a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood without blood: "corpus incorporeum, cruor incruentus." They say, that Christ's body is truly present there, as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place:—that is there spiritually. But we, by

[e] John i. 47.
[f] Lib. 1. Eucha. c. 11. sect. Respondeo apud.
[g] Decretum de SS. Euchar. Sacra. can. 1.
[h] Lib. 1. Euchar. c. 2. reg. 3.

the real spiritual presence of Christ, do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.

9. That which seems of hardest explication is the word "corporaliter," which I find that Melancthon used; saying, "Corporaliter quoque communicatione carnis Christi Christum in nobis habitare;" which manner of speaking, I have heard, he avoided, after he had conversed with Œcolampadius, who was able then to teach him, and most men, in that question; but the expression may become warrantable, and consonant to our doctrine; and means no more than "really and "without fiction," or "beyond a figure:" like that of St. Paul, "In Christ dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily:"[i] upon which St. Austin says, "In ipso inhabitat plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter, quia in templo habitaverat umbraliter;" and in St. Paul σκία καὶ σῶμα are opposed, "which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ;"[k] that is "the substance," "the reality," the correlative of the type and figure, the thing signified: and among the Greeks σωματοποιεῖν signifies "solidare," "to make firm, real, and consistent;" but among the fathers, σῶμα, or "body," signifies πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι γενόμενον, "every thing that is produced from nothing," saith Phavorinus; that is, every thing that is real "extra non ens," that hath a proper being; so that we, receiving Christ in the sacrament "corporally" or "bodily," understand, that we do it really, by the ministry of our bodies receiving him into our souls. And thus we affirm Christ's body to be present in the sacrament: not only in type or figure, but in blessing and real effect; that is, more than in the types of the law; the shadows were of the law, "but the body is of Christ."[l] And besides this; the word "corporally" may be very well used, when by it is only understood a corporal sign. So St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his third catechism says, that the "Holy Ghost did descend corporally in the likeness of a dove;" that is, in a type or representment of a dove's body (for so he and many of the ancients did suppose): and so he[m] again uses the word: "Jesus Christ, as a man, did inspire the Holy Spirit corporally into his apostles;" where by "corporally" it is plain he means "by a corporal or material sign or symbol," viz. by "breathing upon them and saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." In either of these senses if the word be taken, it may indifferently be used in this question.

10. I have been the more careful to explain the question, and the use of these words according to our meaning in the question, for these two reasons. 1. Because until we are agreed upon the signification of the words, they are equivocal; and by being used on both sides to several purposes, sometimes are pretended as instruments of union, but indeed effect it not; but sometimes displease both parties, while each suspects the word in a wrong sense. And this hath with very ill effect been observed in the conferences for composing the difference in this question; particularly that of Poissy, where it was propounded in these words; "Credimus in usu cœnæ Dominicæ verè, reipsâ, substantialiter, seu in substantiâ verum corpus, et sanguinem Christi spirituali et ineffabili modo esse, exhiberi, sumi à fidelibus communicantibus."[n] Beza and Gallasius for the reformed, and Espencæus and Monlucius for the Romanists, undertook to propound it to their parties. But both rejected it: for though the words were not disliked, yet they suspected each other's sense. But now, that I have declared what is meant by us in these words, they are made useful in the explicating the question. 2. But because the words do perfectly declare our sense, and are owned publicly in our doctrine and manner of speaking, it will be in vain to object against us those sayings of the fathers, which use the same expressions: for if by virtue of those words, "really, substantially, corporally, verily, and indeed, and Christ's body and blood," the fathers shall be supposed to speak for "transubstantiation;" they may as well suppose it to be our doctrine too, for we use the same words; and therefore, those authorities must signify nothing against us, unless these words can be proved in them to signify more than our sense of them does import: and by this truth, many, very many of their pretences, are evacuated.

11. One thing more I am to note in order to the same purposes; that, in the explication of this question, it is much insisted upon, that it be inquired whether, when we say we believe Christ's body to be "really" in the sacrament, we mean, "that body, that flesh, that was born of the Virgin Mary," that was crucified, dead, and buried? I answer, I know none else that he had, or hath: there is but one body of Christ natural and glorified; but he that says, that body is glorified, which was crucified, says it is the same body, but not after the same manner:[o] and so it is in the sacrament; we eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, that was broken and poured forth; for there is no other body, no other blood, of Christ; but though it is the same which we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner: and therefore, when any of the protestant divines, or any of the fathers,[p] deny that body which was born of the Virgin Mary, that which was crucified, to be eaten in the sacrament,—as Bertram, as St. Jerome, as[q] Clemens Alexandrinus, expressly affirm; the meaning is easy;—they intend that it is not eaten in a natural sense; and then calling it "corpus spirituale," the word "spiritual" is not a substantial predication, but is an affirmation of the manner, though, in disputation, it be made the predicate of a

[i] Col. ii. 9.
[k] Col. ii. 17.
[l] Col. ii. 17.
[m] Dial. de Incar. Unig.
[n] Eccles. Hist. Eccles. Gallic. lib. 4. p. 604, 605. et Comment. de Statu Relig. et reip. sub. Carolo 9. A. D. 1561. et Thuanum, Hist. lib. 28. ad eundem annum.

[o] See Bp. Ridley's answer to Curtop's first argument in his disp. at Oxford, Fox Martyrol. p. 1451. vet. edit.
[p] Vide infrà, sect. 12.
[q] Dupliciter verò sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur, spiritualis illa, atque divina, de quâ ipse dixit, Caro mea verè est cibus, &c.; vel caro et sanguis, quæ crucifixa est, et qui militis effusus est lanceâ: in Epist. Ephes. c. 1.

proposition, and the opposite member of a distinction. "That body which was crucified, is not that body that is eaten in the sacrament,"—if the intention of the proposition be to speak of the eating it in the same manner of being; but "that body which was crucified, the same body we do eat,"—if the intention be to speak of the same thing in several manners of being and operating: and this I noted, that we may not be prejudiced by words, when the notion is certain and easy: and thus far is the sense of our doctrine in this article.

12. On the other side, the church of Rome uses the same words we do, but wholly to other purposes; affirming, 1. That after the words of consecration, on the altar there is no bread; in the chalice there is no wine. 2. That the accidents,[r] that is, the colour, the shape, the bigness, the weight, the smell, the nourishing qualities, of bread and wine, do remain, but neither in the bread, nor in the body of Christ, but by themselves, that is, so that there is whiteness, and nothing white; sweetness, and nothing sweet, &c. 3. That in the place of the substance of bread and wine, there is brought the natural body of Christ, and his blood that was shed upon the cross. 4. That the flesh of Christ is eaten by every communicant, good and bad, worthy and unworthy. 5. That this is conveniently, properly, and most aptly, called transubstantiation, that is, a conversion of the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's natural body, of the whole substance of the wine into his blood. In the process of which doctrine they oppose "spiritualiter" to "sacramentaliter" and "realiter," supposing the spiritual manducation, though done in the sacrament by a worthy receiver, not to be sacramental and real.[s]

13. So that now the question is not, whether the symbols be changed into Christ's body and blood, or no? for it is granted on all sides: but whether this conversion be sacramental and figurative? or whether it be natural and bodily? Nor is it, whether Christ is really taken, but whether he be taken in a spiritual, or in a natural manner? We say, the conversion is figurative, mysterious, and sacramental; they say it is proper, natural, and corporal: we affirm, that Christ is really taken by faith, by the Spirit, to all real effects of his passion; they say, he is taken by the mouth, and that the spiritual and the virtual taking him, in virtue or effect, is not sufficient, though done also in the sacrament. "Hic Rhodus, hic saltus." This thing I will try by Scripture, by reason, by sense, and by tradition.

SECTION II.

Transubstantiation not warrantable by Scripture.

1. THE Scriptures pretended for it, are St. John vi. and the words of institution, recorded by three evangelists, and St. Paul. Concerning which, I shall first lay this prejudice; that, by the confession of the Romanists themselves, men learned and famous in their generations, nor these places, nor any else in Scripture are sufficient to prove transubstantiation. Cardinal Cajetan affirms that there is in Scripture nothing of force or necessity to infer transubstantiation out of the words of institution, and that the words, "seclusâ ecclesiæ auctoritate," "setting aside the decree of the church," are not sufficient. This is reported by Suarez; but he says,[t] that the words of Cajetan, by the command of Pius V., were left out of the Roman edition, and he adds that "Cajetanus solus ex catholicis hoc docuit," "he only of their side taught it;" which is carelessly affirmed by the Jesuit; for another cardinal, bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, affirmed the same thing; for, speaking of the words of institution recorded by St. Matthew, he says, "Neque ullum hîc verbum positum est, quo probetur in nostrâ missâ, veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam;"[u] "There are no words set down here [viz. in the words of institution] by which it may be proved, that in our mass there is a true presence of the flesh and blood of Christ."—To this I add a third cardinal, Bishop of Cambray, De Aliaco, who though he likes the opinion, because it was then more common, that the substance of bread does not remain after consecration; yet "ea non sequitur evidenter ex Scripturis,"—"it does not follow evidently from Scripture."[x]

2. To these three cardinals, I add the concurrent testimony of two famous schoolmen: Johannes Duns Scotus, who, for his rare wit and learning, became a father of a scholastical faction in the schools of Rome,—affirms, "Non exstare locum ullum Scripturæ, tam expressum, ut sine ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat transubstantiationem admittere:" "There is no place of Scripture so express, that, without the declaration of the church, it can evidently compel us to admit transubstantiation."[y] And Bellarmine himself says, that it is not altogether improbable, since it is affirmed "à doctissimis et acutissimis hominibus," "by most learned and most acute men."[z] The bishop of Evreux, who was afterward Cardinal Richelieu, not being well pleased with Scotus in this question, said that Scotus had only considered the testimonies of the fathers cited by Gratian, Peter Lombard, Aquinas, and the schoolmen before him; suppose that. But these testimonies are not few, and the witty man was as able to understand their opinion by their words as any man since; and therefore we have the income of so many fathers as are cited by the canon law, the Master of the Sentences and his scholars, to be partly a warrant, and none of them to contradict the opinion of Scotus; who neither believed it to be taught evidently in Scripture, nor by the fathers.[a]

3. The other schoolman I am to reckon in this account, is Gabriel Biel. "Quomodo ibi sit corpus

[r] Concil. Trid. decretum de SS. Euchar. Sacram.
[s] Can. 8. Anathematis. [t] Tom. 3. disp. 46. sect. 3.
[u] Cap. 1. contr. Captiv. Babylon.
[x] In 4. Sent. q. 6. lit. f.
[y] Veritas Eucharistiæ sine Transubstantiatione salvari potest. Scotus in 4. dist. 11. q. 3.
[z] Bellarmin. de Euch. lib. 3. c. 23. sect. secundò dicit.
[a] Vide infrà, sect. 11. n. 19.

Christi, an per conversionem alicujus in ipsum, an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantiâ et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone Bibliæ:" "How the body of Christ is there, whether by conversion of any thing into it, or without conversion it begin to be the body of Christ with the bread, the accidents and the substance of the bread still remaining, is not found expressed in the canon of the Bible."[b] —Hitherto I could add the concurrent testimony of Ocham in "4. q. 6. of Johannes de Bassolis," who is called "Doctor Ordinatissimus," but that so much to the same purpose is needless, and the thing is confessed to be the opinion of many writers of their own party; as appears in Salmeron.[c] And Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, amongst the things not expressed in Scripture, reckons the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.[d]

4. If it be said,—that the church's determination is a better interpreter of Scripture than they;—it is granted: but did the church ever interpret Scripture to signify transubstantiation, and say, that, by the force of the words of Scripture, it was to be believed? If she did not, then to say she is a better interpreter, is to no purpose; for though the church be a better interpreter than they, yet they did not contradict each other; and their sense might be the sense of the church. But if the church, before their time, had expounded it against their sense, and they not submit to it, how do you reckon them catholics, and not me? For it is certain if the church, expounding Scripture, did declare it to signify "transubstantiation," they did not submit themselves and their writings to the church. But if the church had not in their times done it, and hath done it since, that is another consideration; and we are left to remember, that till Cajetan's time, that is, till Luther's time,—the church had not declared that Scripture did prove transubstantiation; and since that time we know who hath; but not the church catholic.

5. And indeed it had been strange, if the cardinals of Cambray, de Sanctovio, and of Rochester, if Scotus and Biel, should never have heard, that the church had declared that the words of Scripture did infer transubstantiation. And it is observable, that all these lived long after the article itself was said to be decreed in the Lateran; where if the article itself was declared, yet it was not declared as from Scripture; or if it was, they did not believe it. But it is a usual device amongst their writers to stifle their reason, or to secure themselves with a submitting to the authority of their church, even against their argument: and if any one speaks a bold truth, he cannot escape the inquisition, unless he compliment the church, and with a civility tell her that she knows better: which, in plain English, is no otherwise than the fellow, that did penance for saying the priest lay with his wife: he was forced to say, "Tongue, thou liest," though he was sure his *eyes* did not lie. And this is that which Scotus said: "Transubstantiation, without the determination of the church, is not evidently inferred from Scripture." This I say is a compliment, and was only to secure the friar from the inquisitors; or else was a direct stifling of his reason: for it contains in it a great error, or a worse danger: for if the article be not contained so in Scripture as that we are bound to believe it by his being there, then the church must make a new article; or it must remain as it was, that is, obscure; and we uncompelled and still at liberty. For she cannot declare, unless it be so: she declares what is, or what is not: if what is not, she declares a lie; if what is, then it is in Scripture before, and then we are compelled, that is, we ought, to have believed it. If it be said it was there, but in itself obscurely; I answer, then so it is still; for if it was obscurely there, and not only "quoad nos," or by defect on our part, she cannot say it is plain there: neither can she alter it, for if she sees it plain, then it was plain; if it be obscure, then she sees it obscurely: for she sees it as it is, or else she sees it not at all; and therefore must declare it to be so: that is, probably, obscurely, peradventure, but not evidently, compellingly, necessarily.

6. So that if, according to the casuists, especially of the Jesuits' order, it be lawful to follow the opinion of any one probable doctor; here we have five good men and true, besides Ocham, Bassolis, and Melchior Canus, to acquit us from our search after this question in Scripture. But because this, although it satisfies me, will not satisfy them that follow the decree of Trent; we will try whether this doctrine be to be found in Scripture.—"Pede pes."—

SECTION III.

Of the Sixth Chapter of St. John's Gospel.

In this chapter, it is earnestly pretended, that our blessed Saviour taught the mystery of transubstantiation; but with some different opinions; for in this question they are divided all the way: some reckon the whole sermon as the proof of it, from verse 33 to 58; though how to make them friends with Bellarmine I understand not; who says,[e] "'Constat,' 'It is known' that the eucharist is not handled in the whole chapter; for Christ there discourses of natural bread: the miracle of the loaves, of faith, and of the incarnation, are a great part of the chapter; 'Solùm igitur quæstio est de illis verbis,—Panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vitâ—et de sequentibus, fere ad finem capitis;'—'The question only is concerning those words, (verse 51,) The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world,—and so forward almost until the end of the chapter.'" The reason which is pretended for it, is, because Christ speaks in the future, and therefore probably relates to the institution which was to be next year: but this is a trifle; for the same thing, in effect, is before spoken in the future tense,

[b] Lect. 40. in can. Missæ. [c] Tom. 9. tract. 16. [d] Loc. Com. lib. 3. c. 3. fund. 2. [e] Lib. de Euchar. cap. 5.

and by way of promise;[f] "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat that endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you." The same also is affirmed by Christ, under the expression of water, St. John iv. 14; "He that drinketh the water which I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water which I shall give him, shall be a fountain of water springing up to life eternal." The places are exactly parallel; and yet, as this is not meant of baptism, so neither is the other of the eucharist; but both of them of spiritual sumption of Christ. And both of them being promises to them that shall come to Christ and be united to him, it were strange if they were not expressed in the future; for although they always did signify in present and "in sensu currenti," yet because they are of never-failing truth, to express them in the future is most proper, that the expectation of them may appertain to all,

Ad natos natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.

But then, because Christ said, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world,"—to suppose this must be meant of a corporal manducation of his flesh in the holy sacrament, is as frivolous as if it were said, that nothing that is spoken in the future can be figurative; and if so, then let it be considered what is meant by these; "To him that overcomes, I will give to eat of the tree of life;" and, "To him that overcomes I will give to eat of the hidden manna."[g] These promises are future, but certainly figurative; and, therefore, why it may not be so here, and be understood of eating Christ spiritually or by faith, I am certain there is no cause sufficient in this excuse. For if eating Christ by faith be a thing of all times, then it is also of the future; and no difference of time is so apt to express an "eternal truth" as is the future, which is alway in flux and potential signification. But the secret of the thing was this; the arguments against the sacramental sense of these words, drawn from the following verses between this and the fifty-first verse, could not be so well answered; and therefore, Bellarmine found out the trick of confessing all till you come thither, as appears in his answer to the ninth argument: "that of some catholics."[h] However, as to the article I am to say these things:—

1. That very many of the most learned Romanists affirm, that, in this chapter, Christ does not speak of sacramental or oral manducation, or of the sacrament at all: Johannes de Ragusio,[i] Biel,[k] Cusanus,[l] Ruard, Tapper,[m] Cajetan,[n] Hessels,[o] Jansenius,[p] Waldensis,[q] Armachanus:[r]—save only that Bellarmine, going to excuse it, says in effect, that they did not do it very honestly; for he affirms, that they did it that they might confute the Hussites and the Lutherans about the communion under both kinds: and if it be *so*, and not be *so*, as it may serve a turn, it is *so* for transubstantiation, and it is not *so* for the half-communion, we have but little reason to rely upon their judgment or candour in any exposition of Scripture. But it is no new thing for some sort of men to do so. The heretic Severus, in Anastasius Sinaita, maintained it lawful, and even necessary, δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας αἱρέσεις τὰ δόγματα Χριστοῦ μεταλλάττειν καὶ μεταῤῥυθμίζεσθαι, "according to occasions and emergent heresies to alter and change the doctrines of Christ:" and the cardinal of Cusa[s] affirmed it lawful, "diversely to expound the Scriptures according to the times." So that we know what precedents and authorities they can urge for so doing: and I doubt not but it is practised too often, since it was offered to be justified by Dureus against Whitaker.

2. These great clerks had reason to expound it, not to be meant of sacramental manducation, to avoid the unanswerable argument against their half-communion: for so Christ said, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." 1. It is therefore as necessary to drink the chalice as to eat the bread, and we perish if we omit either. And their new whimsey of "concomitancy" will not serve the turn, because there it is "sanguis effusus," that is, sacramentally poured forth: "blood that is poured forth," not that is in the body. 2. If it were in the body, yet a man, by no concomitancy, can be said to drink what he only eats. 3. If in the sacramental body, Christ gave the blood by concomitancy, then he gave the blood twice; which to what purpose it might be done, is not yet revealed. 4. If the blood be, by concomitancy, in the body, then so is the body with the blood: and then it will be sufficient to drink the chalice without the host, as to eat the host without the chalice; and then we must drink his flesh as well as eat his blood, which if we could suppose to be possible, yet the precept of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, were not observed by drinking that, which is to be eaten,—and eating that which is to be drunk. But certainly they are fine propositions which cannot be true, unless we can eat our drink and drink our meat, unless bread be wine and wine be bread, or, to speak in their style, unless the body be the blood, and the blood the body; that is, unless each of the two symbols be the other as much as itself; as much that which it is not, as that which it is. And this thing their own Pope Innocentius the Third,[t] and from him Vasques,[u] noted, and Salmeron,[x]—who affirmed that Christ commanded the manner as well as the thing; and that, without eating and drinking, the precept of Christ is not obeyed.

3. But whatever can come of this, yet upon the account of these words so expounded by some of the fathers concerning oral manducation and po-

[f] John vi. 27. [g] Rev. ii. 7, 17.
[h] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 7. sect. Respondeo Verba.
[i] De Communione sub utrâque specie. [k] In Canon.
[l] Epist. 7. ad Bohem. [m] Artic. 15.
[n] Part. 3. q. 80. art. 8.
[o] Lib. de Commun. sub unâ specie.
[p] Concord. Evang. c. 59. [q] Tom. 2. de Sacram. c. 91.
[r] Lib. 9. c. 8. Ejusdem sententiæ sunt Æneas Sylvius dial. contr. Tabor. Alensis, part 4. q. 11. mem. 2. a. 4. Lindanus, Gaspar Sagerus, et alii.
[s] Epist. 2. ad Bohem. ver. 53.
[t] Lib. 4. de Miss. Myster. c. 21.
[u] In 3. t. 3. dist. 216. n. 50. [x] Tom. 8. tr. 21.

tation, they believed themselves bound by the same necessity to give the eucharist to infants, as to give them baptism; and did, for above seven ages together, practise it, and let these men, that will have these words spoken of the eucharist, answer the argument:—Bellarmine is troubled with it, and, instead of answering, increases the difficulty, and concludes firmly against himself, saying, "If the words be understood of eating Christ's body spiritually, or by faith, it will be more impossible to infants; for it is easier to give them 'intinctum panem,' 'bread dipped in the chalice,' than to make them believe."[y] To this I reply, that therefore it is spoken to infants in neither sense, neither is any law at all given to them; and no laws can be understood as obligatory to them in that capacity. But then, although I have answered the argument, because I believe it not to be meant in the sacramental sense to any; nor in the spiritual sense to them; yet Bellarmine hath not answered the pressure that lies upon his cause. For since it is certain (and he confesses it[z]) that it is easier, that is, it is possible to give infants the sacrament; it follows, that if here the sacrament be meant, infants are obliged; that is, the church is obliged to minister it, as well as baptism: there being, in virtue of these words, the same necessity, and, in the nature of the thing, the same possibility, of their receiving it. But then, on the other side, no inconvenience can press our interpretation of "spiritual eating Christ by faith," because it being naturally impossible that infants should believe, they cannot be concerned in an impossible commandment. So that we can answer St. Austin's and Innocentius's arguments for communicating of infants, but they cannot.

4. If these words be understood of sacramental manducation, then no man can be saved but he that receives the holy sacrament. 1. For "unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" if it be answered, that the holy sacrament must be eaten in act or in desire; I reply, that is not true; because if a catechumen desires baptism only in the article of his death, it is sufficient to salvation, and they dare not deny it. 2. Fools, young persons, they that are surprised with sudden death, cannot be thought to perish for want of the actual susception or desire. 3. There is nothing in the words, that can warrant or excuse the actual omission of the sacrament; and it is a strange deception, that these men suffer by misunderstanding this distinction of receiving the sacrament either in act or desire. For they are not opposite but subordinate members, and differ only as act and disposition; and this disposition is not at all required, but as it is in order to the act, and therefore is nothing of itself, and is only the imperfection of, or passage to, the act; if therefore the act were not necessary, neither were the disposition; but if the act be necessary, then the desire, which is but the disposition to the act, is not sufficient. As, if it be necessary to go from Oxford to London, then it is necessary that you go to Henley, or Uxbridge; but if it be necessary to be at London, it is not sufficient to go to Uxbridge; but if it be not necessary to be at London, neither is it necessary to go so far. But this distinction, as it is commonly used, is made to serve ends, and is grown to that inconvenience, that repentance itself is said to be sufficient, if it be only in desire; for so they must, that affirm repentance, in the article of death, after a wicked life, to be sufficient; when it is certain there can be nothing actual but ineffective desires; and all the real and most material events of it cannot be performed, but desired only. But whosoever can be excused from the actual susception of a sacrament, can also, in an equal necessity, be excused from the desire; and no man can be tied to an absolute, irrespective desire of that which cannot be had: and if it can, the desire alone will not serve the turn. And indeed a desire of a thing, when we know it cannot be had, is a temptation either to impatience, or scruple; and why or how can a man be obliged to desire that to be done, which, in all his circumstances, is not necessary it should be done. A preparation of mind to obey in those circumstances, in which it is possible, that is, in which he is obliged, is the duty of every man; but this is not an explicit desire of the actual susception, which, in his case, is not obligatory, because it is impossible; and lastly, such a desire of a thing is wholly needless, because, in the present case, the thing itself is not necessary; therefore neither is the desire; neither did God ever require it but in order to the act. But however if we find by discourse, that for all these decretory words the desire can suffice, I demand by what instrument is that accepted; whether by faith, or no? I suppose it will not be denied. But if it be not denied, then a spiritual manducation can perform the duty of those words: for susception of the sacrament in desire, is at the most but a spiritual manducation. And St. Austin affirms, that baptism can perform the duty of those words, if Beda[a] quotes him right; for in his sermon to infants, and in his third book "de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione," he affirms that, in baptism, infants receive the body of Christ; so that these words may as well be understood of baptism, as of the eucharist, and of faith better than either.

5. The men of Capernaum understood Christ to speak these words of his natural flesh and blood, and were scandalized at it; and Christ reproved their folly, by telling them his words were to be understood in a spiritual sense; so that if men would believe him, that knew best the sense of his own words, there need be no scruple of the sense: I do not understand these words in a fleshly sense, but in a spiritual, saith Christ: "The flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken, they are spirit, and they are life."[b] Now, besides that the natural

[y] Clem. Rom. l. 8. c. 20. Constit. Apost. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ult. Gennadius, cap. 52. de Dogmat. Eccles. cap. de Sabbato Sancto Paschatis. S. Cyprian. Epist. 59. ad Fiduc. Concil. Tolet. 2. c. 11. S. August. Epist. 93. 106. Innocentius Papa, ibid. Paulinus Episc. Nolanus A. D. 353. Epist. 12. ad Severum. Paulinus de Infantibus ait: Pura salutiferis imbuit ora cibis.—Hic mos duravit ad tempora Ludovici Pii, et Lotharii, ait Beat. Rhenan. in Tertul. de Cor. Milit.

[z] Lib. 1. Euchar. c. 7. sect. Respondeo Communem.

[a] Beda in 1 Cor. x. citat Augustini serm. ad Infantes.

[b] St. John vi. 63.

sense of the words hath in it too much of the sense of the offended disciples, the reproof and consultation of it are equally against the Romanists as against the Capernaites. For we contend it is spiritual; so Christ affirmed it: they that deny the spiritual sense, and affirm the natural, are to remember, that Christ reproved all senses of these words that were not spiritual. And by the way let me observe, that the expressions of some chief men among the Romanists are so rude and crass, that it will be impossible to excuse them from the understanding the words in the sense of the men of Capernaum; for as they understood Christ to mean his "true flesh natural and proper," so do they: as they thought Christ intended they should tear him with their teeth and suck his blood, for which they were offended, so do these men not only think so, but say so, and are not offended. So said Alanus; "Apertissimè loquimur, corpus Christi verè à nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, dentibus teri, sensibiliter sacrificari, non minùs quàm ante consecrationem panis."[c] And they frequently quote those metaphors of St. Chrysostom, which he preaches in the height of his rhetoric, as testimonies of his opinion in the doctrinal part: and Berengarius was forced by Pope Nicholas to recant in those very words, affirming that Christ's body, "sensualiter non solùm sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri," that "Christ's flesh was sensually not only in the sacrament, but in truth of the thing, to be handled by the priest's hands, to be broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful:" insomuch that the gloss on the canon "de Consecratione, dist. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius," affirms it to be a worse heresy than that of Berengarius, unless it be so soberly understood: to which also Cassander assents:—and indeed I thought that the Romanists had been glad to separate their own opinion from the carnal conceit of the men of Capernaum, and the offended disciples,—supposing it to be a great objection against their doctrine, that it was the same with the men of Capernaum, and is only finer dressed: but I find that Bellarmine owns it, even in them, in their rude circumstances; for he affirms that "Christ corrected them not for supposing so, but reproved them for not believing it to be so."[d] And indeed himself says as much: "Corpus Christi verè ac propriè manducari etiam corpore in eucharistiâ:" "The body of Christ is truly and properly manducated or chewed with the body in the eucharist:"—and to take off the foulness of the expression by avoiding a worse, he is pleased to speak nonsense. "Nam ad rationem manducationis non est mera attritio, sed satis est sumptio et transmissio ab ore ad stomachum per instrumenta humana:" "A thing may be manducated or chewed, though it be not attrite or broken:"[e] if he had said, it might be swallowed and not chewed, he had said true; but to say, it may be chewed without chewing or breaking, is a riddle fit to spring from the miraculous doctrine of transubstantiation; and indeed it is a pretty device, that we take the flesh, and swallow down flesh, and yet manducate or chew no flesh, and yet we swallow down only what we manducate; "Accipite, manducate," were the words in the institution. And indeed, according to this device, there were no difference between eating and drinking; and the whale might have been said to have eaten Jonas, when she swallowed him without manducation or breaking him, and yet no man does speak so; but in the description of that accident reckon the whale to be fasting for all that morsel: "Invasusque cibus jejunâ vixit in alvo," said Alcimus Avitus; "Jejuni, plenique tamen vate intemerato," said Sidonius Apollinaris; "Vivente jejunus cibo," so Paulinus; "The fish was full and fasting," that is, she swallowed Jonas, but eat nothing. As a man does not eat bullets or quicksilver against the iliac passion, but swallows them, and we do not eat our pills; the Greek physicians therefore call a pill καταπότιον, "a thing to be swallowed;" and that this is distinct from eating, Aristotle tells us, speaking of the elephant, ἐσθίει τὴν γῆν, καταπίνει τοὺς λίθους, "he eats the earth, but swallows the stones." And Hesychius determined this thing, "non comedet ex eo quisquam, i. e. non dividetur, quia dentium est dividere, et partiri cibos, cum aliter mandi non possint."[f] To chew is but a circumstance of nourishment, but the essence of manducation. But Bellarmine adds, that if you will not allow him to say so, then he grants it in plain terms, that Christ's body is chewed, is attrite or broken with the teeth,—and that not tropically but properly,—which is the crass doctrine, which Christ reproved in the men of Capernaum. To lessen and sweeten this expression he tells us, it is indeed broken; but how? under the species of bread and invisibly; well, so it is, though we see it not; and it matters not under what; if it be broken, and we bound to believe it, then we cannot avoid the being that which they so detested, "devourers of man's flesh." See Theophylact in numb. 15. of this section.

6. Concerning the "bread" or the "meat indeed," of which Christ speaks, he also affirms that "whosoever eats it, hath life abiding in him:"[g] but this is not true of the sacrament; for the wicked eating it receive to themselves damnation. It cannot therefore be understood of oral manducation, but of spiritual, and of eating Christ by faith: that is, receiving him by an instrument or action evangelical. For receiving Christ by faith includes any way of communicating with his body: by baptism, by holy desires, by obedience, by love, by worthy receiving of the holy sacrament, and it signifies no otherwise, but as if Christ had said, "To all that believe in me and obey, I will become the author of life and salvation:" now because this is not done by all that receive the sacrament, not by unworthy communicants, who yet eat the symbols, (according to us,) and eat Christ's body, (according to their doctrine,) it is as unanswerably certain, that Christ here spake of spiritual manducation, not of sacra-

[c] Lib. 3. de Euchar. c. 37.
[d] Lib. 1. Euchar. cap. 6. sect. 2. ex Dubitatione.
[e] Ibid. cap. 11. Resp. ad 5. arg.
[f] In Levit. lib. 2. c. 1.
[g] John vi. 54.

mental. Bellarmine (he that answers all things whether he can or no) says that words of this nature are conditional; meaning, that he who eats Christ's flesh worthily, shall live for ever: and therefore this effects nothing upon vicious persons, yet it may be meant of the sacrament, because without his proper condition it is not prevalent. I reply, that it is true it is not, it cannot; and that this condition is spiritual manducation: but then without this condition the man doth not eat Christ's flesh, that which himself calls the true bread, for he that eats this, ἔχει, he "hath" life in him, that is, he is united to me, he is in the state of grace at present. For it ought to be observed, that although promises "de futuro possibili" are to be understood with a condition appendant; yet propositions, affirmative at present, are declarations of a thing in being, and suppose it actually existent: and the different parts of this observation are observable in the several parts of the fifty-fourth verse. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life;"—that is an affirmation of a thing in being, and therefore implies no other condition but the connexion of the predicate with the subject; "He that eats hath life."—But it follows, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσχάτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "and I will raise him up at the last day,"—that is, "de futuro possibili:" and therefore implies a condition besides the affirmation of the antecedent, viz. "si permanserit," "if he remain" in this condition, and does not unravel his first interest and forfeit his life. And so the argument remains unharmed, and is no other than what I learned from St. Austin, "Hujus rei sacramentum," &c. "De mensâ Dominicâ sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res verò ipsa cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit."[h] And it is remarkable that the context and design of this place take off this evasion from the adversary: for here Christ opposes this eating of his flesh to the Israelites' eating of manna, and prefers it infinitely; because they who did eat manna, might die, viz. spiritually and eternally: but they that eat his flesh, shall never die, meaning, they shall not die eternally: and therefore this eating cannot be a thing, which can possibly be done unworthily. For if manna, as it was sacramental, had been eaten worthily, they had not died who ate it; and what privilege then is in this above manna, save only that the eating of this supposes the man to do it worthily, and to be a worthy person, which the other did not? Upon which consideration Cajetan[i] says, that this eating is not common to worthily and unworthily, and that it is not spoken of eating the sacrament, but of eating and drinking, that is, communicating with the death of Jesus. The argument therefore lies thus. There is something, which Christ hath promised us, which whosoever receives, he receives life and not death; but this is not the sacrament: for of them that communicate, some receive to life, and some to death, saith St. Austin, —and a greater than St. Austin, St. Paul:[k] and yet this, which is life to all that receive it, is Christ's flesh, said Christ himself; therefore Christ's flesh here spoken of, is not sacramental.

7. To warrant the spiritual sense of these words against the natural, it were easy to bring down a traditive interpretation of them by the fathers; at least a great consent. Tertullian[l] hath these words; "Etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse, materiâ dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi verè carnem suam illis edendum determinâsset, ut in spiritu disponeret statum salutis, præmisit, 'Spiritus est qui vivificat;' atque ita subjunxit, 'Caro nihil prodest,' ad vivificandum scil.:" "Because they thought his saying hard and intolerable, as if he had determined his flesh to be eaten by them, that he might dispose the state of salvation in the Spirit, he premised, 'It is the Spirit that giveth life;' and then subjoins, 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' meaning, nothing to the giving of life."—So that here we have, besides his authority, an excellent argument for us: Christ said, he that eateth my flesh hath life; but the flesh, that is, the fleshly sense of it, profits nothing to life; but the Spirit, that is, the spiritual sense, does; therefore these words are to be understood in a spiritual sense.

8. And because it is here opportune by occasion of this discourse, let me observe this, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is infinitely useless and to no purpose; for by the words of our blessed Lord, by the doctrine of St. Paul, and the sense of the church, and the confession of all sides, the natural eating of Christ's flesh,—if it were there, or could so be eaten, alone, or of itself—does no good, does not give life: but the spiritual eating of him is the instrument of life to us; and this may be done without their transubstantiated flesh; it may be done in baptism, by faith and charity, by hearing and understanding, and therefore it may also in the blessed eucharist, although there also, according to our doctrine, he be eaten only sacramentally and spiritually. And hence it is, that, in the mass-book, anciently it is prayed after consecration, "Quæsumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut, de perceptis muneribus gratias exhibentes, beneficia potiora sumamus;"[m] "We beseech thee, Almighty God, that we, giving thanks for these gifts received, may receive greater gifts:" which besides that it concludes against the natural presence of Christ's body, (for what greater thing can we receive, if we receive *that?*) it also declares, that the grace and effect of the sacramental communion are the thing designed beyond all corporal sumption: and as it is more fully expressed in another collect;[n] "ut terrenis affectibus expiati ad superni plenitudinem sacramenti, cujus libavimus sancta, tendamus;" "that being redeemed from all earthly affections we may tend to the fulness of the heavenly sacrament, the holy things of which we have now began to taste."—And therefore, to multiply so many miracles, and contradictions, and

[h] Tract. 26. in Johan.
[i] In John vi.
[k] 1 Cor. xi.
[l] Tertul. de Resur. Carn. c. 37.
[m] Ser. 6. 4. temp. Septembr. post Consecrat.
[n] In Miss. vol. pro quâcunque Necessitate.

impossibilities to no purpose, is an insuperable prejudice against any pretence, less than a plain declaration from God.

9. Add to this, that this bodily presence of Christ's body, 1. is either for corporal nourishment, or for spiritual: not for corporal; for natural food is more proper for it; and to work a miracle to do that, for which so many natural means are already appointed, is to no purpose, and therefore cannot be supposed to be done by God; neither is it done for spiritual nourishment: because to the spiritual nourishment, virtues and graces, the word and the efficacious signs, faith and the inward actions, and all the emanations of the Spirit, are as proportioned, as meat and drink are to natural nourishment; and therefore there can be no need of a corporal presence. 2. Corporal manducation of Christ's body is apparently inconsistent with the nature and condition of a body. 1. Because that, which is after the manner of a spirit, and not of a body, cannot be eaten and drunk after the manner of a body, but of a spirit; as no man can eat a cherub with his mouth, if he were made apt to nourish the soul: but, by the confession of the Roman doctors, Christ's body is present in the eucharist after the manner of a spirit, therefore, without proportions to our body, or bodily actions. 2. That which neither can feel or be felt, see or be seen, move or be moved, change or be changed, neither do or suffer corporally, cannot certainly be eaten corporally; but so they affirm concerning the body of our blessed Lord; it cannot do or suffer corporally in the sacrament, therefore, it cannot be eaten corporally, any more than a man can chew a spirit, or eat a meditation, or swallow a syllogism into his belly. This would be so far from being credible, that God should work so many miracles in placing Christ's natural body for spiritual nourishment, that in case it were revealed, to be placed there to that purpose, itself must need one great miracle more to verify it, and reduce it to act; and it would still be as difficult to explain, as it is to tell how the material fire of hell should torment spirits and souls. And Socrates in Plato's banquet said well, "Wisdom is not a thing that can be communicated by local or corporal contiguity." 3. That the corporal presence does not nourish spiritually, appears, because some are nourished spiritually, who do not receive the sacrament at all, and some that do receive, yet fall short of being spiritually nourished, and so do all unworthy communicants. This therefore is to no purpose, and therefore cannot be supposed to be done by the wise God of all the world, especially with so great a pomp of miracles. 4. Cardinal Perron affirms,[o] that the real natural presence of Christ in the sacrament is to greatest purpose, because the residence of Christ's natural body in our bodies does really and substantially join us unto God, establishing a true and real unity between God and men. And Bellarmine speaks something like this, "de Euchar. lib. 3. c. 9." But concerning this, besides that every faithful soul is actually united to Christ without the actual residence of Christ's body in our bodies, since every one that is regenerated and born anew of water and of the Spirit, is *σύμφυτος*, "the same plant with Christ," as St. Paul calls him, Rom. vi. 5.—He hath put on Christ, he is bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, Gal. iii. 27. Ephes. v. 30.; and all this by faith, by baptism, by regeneration of the Spirit; besides this, I say, this corporal union of our bodies to the body of God incarnate, which these great and witty dreamers dream of, would make man to be God. For that which hath a real and substantial unity with God, is consubstantial with the true God, that is, he is really, substantially, and truly God; which to affirm were highest blasphemy. 5. One device more there is to pretend a usefulness of the doctrine of Christ's natural presence: viz. that, by his contact and conjunction, it becomes the cause and the seed of the resurrection. But besides that this is condemned by[p] Vasquez as groundless, and by[q] Suarez as improbable and a novel temerity, it is highly confuted by their own doctrine; for how can the contact or touch of Christ's body have that or any effect on ours, when it can neither be touched, nor seen, nor understood, but by faith? which[r] Bellarmine expressly affirms. But to return from whence I am digressed.

10. Tertullian adds in the same place; "Quia et sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus. Nam et paulò antè, carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronunciârat, urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum memoriam patrum, qui panes et carnes Egyptiorum præverterant divinæ vocationi:" "Because the Word was made flesh, therefore he was desired for life, to be devoured by hearing, to be ruminated or chewed by the understanding, to be digested by faith. For a little before, he called his flesh also celestial bread, still, or all the way, urging, by an allegory of necessary food, the memory of their fathers, who preferred the bread and flesh of Egypt before the Divine calling."

11. St. Athanasius, or who is the author of the tractate upon the words, "Quicunque dixerit verbum in filium hominis," in his works, saith, *Ὅτε ἃ λέγει οὐκ ἐστὶ σαρκικὰ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικά· πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφὴ γένηται; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελκύσῃ καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένῳ μάθωσιν. Τὰ γὰρ λελάληκα (φησὶν) ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή.* i. e. "The things which he speaks, are not carnal but spiritual: for to how many might his body suffice for meat, that it should become the nourishment of the whole world? But for this it was, that he put them in mind of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, that he might draw them off from carnal and corporal senses, and that they might learn that his flesh,

[o] De l'Euchar. p. 165. Gallic.
[p] Tom. 3. in 3. disp. 201. n. 3.
[q] Tom. 3. in 3. disp. 61. sect. 1.
[r] Lib. 3. de Euchar. c. 9.

which he called meat, was from above, heavenly and spiritual nourishment. For, saith he, the things that I have spoken, they are spirit and they are life."

12. But Origen is yet more decretory in this affair. "Est et in Novo Testamento litera, quæ occidit eum, qui non spiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur, adverterit; si enim secundùm literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, 'Nisi manducaveritis carnam meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum,' occidit hæc litera:" "If we understand these words of Christ, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood,' literally, this letter kills. For there is in the New Testament a letter that kills him, who does not spiritually understand those things which are spoken."[s]

13. St. Ambrose not only expounds it in a spiritual sense; but plainly denies the proper and natural: "Non iste panis est, qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit;" "That is not the bread of life which goes into the body, but that which supports the substance of the soul;"[t] and, "Fide tangitur, fide videtur, non tangitur corpore, non oculis comprehenditur:" "This bread is touched by faith, it is seen by faith:"[u] and without all peradventure that this is to be understood of eating and drinking Christ by faith, is apparent from Christ's own words, verse 35: "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me, shall not hunger; and he that believeth on me, shall not thirst:" "coming" to Christ is eating him; "believing him" is drinking his blood. It is not touched by the body, it is not seen with the eyes. St. Chrysostom, in his forty-seventh homily upon this chapter of St. John, expounds these words in a spiritual sense; "for these things," saith he, "are *οὐδὲν σαρκικὸν ἔχοντα οὐδὲ ἀκολουθίαν φυσικὴν*, such as have in them nothing carnal, nor any carnal consequence."

14. St. Austin gave the same exposition: "Ut, quid paras dentes et ventrem? crede et manducâsti:" and again: "Credere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. Qui credit in eum, manducat."[x]

15. Theophylact makes the spiritual sense to be the only answer in behalf of our not being cannibals, or devourers of man's flesh, as the men of Capernaum began to dream, and the men of Rome, though in better circumstances, to this day dream on, "Putabant isti quòd Deus cogeret *σαρκοφάγους*· quia enim nos hoc spiritualiter intelligimus, neque carnium voratores sumus, imò sanctificamur per talem cibum, non sumus carnis voratores:" "The men of Capernaum thought Christ would compel them to devour man's flesh. But because we understand this spiritually, therefore we are not devourers of man's flesh, but are sanctified by this meat."[y] Perfectly to the same sense, and almost in the very words, Theodorus, bishop of Hieraclea, is quoted in the Greek Catena upon St. John.

16. It were easy to add, that Eusebius[z] calls the "words" of Christ "his flesh and blood," *ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα*: that so also does St. Jerome, saying, that, although it may be understood in mystery, "tamen veriùs corpus Christi et sanguis ejus sermo scripturarum est;"[a] that so does Clemens Alexandrinus;[b] that St. Basil[c] says, that his doctrine and his mystical coming are his flesh and blood; that St. Bernard says, to imitate his life and communicate with his passion is to eat his flesh: but I decline, for the present, to insist upon these, because all of them, excepting St. Jerome only, may be supposed to be mystical expositions, which may be true, and yet another exposition may be true too. It may suffice that it is the direct sense of Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and Theophylact, that these words of Christ, in John vi., are not to be understood in the natural or proper, but in the spiritual sense. The spiritual they declare not to be the mystical, but the literal sense; and, therefore, their testimonies cannot be eluded by any such pretence.

17. And yet after all this, suppose that Christ, in these words, did speak of the sacramental manducation, and affirmed that the bread which he would give should be his flesh;—what is this to transubstantiation? That Christ did speak of the sacrament as well as of any other mystery, of this amongst others, that is, of all the ways of taking him, is to me highly probable: Christ is the food of our souls; this food we receive in at our ears, mouth, our hearts; and the allusion is plainer in the sacrament than in any other external rite, because of the similitude of bread, and eating, which Christ used upon occasion of the miracle of the loaves, which introduced all that discourse. But then this comes in only as it is an act of faith; for the meat which Christ gives, is to be taken by faith, himself being the expounder.[d] Now the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, being acts and symbols and consignations of faith, and effects of believing, that is, of the first and principal receiving him by faith in his words, and submission to his doctrine, may well be meant here, not by virtue of the words; for the whole form of expression is metaphorical, not at all proper; but by the proportion of reason and nature of his effect, it is an act or manner of receiving Christ, and an issue of faith, and therefore is included in the mystery. The food that Christ said he would give, is "his flesh, which he would give for the life of the world,"[e] viz. to be crucified and killed. And from that verse forward he doth more particularly refer to his death; for he speaks of "bread" only before, or "meat," *ἄρτος ἢ βρῶσις*,—but now he speaks of flesh and blood, *ἄρτος καὶ πόσις*· "bread and drink;" and therefore, by analogy, he may allude to the sacrament, which is his similitude and representation; but this is but the

[s] Origen. in Lect. c. 10. hom. 7.
[t] De Sacrament. lib. 5. c. 4. [u] In Lucam, lib. 6. c. 8.
[x] Tract. 25. in Joh. Tract. 26. [y] In John vi.
[z] Lib. 3. Eccles. Theol. contra Marcel. Ancyran. M. S.
[a] S. Hieron. Psal. cxlvii.
[b] Clem. Alex. lib. 1. pædag. c. 6.
[c] *Ἐστὶ μετὰ τί καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἐνδὸν ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλάμβανον τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃς ἐστιν ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.* St. Basil. in Psal. xxxiii.
[d] John vi. 29, 47, 61. [e] Ver. 51.

meaning of the second or third remove; if here Christ begins to change the particulars of his discourse, it can primarily relate to nothing but his death upon the cross; at which time he gave his flesh for the life of the world; and so giving it, it became meat; the receiving this gift was a receiving of life, for it was given for the life of the world. The manner of receiving it is by faith, and hearing the word of God, submitting our understanding; the digesting this meat is imitating the life of Christ, conforming to his doctrine and example; and as the sacraments are instruments or acts of this manducation, so they come under this discourse, and no otherwise.

18. But to return: this very allegory of the word of God to be called "meat," and particularly "manna," which in this chapter Christ particularly alludes to,—is not unusual in the Old Testament. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωσῆς, (saith Philo,)[f] Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν Κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε Κύριος, ὁρᾷς τῆς ψυχῆς τροφὴν ὅια ἐστὶ Λόγος Θεοῦ συνεχὴς, ἐοικὼς δρόσῳ κύκλῳ πᾶσαν περιειληφὼς, καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἐῶν. "Moses said unto them, 'This is the Word which the Lord hath given us to eat, This is the Word which the Lord hath ordained;" you see what is the food of the soul, even the eternal Word of God," &c. Καλεῖ μάννα τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων Λόγον Θεῖον, "The word of God, the most honourable and eldest of things, is called manna;"[g] and τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μετὰ τελειοτέρον ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλῳ τῷ Λόγῳ. "The soul is nourished by the Word,"[h]

—— qui pastus pulcherrimus est animorum.

19. And, therefore, now I will resume those testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Eusebius, St. Basil, St Jerome, and St. Bernard, which I waved before, all agreeing upon this exposition, that "the word of God, Christ's doctrine, is the flesh" he speaks of, and the receiving it and practising it, is the eating his flesh; for this sense is the literal and proper: and St. Jerome is express to affirm, that the other exposition is mystical, and that this is the more true and proper: and therefore, the saying of Bellarmine,[i] that they only give the mystical sense, is one of his confident sayings without reason, or pretence of proof: and whereas he adds, that they do not deny that these words are also understood, literally, of the sacrament: I answer, it is sufficient that they agree in this sense: and the other fathers do so expound it with an exclusion to the natural sense of eating Christ in the sacrament; particularly this appears in the testimonies of Origen and St. Ambrose above quoted: to which I add the words of Eusebius in the third book of his "Theologia Ecclesiastica," expounding the sixty-third verse of the sixth of St. John; he brings in Christ speaking thus; "Think not, that I speak of this flesh, which I bear; and do not imagine, that I appoint you to drink this sensible and corporal blood: but know ye, that the words which I have spoken are spirit and life."—Nothing can be fuller to exclude their interpretation, and to affirm ours: though to do so be not usual, unless they were to expound Scripture in opposition to an adversary; and to require such hard conditions in the sayings of men, that when they speak against Titius, they shall be concluded not to speak against Caius, if they do not clap their contrary negative to their positive affirmative, though Titius and Caius be against one another in the cause,—is a device to escape rather than to intend truth and reality in the discourses of men. I conclude, it is notorious and evident what Erasmus notes upon this place: "Hunc locum veteres interpretantur de doctrinâ cœlesti: sic enim dicit panem suum, ut frequenter dixit sermonem suum:" "The ancient fathers expound this place of the heavenly doctrine: so he calls the bread 'his own,' as he said often 'the word' to be 'his.'"—And if the concurrent testimonies of Origen, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, St. Basil, Athanasius, Eusebius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Theophylact, and St. Bernard, are a good security for the sense of a place of Scripture, we have read their evidence, and may proceed to sentence.

20. But it was impossible, but these words, falling upon the allegory of bread and drink, and signifying the receiving Christ crucified, and communicating with his passion in all the ways of faith and sacrament,—should also meet with as allegorical expounders, and for the likeness of expression be referred to sacramental manducation: and yet, I said, this cannot at all infer transubstantiation, though sacramental manducation were only and principally intended. For if it had been spoken of the sacrament, the words had been verified in the spiritual sumption of it; for as Christ is eaten by faith out of the sacrament, so is he also in the sacrament: as he is real and spiritual meat to the worthy hearer, so is he to the worthy communicant: as Christ's flesh is life to all that obey him, so to all that obediently remember him; so Christ's flesh is meat indeed, however it be taken, if it be taken spiritually, but not however it be taken, if it be taken carnally: he is nutritive in all the ways of spiritual manducation, but not in all the ways of natural eating, by their own confession, nor in any, by ours. And therefore it is a vain confidence to run away with the conclusion, if they should gain one of the premises: but the truth is this; it is neither properly spoken of the sacrament; neither, if it were, would it prove any thing of transubstantiation.

21. I will not be alone in my assertion, though the reasonableness and evidence would bear me out: St. Austin saith the same; "Spiritualiter intelligite, quod loquutus sum vobis: non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis: sacramentum aliquod commendavi vobis, spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit nos:" "That which I have spoken, is to be understood spiritually: ye are not to eat that body which ye see; I have commended a sacrament to you, which being understood spiritually, will give you life:"[k]—where, besides that he gives testimony

[f] In Allegoriis. [g] In libro, Pejorem insidiari meliori. [h] Allegoriis.

[i] De Euchar. lib. 1. c. 7. et at alios patres. [k] Aug. in Psal. xcviii.

to the main question on our behalf, he also makes sacramentally and spiritually to be all one. And again: "Ut quia jam similitudinem mortis ejus in baptismo accipimus, similitudinem quoque sanguinis et carnis sumamus, ita ut et veritas non desit in sacramento, et ridiculum nullum fiat in paganis, quod cruorem occisi hominis bibamus:" "That as we receive the similitude of his death in baptism, so we may also receive the likeness of his flesh and blood, so that neither truth be wanting in the sacrament, nor the pagans ridiculously affirm, that we should drink the blood of the crucified man."[l]—Nothing could be spoken more plain in this question; "We receive Christ's body in the eucharist, as we are baptized into his death; that is, by figure and likeness. In the sacrament there is a verity or truth of Christ's body: and yet no drinking of blood or eating of flesh, so as the heathen may calumniate us by saying, we do that which the men of Capernaum thought Christ taught them they should."—So that though these words were spoken of sacramental manducation, (as sometimes it is expounded,) yet there is reality enough in the spiritual sumption to verify these words of Christ, without a thought of any bodily eating his flesh. And that we may not think this doctrine dropped from St. Austin by chance, he again affirms dogmatically, "Qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit, etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidiè indifferenter accipiat:" "He that disagrees from Christ, (that is, disobeys him,) neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, although, to his condemnation, he every day receive the sacrament of so great a thing."[m]—The consequent of which words is plainly this, that there is no eating of Christ's flesh or drinking his blood, but by a moral instrument, faith and subordination to Christ; the sacramental external eating alone being no eating of Christ's flesh, but the symbols and sacrament of it.

22. Lastly: Suppose these words of Christ, "The bread which I shall give is my flesh," were spoken literally of the sacrament; what he promised he would give, he performed, and what was here expressed in the future tense, was, in his time, true in the present tense; and, therefore, is always presently true after consecration; it follows, that in the sacrament this is true; "Panis est corpus Christi," "The bread is the body of Christ."—Now I demand whether this proposition will be owned. It follows inevitably from this doctrine, if these words be spoken of the sacrament. But it is disavowed by the princes of the party against us. "Hoc tamen est impossibile, quòd panis sit corpus Christi;" "It is impossible that the bread should be Christ's body," saith the gloss of Gratian;[n] and Bellarmine says it cannot be a true proposition, "in quâ subjectum supponit pro pane, prædicatum autem pro corpore Christi: panis enim et corpus Domini res diversissimæ sunt."[o]—The thing that these men dread, is, lest it be called "bread" and "Christ's body" too, as we affirm it unanimously to be; and as this argument, upon their own grounds, evinces it. Now then, how they can serve both ends, I cannot understand. If they will have the bread or the meat which Christ promised to give, to be his flesh, then so it came to pass; and then it is bread and flesh too. If it did not so come to pass, and that it is impossible that bread should be Christ's flesh; then, when Christ said the bread which he would give should be his flesh,—he was not to be understood properly of the sacrament; but either figuratively in the sacrament, or in the sacrament not at all; either of which will serve the end of truth in this question. But of this hereafter.

By this time I hope I may conclude, that transubstantiation is not taught by our blessed Lord in the sixth chapter of St. John. "Johannes de tertiâ et eucharisticâ cœnâ nihil quidem scribit, eò quod cæteri tres evangelistæ ante illum eam plenè descripsissent."—They are the words of Stapleton,[p] and are good evidence against them.

SECTION IV.

Of the Words of Institution.

1. "Multa male oportet interpretari eos, qui unum non rectè intelligere volunt," said Irenæus;[q] "They must needs speak many false things, who will not rightly understand one."—The words of consecration are "præcipuum fundamentum totius controversiæ atque adeò totius hujus altissimi mysterii," said Bellarmine;[r] "the greatest ground of the whole question; and by adhering to the letter the mystery is lost, and the whole party wanders in eternal intricacies, and inextricable riddles; which because themselves cannot untie, they torment their sense and their reason, and many places of Scripture, while they pertinaciously stick to the impossible letter, and refuse the spirit of these words:—

The words of institution are these:—

St. Matt. xxvi. 26.—"Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body: and he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all, of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

St. Mark xiv. 22.—"Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my body: and he took the cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, and they all drank of it; and he said to them, This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many."

[l] Gratianus ex Augustino de Consecrat. dist. 2. sect. utrum. Lugduni 1511.
[m] Prosper Sent. 339. sed verba sunt St. Augustini.
[n] De Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 55. Glos. Panis est in altari.
[o] De Euchar. lib. 3. c. 19.
[p] Pompt. Cathol. ser. 3. Heb. Sanct.
[q] Contr. Hæres. lib. 5.
[r] Lib. 1. c. 8. Euchar. sect. sequitur argumentum.

St. Luke xxii. 19.—"And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

1 Cor. xi. 23.—"The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

2. These words contain the institution, and are wholly called "the words of consecration," in the Latin church. Concerning which the consideration is material. Out of these words the Latin church separates, "Hoc est corpus meum," "This is my body,"—and say, that these words, pronounced by the priest with due intention, do effect this change of the bread into Christ's body, which change they call "transubstantiation." But if these words do not effect any such change, then it may be Christ's body before the words; and these may only declare what is already done by the prayers of the holy man; or else it may become Christ's body only in the use and manducation: and as it will be uncertain when the change is, so also it cannot be known what it is. If it be Christ's body before those words, then the literal sense of these words will prove nothing; it is so as it will be before these words, and made so by other words, which refer wholly to use; and then the "præcipuum fundamentum," "the pillar and ground" of transubstantiation is supplanted. And if it be only after the words, and not effected by the words, it will be Christ's body only in the reception. Now, concerning this, I have these things to say:

3. First: By what argument can it be proved, that these words, "Take, and eat," are not as effective of the change, as "Hoc est corpus meum," "This is my body?"—If they be, then the taking and eating do consecrate: and it is not Christ's body till it be taken and eaten; and then, when that is done, it is so no more; and besides, that reservation, circumgestation, adoration, elevation of it, must of themselves fall to the ground; it will also follow that it is Christ's body only in a mystical, spiritual, and sacramental manner.

4. Secondly: By what argument will it so much as probably be concluded, that these words, "This is my body," should be the words effective of conversion and consecration? That Christ used these words is true, and so he used all the other; but did not tell which were the consecrating words, nor appoint them to use those words; but to do the thing, and so to remember and represent his death. And therefore, the form and rites of consecration and ministries are in the power of the church, where Christ's command does not intervene; as appears in all the external ministries of religion; in baptism, confirmation, penance, ordination, &c. And for the form of consecration of the eucharist, St. Basil affirms that it is not delivered to us: Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν, &c. "The words of invocation in the manifestation or opening the eucharistical bread and cup of blessing, which of all the saints hath left us? for we are not content with these, which the apostles and the evangelists mention, but before and after, we say other things, which have great efficacy to this mystery."[s]—But it is more material, which St. Gregory affirms concerning the apostles: "Mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodò orationem Dominicam oblationis hostiam consecrarent:" "The apostles consecrated the eucharist only by saying the Lord's prayer."[t] To which I add this consideration, that it is certain Christ interposed no command in this case, nor the apostles: neither did they, for aught appears, intend the recitation of those words to be the sacramental consecration, and operative of the change;—because themselves recited several forms of institution in St. Matthew and St. Mark for one, and St. Luke and St. Paul for the other, in the matter of the chalice especially; and by this difference declared, there is no necessity of one, and therefore no efficacy in any as to this purpose.

5. Thirdly: If they make these words to signify properly and not figuratively, then it is a declaration of something already in being, and not effective of any thing after it. For else *est* does not signify *is* but *it shall be;* because the conversion is future to the pronunciation: and by the confession of the Roman doctors[u] the bread is not transubstantiated till the *um* in *meum* be quite out, till the last syllable be spoken; but yet I suppose, they cannot show an example, or reason, or precedent, or grammar, or any thing for it, that *est* should be an active word. And they may remember, how confidently they use to argue against them, that affirm men to be justified by a "fiducia" and "persuasion," that their sins are pardoned: saying, that "faith must suppose the thing done, or their belief is false: and if it be done before, then to believe it does not do it at all, because it is done already."—The case is here the same: they affirm that it is made Christ's body, by saying, "It is Christ's body;" but their saying so must suppose the thing done, or else their saying so is false; and if it be done before, then to say it, does not do it at all, because it is done already.

6. Fourthly: When our blessed Lord "took bread, he gave thanks," said St. Luke and St. Paul; he "blessed it," said St. Matthew and St. Mark; εὐχαριστήσας, "making it eucharistical;" εὐλογήσας, that was "consecrating" or making it holy: it was common bread, unholy when he blessed it, and made it eucharistical; for εὐχαριστήσας was the same with εὐλογήσας. Εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφὴ is the word in Justin, and εὐχαριστηθέντα ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον, "bread

[s] De Spir. S. c. 27. [t] Lib. 7. ep. 63.

[u] Bellar. lib. 1. de Euch. c. 11. sect. Respondeo cum

and wine, food made eucharistical," or on which Christ had given thanks; "Eucharistica sanguinis et corporis Christi," so Irenæus and others; and St. Paul[x] does promiscuously use εὐλογεῖν, and εὐχαριστεῖν, and προσεύχεσθαι; and in the same place the Vulgar Latin renders εὐχαριστίαν by "benedictionem," and therefore St. Paul[y] calls it "the cup of blessing;" and in this very place of St. Matthew, St. Basil reads εὐχαριστήσας instead of εὐλογήσας, either, in this, following the old Greek copies who so read this place, or else by interpretation so rendering it, as being the same;[z] and on the other side St. Cyprian renders εὐχαριστήσας (the word used in the blessing the chalice) by "benedixit."[a] Against this Smiglecius,[b] the Jesuit, with some little scorn, says, "It is very absurd to say that Christ gave thanks to the bread," and so it should be, if εὐλογεῖν and εὐχαριστεῖν, "blessing and giving of thanks," were all one. But in this he showed his anger or want of skill; not knowing or not remembering, that the Hebrews and Hellenist Jews love abbreviature of speech; and, in the epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul uses ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, "to appease or propitiate our sins," instead of ἱλάσκεσθαι Θεὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, "to propitiate or appease God concerning our sins;" and so is εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν ἄρτον, that is, Θεὸν περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, only that, by this means, God also makes the bread holy, blessed, and eucharistical. Now I demand, what did Christ's blessing effect upon the bread and the chalice? any thing, or nothing? If no change was consequent, it was an ineffective blessing, a blessing that blessed not: if any change was consequent, it was a blessing of the thing in order to what was intended, that is, that it might be eucharistical: and then the following words, "This is my body," "This is the blood of the New Testament," or "the New Testament in my blood," were, as Cabasilas affirms, ἐν εἴδει διηγήσεως, "by way of history and narration;" and so the Syriac interpreter puts them together in the place of St. Matthew, εὐλογήσας and εὐχαριστήσας, "blessing and giving of thanks;" when he did bless it, he made it eucharistical.

7. Fifthly: The Greek church universally taught, that the consecration was made by the prayers of the ministering man. Justin Martyr[c] calls it τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, "nourishment made eucharistical by prayer;"—and Origen[d] calls it ἄρτους σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, ἅγιόν τι, "bread made a body, a holy thing by prayer;"—διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπίφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, so Damascen;[e] "by the invocation and illumination of the Holy Ghost," μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, "they are changed into the body and blood of Christ."—But for the Greek church[f] the case is evident and confessed. For the ancient Latin church, St. Jerome, reproving certain pert deacons for insulting over priests, uses this expression for the honour of priests above the other; "Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur;" "By their prayers the body and blood of Christ are in the sacrament."—And St. Austin calls the sacrament "prece mysticâ consecratum." But concerning this, I have largely discoursed in another[g] place. But the effect of the consideration, in order to the present question, is this; that since the change that is made is made not naturally, or by a certain number of syllables in the manner of a charm, but solemnly, sacredly, morally, and by prayer, it becomes also the body of our Lord to moral effects, as a consequent of a moral instrument.

8. Sixthly: And it is considerable, that since the ministries of the church are but imitations of Christ's priesthood, which he officiates in heaven,—since he effects all the purposes of his graces and our redemption by intercession, and representing, in the way of prayer, the sacrifice which he offered on the cross; it follows, that the ministries of the church must be of the same kind, operating in the way of prayer morally, and therefore, wholly to moral purposes; to which the instrument is made proportionable. And if these words, which are called the words of consecration, be exegetical, and enunciative of the change that is made by prayers, and other mystical words; it cannot be possibly inferred from these words, that there is any other change made than what refers to the whole mystery and action; and therefore, "Take," "Eat," and "This do," are as necessary to the sacrament as "Hoc est corpus;" and declare that it is Christ's body only in the use and administration; and therefore not "natural" but "spiritual." And this is yet more plain by the words in the Hebrew text of St. Matthew, "Take, eat this which is my body," plainly supposing the thing to be done already, not by the exegetical words, but by the precedents, the mystic prayer, and the words of institution and use; and to this I never saw any thing pretended in answer. But the force of the argument, upon supposition of the premises, is acknowledged to be convincing by an archbishop[h] of their own; "Si Christus dando consecravit," &c. "If Christ giving the eucharist did consecrate, (as Scotus affirmed,) then the Lutherans will carry the victory, who maintain, that the body of Christ is in the eucharist only, while it is used, while it was taken and eaten. And yet on the other side, if it was consecrated when Christ said, 'Take, eat,' then he commanded them to take bread, and to eat bread, which is to destroy the article of transubstantiation."—So that in effect, whether it was consecrated by those words or not by those words, their new doctrine is destroyed. If it was not consecrated when Christ said, "Take, eat," then Christ bid them take bread, and eat bread, and they did so; but if it was consecrated by those words, "Take, eat," then the words of consecration refer wholly to use, and it is Christ's body only in the "taking and eating," which is the

[x] 1 Cor. xiv. 15—17.
[y] 1 Cor. x.
[z] In Regulis Moralibus.
[a] Epist. ad Cæcilium.
[b] Respons. ad Nod. Gordium.
[c] Apol. 2.
[d] Lib. 8. contr. Celsum.
[e] Lib. 4. de Fide, cap. 14.
[f] Vide Ambrosium Catharinum in integro, quem scripsit, libro hac de re. Lib. 3. de Trin. c. 4.
[g] The Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial, sect. 7.
[h] Archiep. Cæsar. Tractat. varii disp. de Neces. Correct. Theol. Schol.

thing we contend for. And into the concession of this, Bellarmine[i] is thrust by the force of our argument. For to avoid Christ's giving the apostles that which "he took, and brake, and blessed," that is, "bread,"—the same case being governed by all these words; he answers, "Dominum accepisse, et benedixisse panem, sed dedisse panem non vulgarem, sed benedictum et benedictione mutatum;" "The Lord took bread, and blessed it; but he gave not common bread, but bread blessed and changed by blessing;"—and yet it is certain he gave it them before the words, which he calls the words of consecration. To which I add this consideration; that all words spoken in the person of another, are only declarative and exegetical, not operative and practical; for in particular if these words, "Hoc est corpus meum," were otherwise, then the priest should turn it into his own, not into the body of Christ; neither will it be easy to have an answer, not only because the Greeks and Latins are divided in the ground of their argument concerning the mystical instrument of consecration; but the Latins themselves have seven several opinions, as the archbishop of Cæsarea "de capite Fontium," hath enumerated them in his nuncupatory epistle to Pope Sixtus Quintus before his book of "Divers Treatises;"[k] and that the consecration is made by "This is my body," though it be now the prevailing opinion, yet that by them Christ did not consecrate the elements, was the express sentence of Pope Innocent III. and Innocent IV. and of many ancient fathers, as the same archbishop of Cæsarea testifies in the book now quoted; and the scholastics are hugely divided upon this point, viz. Whether these words are to be taken materially or significatively; the expression is barbarous and rude, but they mean, whether they be consecratory or declarative. Aquinas makes them consecratory, and his authority brought that opinion into credit; and yet Scotus and his followers are against it; and they that affirm them to be taken significatively, that is, to be consecratory, are divided into so many opinions, that they are not easy to be reckoned; only[l] Guido Brianson reckons nine, and his own makes the tenth. This I take upon the credit of one of their own archbishops.

9. But I proceed to follow them in their own way; whether "Hoc est corpus meum" do effect or signify the change; yet the change is not natural and proper, but figurative, sacramental, and spiritual; exhibiting what it signifies, being real to all intents and purposes of the Spirit: and this I shall first show by discussing the words of institution; first those which they suppose to be the consecratory words, and then the other.

10. "Hoc est corpus meum:" concerning which form of words we must know, that as the eucharist itself was, in the external and ritual part, an imitation of a custom, and a sacramental, already in use among the Jews, for the "major domo" to break bread and distribute wine, at the passover, after supper to the eldest according to his age, to the youngest according to his youth, as it is notorious and known in the practice of the Jews:[m]—so also were the very words, which Christ spake in this changed subject, an imitation of the words which were then used; "This is the bread of sorrow which our fathers ate in Egypt; this is the passover:" and this passover was called "the body of the paschal lamb:" nay, it was called the body of our Saviour, and our Saviour himself; Καὶ εἶπεν Ἐσδρὰς τῷ λαῷ, τοῦτο πάσχα ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, said Justin Martyr, "Dial. cum Tryph.;" "And Esdras said to the Jews, This passover is our Saviour, and, This is the body of our Saviour,"—as it is noted by others. So that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made his by appropriation, by "meum:" he was "the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world," he is "the true Passover;" which he then affirming, called that which was the antitype of the passover, "the Lamb of God," "his body," the body of the true passover, to wit, in the same sacramental sense, in which the like words were affirmed in the Mosaical passover.

SECTION V.

1. "Hoc," "This:" that is, "This bread is my body," "This cup," or the wine in the cup, "is my blood:" concerning the chalice, there can be no doubt; it is τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, "hic calix," "this chalice;" and as little of the other. The fathers refer the pronoun demonstrative to "bread;" saying, that "of bread" it was Christ affirmed "This is my body;" which I shall have, in the sequel, more occasion to prove: for the present, these may suffice; "Christus panem corpus suum appellat," saith Tertullian.[n]—"Nos audiamus panem, quem fregit Dominus, esse corpus salvatoris:" so St. Jerome[o]—τὴν σάρκα σῖτον ὠνόμασε; so St. Cyril of Alexandria;[p] "called bread his flesh." Theodoret[q] saith that "to the body he gave the name of the symbol, and to the symbol the name of his body:"—τοῦτο therefore signifies "this bread;" and it matters not that "bread," in the Greek, is of the masculine gender; for the substantive being understood, not expressed, by the rule of grammar, the adjective must be the neuter gender, and it is taken substantively. Neither is there any inconvenience in this, as Bellarmine[r] weakly dreams upon as weak suggestions. For when he had said that "hoc" is either taken adjectively or substantively,—he proceeds, "not adjectively," for then it must agree with the substantive, which in this case is masculine; "bread" being so both in Greek and Latin. But if you say it is taken substantively, as we contend it is, he confutes you thus: If it be taken substantively, so that "hoc" signifies "this" thing, and so be referred to "bread," then it is most absurd,—because it cannot be spoken of any thing

[i] De Euch. lib. 1. c. 11.
[k] Tractat. Varii.
[l] In 4. Sentent.
[m] Scaliger de Emendatione Tempor. lib. 6.
[n] Lib. adv. Judæos.
[o] Ep. ad Hebidiam.
[p] In John xii.
[q] Dial. 1. c. 8.
[r] Lib. 1. de Euch. chap. 10. sect. porro. 4.

seen; that is, of a substantive, unless it agrees with it, and be of the same gender; that is, in plain English, it is neither taken adjectively nor substantively: not adjectively, because it is not of the same gender: not substantively, because it is not of the same gender; that is, because substantively is not adjectively. But the reason he adds is as frivolous; because no man, pointing to his brother, will say, "Hoc est frater meus,"—but "Hic est frater meus:"—I grant it. But if it be a thing without life, you may affirm it in the neuter gender; because, it being of neither sex, the subject is supplied by "thing;" so that you may say, "Hoc est aqua," "This is water;" so in St. Peter,[s] Τοῦτο χάρις, "This is grace," and[t] δάκτυλος Θεοῦ ἐστι τοῦτο. But of a person present you cannot say so, because he is present, and there is nothing distinct from him, neither "re" nor "ratione," in the "thing" nor in the "understanding;" and therefore you must say "Hic," not "Hoc;" because there is no subject to be supposed distinct from the predicate. But when you see an image or figure of your brother, you may then say, "Hoc est frater meus," because here is something to make a subject distinct from the predicate. This thing or this picture, this figure or this any thing that can be understood and not expressed, may make a neuter gender; and every schoolboy knows it: so it is in the blessed sacrament; there is a subject or a thing distinct from "corpus:" "This bread," this which you see, "is my body;" and therefore no impropriety is in "hoc," though bread be understood.

2. To which I add this, that though bread be the nearest part of the thing demonstrated, yet it is not bread alone, but sacramental bread; that is, bread so used, broken, given, eaten, as it is in the institution and use: Τοῦτο, "This" is my body; and τοῦτο refers to the whole action about the bread and wine, and so τοῦτο may be easily understood without an impropriety. And indeed it is necessary that τοῦτο, "this," should take in the whole action on all sides: because the bread neither is the natural body of Christ, nor yet is it alone a sufficient symbol or representment of it. But the bread "broken, blessed, given, distributed, taken, eaten;" this is Christ's body, viz. as Origen's expression is, "typicum symbolicumque corpus."[u] By the way give me leave to express some little indignation against those words of Bellarmine, which cannot easily be excused from blasphemy; saying, that if our Lord had said of the bread, which the apostles saw and knew to be bread, "This is my body," "absurdissima esset locutio," "it had been a most absurd speech."—So careless are these opiniators of what they say, that rather than their own fond opinions should be confuted, they care not to impute nonsense to the eternal Wisdom of the Father. And yet that Christ did say this of bread so ordered and to be used, "Hoc est corpus meum," besides that the thing is notorious, I shall prove most evidently.

3. First: That which Christ broke, which he gave to his disciples, which he bid them eat, that he affirmed was his "body." What gave he, but what he broke? What did he break, but that which he took? What did he take? "Accepit panem," saith the Scripture, "He took bread;" and therefore, of bread it was that he affirmed, "it was his body." Now the Roman doctors will, by no means, endure this; for if of bread he affirmed it to be his body, then we have cleared the question: for it is bread and Christ's body too; that is, it is "bread naturally," and "Christ's body spiritually;" for that it cannot be both naturally they unanimously affirm. And we are sure upon this article: for "disparatum de disparato non predicatur propriè;" it is a rule of nature and essential reason, If it be bread, it is not a stone;—if it be a mouse, it is not a mule;—and therefore, when there is any predication made of one diverse thing by another, the proposition must needs be improper and figurative. And the gloss of Gratian[x] disputes it well: "If bread be the body of Christ, (viz. properly and naturally,) then something that is not born of the Virgin Mary is the body of Christ; and the body of Christ should be both alive and dead." Now that "hoc," "this," points to bread, besides the notoriousness of the thing in the story of the Gospels, in the matter of fact, and St. Paul calling it "bread" so often, (as I shall show in the sequel,) it ought to be certain to the Roman doctors, and confessed, because by their doctrines when Christ said, "Hoc," "This," and awhile after, it was bread; because it was not consecrated till the last syllable was spoken. To avoid this therefore, they turn themselves into all the opinions and disguises that can be devised. Stapleton[y] says, that "hoc," "this," does only signify the predicate, and is referred to the body; so as Adam said, "This is flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone,"—"hoc," not "this rib," but this thing, this predicate; so "Hic est filius meus, hic est sanguis Testamenti." Now this is confuted before; for it can only be true, when there is no difference of subject and predicate, as in all figures and sacraments and artificial representments there are. Some others say, "This is," that is, "This shall be my body;" so that "is" demonstrates not what is, but what shall be. But this prevailed not amongst them. Others say, that "this" signifies "nothing;" so Innocentius the Third, Major, the Count of Mirandula, "de capite Fontium," and Catharinus. Others yet affirm, that "this" signifies, "these accidents:" so Ruard Tapper, and others whom Suarez reckons and confutes. Thomas Aquinas and his scholars affirm, that "this" demonstrates neither bread, nor the body, nor nothing, nor the accidents, but a substance indefinitely, which is under the accidents of bread; as when Christ turned the water into wine, he might have said, "Hoc est vinum," not meaning that "water is wine," but this which is here, or this which is in the vessel, is wine; which is an instance, in which Bellarmine pleases himself very

[s] 1 P ii. 19. [t] Exod. viii. 19.
[u] In c. 15. Matt. [x] De Consecrat. dist. 2. c. Quia.
[y] Ejusdem sententiæ sunt, Ocham, Petrus de Aliacho, Cameracensis, Antisiodorensis in 4. l. sent. dist. 13. Roffensis, cap. 4. contra Captiv. Babyl. Maldonat. Barradius in Evangel.

much, and uses it more than once, not at all considering, that, in this form of speech, there is the same mistake as in the former: for in this example there are not two things, as we contend there are in the sacrament; and that to make up the proposition, the understanding is forced to make an artificial subject; and "this" refers to wine, and is determined by his imaginary subject, and makes not an essential or physical, but a logical predication; "this which is in the vessel, is wine:" and the proposition is identical, if it be reduced to a substantial. But when Christ said, "Hoc est corpus meum," "hoc" first neither points to "corpus," as the others do to "vinum," even by their own confession; nor yet, secondly, to an artificial subject, whereby it can by imagination become demonstrative and determinate; for then it were no real affirmative, not at all significative, much less effective of a change: nor yet, thirdly, will they allow that it points to that subject which is really there, viz. "bread;" but what then? It demonstrates something real, that either, 1. is not the predicate, and then there would be two things disparate signified by it, two distinct substances, which, in this case, could be nothing but bread and the body of Christ: or, 2. It demonstrates nothing but the predicate, and then the proposition were identical, viz. "This body of Christ is the body of Christ;"—which is an absurd predication: or else, 3. It demonstrates something that is indemonstrable, pointing at something that is nothing certain, and then it cannot be pointed at or demonstrated; for if by "this which is under the species," they mean any certain substance, it must be "bread" or "the body of Christ," either of which undoes their cause.

4. But if it be inquired, by what logic or grammar it can be, that a pronoun demonstrative should signify indeterminately, that is, an "individuum vagum:" they tell us, no; it does not: but it signifies an "individual, determinate substance under the accidents of bread, not according to the formality of the bread, but 'secundùm rationem substantiæ communem et individuam, vagè per ordinem ad accidentia,' 'but according to the formality of a substance common and individual, indefinitely or indeterminately by order to those accidents:'" so Gregory de Valentia;[z] which is as good and perfect nonsense as ever was spoken. It is determinate and not determinate, it is substantial in order to accidents; individual and yet common; universal and particular; it is limited, but after an unlimited manner; that is, it is, and it is not; that is, it is the logic, and the grammar, and the proper sense, of transubstantiation, which is not to be understood but by them, that know the new and secret way to reconcile contradictories. Bellarmine[a] sweetens the sense of this, as well as he may; and says, that the pronoun demonstrative does point out and demonstrate the "species," that is, the accidents of bread; these accidents are certain and determinate; so that the pronoun demonstrative is on the side of the species or accidents, not of the substance; but yet so as to mean not the accidents, but the substance, and not the substance which is, but which shall be; for it is not the same yet: which indeed is the same nonsense with the former, abused or set off with a distinction, the parts of which contradict each other. The pronoun demonstrative does only point to the accidents, and yet does not mean the accidents, but the substance under them; and yet it does not mean the substance that is under them, but that which shall be; for the substance which is meant, is not yet: and it does not point at the substance, but yet it means it; for the substance indeed is meant by the pronoun demonstrative, but that it does not at all demonstrate "it," but the accidents only. And indeed this is a fine secret: the substance is pointed at before it is, and the demonstration is upon the accidents, but means the substance "in obliquo," but not "in recto;" "not directly, but as by the by;" just as a man can see a thing before it be made; and by pointing at a thing which you see, demonstrates or shows you a thing which shall never be seen. But then if you desire to know how it was pointed at before it was, that is the secret not yet revealed. But finally, this is the doctrine that hath prevailed at least in the Jesuits' school. "This" points out something under the accidents of bread, meaning, "This, which is contained under the accidents of bread, is my body:" there it rests. But before it go any further, I shall disturb his rest with this syllogism: When Christ said, "Hoc," "This is my body;" by "this" he meant "this, which is contained under the accidents of bread, is my body."—But at that instant, that which was contained under the accidents of bread, was the substance of bread; therefore to the substance of bread Christ pointed; "that" he related to by the pronoun demonstrative, and "of that" he affirmed, it was "his body." The major is that the Jesuits contend for: the minor is affirmed by Bellarmine, "Quando dicitur 'hoc,' tum non est præsens substantia corporis Christi:" therefore the conclusion ought to be his and owned by them. However, I will make bold to call it a demonstration upon their own grounds, and conclude that it is bread and Christ's body too; and that is the doctrine of the protestants. And I add this also, that it seems a great folly to declaim against us for denying the literal, natural sense, and yet that themselves should expound it in a sense, which suffers a violence and a most unnatural, ungrammatical torture; for if they may change the words from the right sense and case to the oblique and indirect, why may not we? and it is less violence to say, "Hoc est corpus meum," i. e. "Hic panis est corpus meum;" viz. "spiritualiter,"—than to say, "Hoc est," that is, "Sub his speciebus est corpus meum." And this was the sense of Ocham,[b] the father of the Nominalists; it may be held, that, under the species of bread, there remains also the substance; because this is neither against reason nor any authority of the Bible; and of all the manners this is most reasonable, and more easy to maintain, and from thence follow fewer inconveniences then from any other. Yet because of the determination of the church (viz. of

[z] Lib. 2. Exam. Myst. Calvin. c. 1. sect. 4. Objectio.

[a] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 11. sect. ad id. Vero. [b] In 4. q. 6.

Rome) all the doctors commonly hold the contrary. By the way, observe, that their church hath determined against that, against which neither the Scripture nor reason hath determined.

2. The case is clearer in the other kind, as in translation I noted above.[c] Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, "Hic calix." I demand to what τοῦτο, "hic," "this," does refer? What it demonstrates and points at? The text sets the substantive down, ποτήριον, "this cup;" that is, the wine in this cup; of this it is that he affirmed it to be the blood of the New Testament, or the New Testament in his blood: that is, "This is the sanction of the everlasting testament, I make it in my blood, this is the symbol; what I do now in sign, I will do to-morrow in substance, and you shall for ever after remember and represent it 'thus' in sacrament." —I cannot devise what to say plainer than that this τοῦτο points at the chalice.

—— Hoc potate merum[d] ——

So Juvencus, a priest of Spain, in the reign of Constantine, "Drink this wine;" but by the way, this troubled somebody; and therefore an order was taken to corrupt the words by changing them into, "Hunc potate meum;" but that the cheat was too apparent, and if it be so of one kind, it is so in both, that is beyond all question. Against this Bellarmine[e] brings "argumentum robustissimum," "a most robustious argument:" by ποτήριον, or "cup," cannot be meant the wine in the cup, because it follows, Ἐν αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, "This cup [is the New Testament in my blood] which was shed for you;" referring to the cup, for the word can agree with nothing but the cup; therefore, by the "cup" is meant not wine, but "blood," for that was poured out. To this I oppose these things; 1. Though it does not agree with αἵματι, yet it must refer to it, and is an ordinary κατάχρησις of case called ἀντίπτωσις: and it is not unusual in the best masters of language, Οὐ προσεκτέον ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῖς τούτων λόγοις εἰδότας, for εἰδόσιν, in Demosthenes:—so also Goclenius, in his Grammatical Problems, observes another out of Cicero: "Benè autem dicere, quod est peritè loqui, non habet definitam aliquam regionem, cujus terminis septa teneatur;" many more he cites out of Plato, Homer, and Virgil; and, methinks, these men should least of all object this, since, in their Latin Bible, Sixtus Senensis[f] confesses, and all the world knows, there are innumerable barbarisms and improprieties, hyperbata and antiptoses. But in the present case it is easily supplied by ἐστὶ, which is frequently understood, and implied in the article τὸ; τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, that is, τὸ ἐστὶ ἐκχυνόμενον, that is, "in my blood which is shed for you." 2. If it were referred to "cup" then the figure were more strong and violent, and the expression less literal; and therefore it makes much against them, who are undone, if you admit figurative expressions in the institution of this sacrament. 3. To what can τοῦτο refer, but to ποτήριον, "this cup,"—and let what sense soever be affixed to it afterward, if it do not suppose a figure, then there is no such thing as figures, or words, or truth, or things. 4. That ἐκχυνόμενον must refer to αἷμα appears by St. Matthew and St. Mark, where the word is directly applied to blood;[g] St. Paul uses not the word, and Bellarmine himself gives the rule, "Verba Domini rectiùs exposita à Marco," &c. When one evangelist is plain, by him we are to expound another that is not plain: and St. Basil, in his reading of the words, either following some ancienter Greek copy, or else mending it out of the other evangelists, changes the case into perfect grammar, and good divinity, διαθήκη ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνομένῳ.

6. Thirdly: Symbols of the blessed sacrament are called "bread" and "the cup," after consecration;[h] that is, in the whole use of them. This is twice affirmed by St. Paul:[i] "The cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the *communication* (so it should be read) of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the *communication* of the body of Christ?" as if he had said, "This bread is Christ's body;" though there be also this mystery in it, "This bread is the communication of Christ's body," that is, the exhibition and donation of it, not Christ's body formally, but virtually, and effectively; it makes us communicate with Christ's body in all the effects and benefits: a like expression we have in Valerius Maximus, where Scipio in the feast of Jupiter is said "Graccho communicâsse concordiam," that is, "consignâsse," he "communicated concord;" he consigned it with the sacrifice, giving him peace and friendship, the benefit of that communication: and so is the cup of benediction, that is, when the cup is blessed, it communicates Christ's blood, and so does the blessed bread; for "to eat the bread, in the New Testament, is the sacrifice of Christians;" they are the words of St. Austin;[k] "Omnes de uno pane participamus;" so St. Paul; "We all partake of this one bread."—Hence the argument is plain; That which is broken, is the communication of Christ's body; but that which is broken, is bread, therefore bread is the communication of Christ's body. "The bread which we break,"—those are the words.

7. Fourthly: The other place of St. Paul is plainer yet: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." And, "So often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye declare the Lord's death till he come;"[l] and the same also verse 27.; three times in this chapter he

[c] Numb. 1. sect. 5. Vide Picherel. Doct. Sorbon. in 26 Matt.
[d] Lib. 4. Evang. Hist. verse 456.

Atque ait, hic sanguis populi delicta remittet,
Hunc potate meum] instead of
Hoc potate merum: nam veris credite dictis,
Posthac nonnunquam vitis gustabo liquorem,
Donec regna patris melioris munera vitæ
In nova me rursus concedent surgere vina.

[e] Lib. 10. c. 10. de Euchar. sect. sed addo arg.
[f] L. 8. Biblioth. [g] Vide Bezam in annot. in hunc locum.
[h] Regul. Moral. 21. [i] 1 Cor. x. 16.
[k] Lib. 17. de Civ. Dei, cap. 5. [l] 1 Cor. xi. 26, 28.

calls the eucharist "bread." It is bread, sacramental bread, when the communicant eats it: but he that in the church of Rome should call to the priest to give him a "piece of bread," would quickly find, that, instead of bread, he should have a stone, or something as bad. But St. Paul had a little of the Macedonian simplicity, calling things by their own plain names.

8. Fifthly: Against this, some little things are pretended in answer by the Roman doctors. 1. That the holy eucharist, or the sacred body, is called "bread," because "it is made of bread," as Eve is called of Adam, "bone of his bone;" and the rods changed into serpents are still called rods; or else because "it sometimes was bread,"—therefore so it is called after: just as we say, "The blind see, the lame walk, the harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven." Which answer although Bellarmine[n] mislikes, yet, lest any others should be pleased with it, I have this certain confutation of it: that by the Roman doctrine the bread is wholly annihilated, and nothing of the bread becomes any thing of the holy body; and the holy body never was bread, not so much as the matter of bread remaining in the change. It cannot therefore be called bread, unless it be bread; at least not for this reason. For if the body of Christ be not bread then, neither ever was it bread, neither was it made of bread: and therefore these cannot be the reasons, because they are not true. But in the instances alleged, the denomination still remains, because the change was made in the same remaining matter, or in the same person, or they were to be so again as they were before; nothing of which can be affirmed of the eucharist, by their doctrine, therefore these instances are not pertinent. 2. Others answer, that the holy body is called bread, because it seems to be so: just as the effigies and forms of pomegranates, of bulls, of serpents, of cherubim, are called by the names of those creatures whom they do resemble. I reply, that well they may, because there is there no danger of being deceived by such appellations; no man will suppose them other than the pictures, and so to speak is usual and common. But in the matter of the holy eucharist, it ought not to be called "bread" for "the likeness to bread," unless it were "bread" indeed; because such likeness and such appellation are, both of them, a temptation against that, which these men call an article of faith: but rather because it is like bread, and all the world are apt to take it for such, it ought to have been described with caution, and affirmed to be "Christ" and "God," and not to be bread though it seem so. But when it is often called bread in Scripture, which name the church of Rome does not at all use in the mystery, and is never called in Scripture, the Son of God, or God, or Christ; which words the church of Rome does often use in the mystery; it is certain that it is called bread, not because it is like bread, but because it is so indeed. And indeed, upon such an answer as this, it is easy to affirm an apple to be a pigeon, and no apple; for if it be urged, that all the world call it an apple, it may be replied then as now, "It is true they call it an apple, because it is like an apple, but indeed it is a pigeon."—3. Some of them say when it is called "bread," it is not meant that particular kind of nourishment; but in general it means any food; and so only represents Christ's body as a celestial divine thing intended some way to be our food. Just, as in St. John vi. Christ is called "the bread that came down from heaven," not meaning material bread, but divine nourishment. But this is the weakest of all, because this, which is called bread, is broken, is eaten, hath the accidents of bread, and all the signs of his proper nature; and it were a strange violence, that it should here signify any manner of food to which it is not like, and not signify that to which it is so like. Besides this, "bread" here signifies, as wine or chalice does in the following words; now that did signify the "fruit of the vine;" that special manner of drink; (Christ himself being the interpreter;) and therefore so must this mean that special manner of food.

9. Sixthly: If, after the blessing, the bread doth not remain, but (as they affirm) be wholly annihilated, then, by blessing, God destroys a creature: which indeed is a strange kind of blessing. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εὐλογῶν βεβαιοῖ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ παντοδαπὴν παρέχει φορὰν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς εὐλογουμένοις, saith Suidas, verb. εὐλογῆσαι. "When God blesses, he confirms his words with deeds, and gives all sorts of good to that which he blesses."—And certain it is, that, although blessing can change it, it must yet change it to the better; and so, we affirm, he does: for the bread, besides the natural being, by being blessed becomes the body of Christ in a sacramental manner; but then it must remain bread still, or else it receives not that increase and change; but if it be annihilated and becomes nothing, it is not Christ's body in any sense, nor in any sense can pretend to be blessed. To which add the words of St. Austin:[o] "Ille ad quem non esse non pertinet, non est causa deficiendi, id est, tendendi ad non esse:" "He that is the fountain of all being, is not the cause of not being, much less can his blessing cause any thing not to be."—It follows therefore, that, by blessing, the bread becomes better, but therefore it still remains.

10. Seventhly: That it is bread of which Christ affirmed, "This is my body," and that it is bread after consecration, was the doctrine of the fathers in the primitive church. I begin with the words of a whole council of fathers, in Trullo at Constantinople, decreeing thus against the Aquarii: "In sanctis nihil plus quàm corpus Christi offeratur, ut ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aquâ mixtum;" "In the holy places or offices, let nothing more be offered but the body of Christ, as the Lord himself delivered, that is, bread and wine mingled with water."—So Justin Martyr:[p] Εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα τὸ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι, "We are taught that the food made eucharistical, the food which by change nourishes our flesh and blood, is the flesh

[n] Lib. I. c. 14. de Euchar.

[o] Lib. 83. quæst. 21.

[p] Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

and blood of Jesus incarnate: *οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον*, we do not receive it as common bread:" No, for it is *τροφὴ εὐχαριστηθεῖσα*, it is made "sacramental and eucharistical," and so it is sublimed to become the body of Christ. But it is natural food still, and that for two reasons. 1. Because still he calls it "bread," not "common bread," but extraordinary; yet bread still. Cardinal Perron says, "It follows not to say, It is not common bread, therefore it is bread; so as of those which appeared as men to Abraham, we might say they were not common men; but it follows not that they were men at all. So the Holy Ghost, descending like a dove upon the blessed Jesus, was no common dove; and yet it follows not it was a dove at all." I reply to this, that of whatsoever you can say, it is extraordinary in his kind, of that you may also affirm it to be of that kind: as concerning the richest scarlet, if you say this is no ordinary colour, you suppose it to be a colour: so the Corinthian brass was no common brass, and the Colossus was no common statue, and Christmas-day is no common day, yet these negatives suppose the affirmative of their proper subject; Corinthian brass is brass, Colossus is a statue, and Christmas-day is a day. But if you affirm of a counterfeit, or of an image, or a picture, by saying, it is no common thing, you deny to it the ordinary nature by diminution; but if it have the nature of the thing, then to say, it is not common, denies the ordinary nature by addition and eminency; the first says it is not so at all, the second says it is more than so; and this is taught to every man by common reason, and he could have observed it if he had pleased; for it is plain, Justin said this of that, which, before the consecration was known to be natural bread, and therefore, now to say it was not common bread, is to say it is bread and something more. 2. The second reason from the words of Justin to prove it to be natural food still, is, because it is that, by which our blood and our flesh are nourished by change. Bellarmine says, that these words, by which our flesh and blood are nourished, mean by which they used to be nourished; not meaning that they are nourished by this bread when it is eucharistical. But besides that this is "gratis dictum" without any colour or pretence from the words of Justin, but by a presumption taken from his own opinion, as if it were impossible that Justin should mean any thing against his doctrine: besides this, I say the interpretation is insolent, "nutriuntur," i. e. "solent nutriri;" as also because both the verbs are of the present tense, *τρέφονται σάρκες* et *σῶμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι*, "the flesh and blood are nourished by bread," and "it is the body of Christ;" that is, both in conjunction; so that he says not, as Bellarmine would have him, "Cibus ille, ex quo carnes nostræ ali solent, cum prece mysticâ consecratur, efficitur corpus Christi;" but, "Cibus ille, quo carnes nostræ aluntur, est corpus Christi." The difference is material, and the matter is apparent: but upon this alone I rely not. To the same purpose are the words of Irenæus:[q] "Dominus accipiens panem, suum corpus esse confitebatur, et temperamentum calicis, suum sanguinem confirmavit:" "Our Lord taking bread confessed it to be his body, and the mixture of the cup he confirmed to be his blood." Here Irenæus affirms to be true what Bellarmine[r] says "non potest fieri" "cannot be done;" that in the same proposition bread should be the subject, and body should be the predicate; Irenæus says, that Christ said it to be so, and him we follow. But most plainly in his fifth book: "Quando ergo et mixtus calix, et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi; ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia: Quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei qui est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur?" and, a little after, he affirms that we are "flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones; and that this is not understood of the spiritual man, but of the natural disposition or temper;" "quæ de calice, qui est sanguis ejus, nutritur, et de pane, qui est corpus ejus, augetur:" and again; "Eum calicem qui est creatura, suum sanguinem qui effusus est, ex quo auget nostrum sanguinem, et eum panem, &c. qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora;" "It is made the eucharist of the bread, and the body of Christ out of that, of which the substance of our flesh consists and is increased; by the bread which he confirmed to be his body, he increases our bodies; by the blood which was poured out, he increases our blood;" that is the sense of Irenæus so often repeated. And to the same purpose is that of Origen;[s] *Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.* "The bread, which is called the eucharist, is to us the symbol of thanksgiving or eucharist to God." So also Tertullian;[t] "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suis corpus suum fecit:" "He made the bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, to be his body." But more plainly in his book "de Coronâ Militis:" "Calicis aut panis nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxiè patimur;" "We cannot endure that any of the cup or any thing of the bread be thrown to the ground."—The eucharist he plainly calls "bread;" and that he speaks of the eucharist is certain, and Bellarmine[u] quotes the words to the purpose of showing, how reverently the eucharist was handled and regarded. The like is in St. Cyprian:[x] "Dominus corpus suum panem vocat, et sanguinem suum vinum appellat:" "Our Lord calls bread his body, and wine his blood." So John Maxentius, in the time of Pope Hormisda: "The bread which the whole church receives in memory of the passion, is the body of Christ."[y] And St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, is earnest in this affair: "Since our Lord hath declared and said to us of bread, 'This is my body,' who shall dare to doubt it? which words I the rather note, because Cardinal Perron brings them, as if they made for his cause, which they most evidently destroy. For if, of bread, Christ made this

[q] Lib. 4. c. 57.
[r] De Euch. l. 3. c. 19.
[s] Lib. 8. adv. Celsum.
[t] Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. 4. c. 40.
[u] Bellar. lib. 4. Euch. c. 14. sect. si rursus objicias.
[x] Cyprian. ep. 76. Dial. 2. contr. Nestor.
[y] Catech. Mystag. 4.

affirmation, that it is his body, then it is both bread and Christ's body too, and that is it which we contend for. In the dialogues against the Marcionites, collected out of Maximus, Origen is brought in proving the reality of Christ's flesh and blood in his incarnation, by this argument:—If, as these men say, he be without flesh and blood, *ἡ τίνος σώματος ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτον τε καὶ ποτήριον ἐνετέλλετο*, &c. " of what body and of what blood did he command the images or figures, giving the bread and cup to his disciples, that by these a remembrance of him should be made?" But Acacius,[z] the successor of Eusebius in his bishopric, calls it " bread" and " wine," even in the very use and sanctification of us: " Panis vinumque ex hâc materiâ vescentes sanctificat," " The bread and wine sanctify them that are fed with this matter."—" In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam sed vinum," so St. Jerome,[a] " He offered wine not water in the type [*representment* or *sacrament*] of his blood." To the same purpose, but most plain, are the words of Theodoret:[b] *Ἔνγε τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα*, " In the exhibition of the mysteries he called bread his body, and the mixture in the chalice he called blood."—So also St. Austin, serm. 9. de Diversis: " The eucharist is our daily bread; but we receive it so, that we are not only nourished by the belly, but also by the understanding." And I cannot understand the meaning of plain Latin, if the same thing be not affirmed in the little mass-book, published by Paulus V. for the English priests: " Deus, qui humani generis utramque substantiam præsentium munerum alimento, tribue, quæsumus, ut eorum et corporibus nostris subsidium non desit et mentibus," " The present gifts were appointed for the nourishment both of soul and body."—Who please may see more in Macarius's twenty-seventh homily, and Ammonius in his " Evangelical Harmony," in the Bibliotheca Patrum: and this, though it be decried now-a-days in the Roman schools, yet was the doctrine of Scotus,[c] of Durandus,[d] Ocham,[e] Cameracensis,[f] and Biel,[g] and those men were for consubstantiation; that Christ's natural body was together with natural bread, which although I do not approve, yet the use that I now make of them cannot be denied me; it was their doctrine, that after consecration bread still remains; after this let what can follow. But that I may leave the ground of this argument secure, I add this, that in the primitive church, eating the eucharistical bread was esteemed a breaking the fast, which is not imaginable any man can admit, but he that believes bread to remain after consecration, and to be nutritive as before: but so it was, that in the second age of the church, it was advised, that either they should end their station, or fast, at the communion, or defer the communion to the end of the station; as appears in Tertullian, " de Oratione," cap. 14.: which unanswerably proves, that then it was thought to be bread and nutritive, even then when it was eucharistical: and [h]Picus Mirandula affirms, that if a Jew or a christian should eat the sacrament for refection, it breaks his fast. The same also is the doctrine of all those churches who use the liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, and St. Chrysostom, who hold that receiving the holy communion breaks the fast, as appears in the disputation of Cardinal Humbert with Nicetas about six hundred years ago. The sum of all is this; If of bread Christ said, " This is my body," because it cannot be true in a proper natural sense, it implying a contradiction that it should be properly bread, and properly Christ's body; it must follow, that it is Christ's body in a figurative improper sense. But if the bread does not remain bread, but be changed by blessing into our Lord's body; this also is impossible to be in any sense true, but by affirming the change to be only in use, virtue, and condition, with which change the natural being of bread may remain. For he that supposes that by the blessing, the bread ceases so to be, that nothing of it remains, must also necessarily suppose, that the bread being no more, it neither can be the body of Christ, nor any thing else. For it is impossible that what is taken absolutely from all being, should yet abide under a certain difference of being, and that that thing which is not at all, should yet be after a certain manner. Since therefore (as I have proved) the bread remains, and of bread it was affirmed " This is my body," it follows inevitably, that it is figuratively, not properly and naturally, spoken of bread, that it is the flesh or body of our Lord.

SECTION VI.

Est Corpus meum.

1. The next words to be considered, are " Est corpus," " This is my body;" and here begins the first tropical expression; " est," that is, " significat" or " repræsentat, et exhibet corpus meum," say some. " This is my body," it is to all real effects the same to your particulars, which my body is to all the church: it signifies, the breaking of my body, the effusion of my blood for you, and applies my passion to you, and conveys to you all the benefits; as this nourishes your bodies, so my body nourishes your souls to life eternal, and consigns your bodies to immortality. Others make the trope in " in corpus;" so that " est" shall signify properly, but " corpus" is taken in a spiritual sense, sacramental and mysterious; not a natural and presential; whether the figure be in " est" or in " corpus," is but a question of rhetoric, and of no effect. That the proposition is tropical and figurative, is the thing, and that Christ's natural body is now in heaven definitively, and no where else; and that he is in the sacrament as he can be

[z] Acacius in Gen. ii. Græc. Caren. in Pentateuch.
[a] Lib. 2. adv. Jovin.
[b] Dial. 1. *ἄτρεπτα*.
[c] Sent. 4. dist. 11. q. 3.
[d] Ibid. q. 1.
[e] Ibid. q. 6. et Centilog. Theol. con. lib. 4. q. 6.
[f] Ibid. q. 6. ar. 1.
[g] Canon. Missæ, lect. 40. H.
[h] Apol. 4. 6.

in a sacrament, in the hearts of faithful receivers as he hath promised to be there; that is, in the sacrament mystically, operatively, as in a moral and divine instrument, in the hearts of receivers by faith and blessing; this is the truth and the faith of which we are to give a reason and account to them that disagree. But this, which is to all the purpose, which any one pretends can be in the sumption of Christ's body naturally, yet will not please the Romanists, unless "est," "is," signify properly without trope or metonymy, and "corpus" be "corpus naturale." Here then I join issue; it is not Christ's body properly, or naturally: for though it signifies a real effect, yet it signifies the body figuratively, or the effects and real benefits.

2. Now concerning this, there are very many inducements to infer the figurative or tropical interpretation. 1. In the language which our blessed Lord spake, there is no word that can express "significat," but they use the word "is;" the Hebrews and the Syrians always join the names of the signs with the things signified: and since the very essence of a sign is to signify, it is not an improper elegancy, in those languages, to use "est" for "significat." 2. It is usual in the Old Testament, as may appear, to understand "est," when the meaning is for the present, and not to express it: but when it signifies the future, then to express it; "the seven fat cows, seven years; the seven withered ears shall be seven years of famine."[i] 3. The Greek interpreters of the Bible supply the word "est," in the present tense, which is omitted in the Hebrew, as in the places above quoted: but although their language can very well express "signifies," yet they follow the Hebrew idiom. 4. In the New Testament the same manner of speaking is retained to declare, that the nature and being of signs, is to signify they have no other "esse" but "significare," and therefore they use "est" for "significat."—"The seed *is* the word: the field *is* the world: the reapers *are* the angels: the harvest *is* the end of the world: the rock *is* Christ: I *am* the door: I *am* the vine: my Father *is* the husbandman: I *am* the way, the truth, and the life: Sarah and Agar *are* the two Testaments: the stars *are* the angels of the churches: the candlesticks *are* the churches:" and many more of this kind; we have therefore great and fair and frequent precedents for expounding this "est" by "significat;" for it is the style of both the Testaments, to speak in signs and representments, where one disparate speaks of another, as it does here: the body of Christ, of the bread, which is the sacrament: especially since the very institution of it is representative, significative, and commemorative: for so said our blessed Saviour, "Do this in memorial of me;"[k] and "This doing, ye show forth the Lord's death till he come," saith St. Paul.

3. Secondly: The second credibility that our blessed Saviour's words are to be understood figuratively, is because it is a sacrament:[l] for mysterious and tropical expressions are very frequently, almost regularly and universally, used in Scripture, in sacraments, and sacramentals. And therefore, it is but a vain discourse of Bellarmine to contend, that this must be a proper speaking, because it is a sacrament. For that were all one as to say, "He speaks mystically," therefore he "speaks properly." Μυστήριον is the Greek for a sacrament; and all the Greek that is for it in the New Testament: and when St. Paul tells of a "man praying in the Spirit," but so as not to be understood, he expresses it by, "speaking mysteries."[m] The mysterious and sacramental speaking is secret and dark. But so it is in the sacrament or covenant of circumcision. Τοῦτό ἐστι ἡ διαθήκη μου, "This is my covenant,"[n] and yet it was but "the seal of the covenant," if you believe St. Paul,[o] it was a sacrament and a consignation of it, but it is spoken of it affirmatively; and the same words are used there as in the sacrament of the eucharist; it is διαθήκη in both places.

4. And upon this account two other usual objections (pretending that this being a covenant and a testament, it ought to be expressed without a figure) are dissolved. For here is a covenant and a testament and a sacrament all in one, and yet the expression of them is figurative; and the being a testament is so far from supposing all expression in it to be proper and free from figure, that itself, the very word, "testament," in the institution of the holy sacrament, is tropical or figurative: "est testamentum," that is, "est signum testamenti," "it is," that is, "it signifies." And why they should say, that a testament must have in it all plain words, and no figures or hard sayings, that contend that both the Testaments, New and Old, are very full of hard sayings, and upon that account forbid the people to read them; I confess I cannot understand. Besides this, though it be fit in temporal testaments all should be plain, yet we see all are not plain; and from thence comes so many suits of law; yet there is not the same reason in spiritual or divine, and in human testaments; for in human, there is nothing but legacies and express commands, both which it is necessary that we understand plainly; but, in divine testaments, there are mysteries to exercise our industry and our faith, our patience and inquiry, some things for us to hope, some things for us to admire, some things to pry into, some things to act, some things for the present, some things for the future, some things pertaining to this life, some things pertaining to the life to come, some things we are to see in a glass darkly, some things reserved till the vision of God's face. And after all this, in human testaments men ought to speak plainly, because they can speak no more when they are dead. But Christ can, for "he being dead yet speaketh;" and he can by his Spirit make the church understand as much as he please; and he will as much as

[i] Gen. xli. 26, 27. xl. 12, 18. xvii. 10. Exod. xii. 11.

[k] Nemo recordatur nisi quod in præsentiâ non est positum: St. August. in Psal. xxxvii.

[l] Hæc enim Sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, semper attenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum aliud existentia, aliud significantia. August. lib. 3. contr. Max. c. 22. Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum, sive sacrum secretum. Bern. Serm. de Cœn. Dom.

[m] 1 Cor. xiv. 2.

[n] Gen. xvii. 10.

[o] Rom. iv. 11.

is necessary: and it might be remembered, that in Scripture there is extant a record of Jacob's testament, and of Moses,[p] which we may observe to be an allegory all the way. I have heard also of an Athenian, that had two sons; and being asked on his death-bed, to which of his two sons he would give his goods, to Leon or Pantaleon, which were the names of his two sons; he only said, δίδωμι παντελεόντι, but whether he meant to give "all πάντα to Leon," or to "Pantaleon," is not yet known. And in the civil law it is noted, that testaments have figurative expressions very often; and therefore decreed, "Non enim, in causâ testamentorum, ad definitionem, (strictam, sive propriam verborum significationem, saith the gloss,) utique descendendum est, cum plerumque abusivè loquantur, nec propriis vocabulis ac nominibus semper utantur testatores."[q] And there are in law certain measures for presumption of the testator's meaning. These therefore are trifling arrests; even a commandment may be given with a figurative expression, and yet be plain enough: such was that of Jesus, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that he would send labourers into his harvest;" and that, Jesus commanded "his disciples to prepare the passover;" and some others: and so, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments," &c. And an article of faith may be expressed figuratively; so is that of Christ's sitting at the right hand of his Father. And therefore, much more may there be figurative expressions in the institution of a mystery, and yet be plain enough; "Tropica locutio cum fit ubi fieri solet, sine labore sequitur intellectus," said St. Austin.[r] Certain it is, the church understood this well enough for a thousand years together, and yet admitted of figures in the institution: and since these new men had the handling of it, and excluded the figurative sense, they have made it so hard, that themselves cannot understand it, nor tell one another's meaning. But it suffices as to this particular, that in Scripture, doctrines, and promises, and precepts, and prophecies, and histories, are expressed sometimes figuratively; "Dabo tibi claves;" and "Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis;" and "The dragon drew the third part of the stars with his tail;" and "Fight the good fight of faith, Put on the armour of righteousness;" —and very many more.

5. Thirdly: And indeed there is no possibility of distinguishing sacramental propositions from common and dogmatical, or from a commandment; but that these are affirmative of a nature, those of a mystery; these speak properly, they are figurative: such as this; "Unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." The proposition is sacramental, mystical, and figurative: "Go and baptize," that is a precept; therefore the rather is it literal and proper. So it is in the blessed sacrament, the institution is in, "Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take, eat." In these also there is a precept, and in the last words, "Hoc facite," "This do in remembrance of me;"—but the sacramental proposition, or the mystical, which explicates the sacrament, is, "Hoc est corpus meum;" and either this is, or there is no sacramental proposition in this whole affair to explicate the mystery, or the being a sacrament. But this is very usual in sacramental propositions. For so baptism is called "regeneration," and it is called a "burial" by St. Paul, "for we are buried with him in baptism;" then baptism is either "sepulchrum" or "sepultura," the "grave" or the "burial;" but either of them is a figure, and it is so much used in sacramental and mystic propositions, that they are all so, or may be so; "ut baptismus sepulchrum, sic hoc est corpus meum," saith St. Austin.[s] And this is also observed in gentile rites.

——— φέρον ὅρκια πιστὰ,
Ἄρνε δύω, καὶ οἶνον ἐΰφρονα ——— So Homer.

The slain "lambs and the wine" were the sacrament, "the faithful oaths;" that is, the rite and mystery of their sanction; they were oaths figuratively.

6. Fourthly: But to save the labour of more instances; St. Austin hath made the observation, and himself gives in a list of particulars: "Solet autem res quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat, nuncupari; 'septem spicæ, septem anni sunt;' non enim dixit 'septem annos significant:' et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum erat, petra erat Christus, non enim dixit, petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset quod utique per substantiam non erat, sed per significationem:"[u] "The thing which signifies is wont to be called by that which it signifies: the seven ears of corn are seven years: he did not say they signified seven years, but are; and many like this. Hence it is said, the rock was Christ, for he said not, the rock signifies Christ; but as if the thing were that, not which it were in his own substance, but in signification."—"Pervulgatum est in Scripturâ, ut res figurata nomen habeat figuræ," saith Ribera.[x] That this is no unusual thing, is confessed on all hands.

So is that of Exodus, "The lamb is the passover;" and this does so verify St. Austin's words, that in the New Testament the apostles asked our Lord, Where wilt thou that we prepare to eat "the passover?" that is, "the lamb" which was the remembrance of the passover, as the blessed eucharist is of the death of Christ. To this instance Bellarmine[y] speaks nothing to purpose; for he denies the lamb to signify the passover, or the passing of the angel over the houses of Israel, because there is no likelihood between the lamb and the passover; and, to make the business up, he says, "The lamb was the passover." By some straining, the lamb slain might signify the slaying the Egyptians, and remember their own escape at the time when they first ate the lamb; but by no straining could the lamb be the "thing;" especially, if, for the dissimilitude, it could not so much as signify it, how

[p] Gen. xlix. Deut. xxxiii.
[q] Lib. non aliter sect. Titius F. de legat. et fidei com.
[r] Lib. 3. de Doct. Christ. c. 37.
[s] Lib. 20. contr. Faustum Manich. c. 21.
[u] In Levit. p. 57.
[x] In Apoc. c. xv. v. 8.
[y] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 11. sect. Quædam citantur.

could it be the very same, to which it was so extremely unlike? but he always says something, though it be nothing to the purpose: and yet it may be remembered, that the eating the lamb was as proper an instrument of remembrance of that deliverance, as the eating consecrated bread is of the passion of our blessed Lord. "But it seems the lamb is the very passover, as the very festival-day is called the passover;" so he. And he says true, in the same manner; but that is but by a trope or figure, for "the feast" is the feast of "the passover;" if you speak properly, it is the passover by a metonymy: and so is the lamb. And this instance is so much the more apposite, because it is the forerunner of the blessed eucharist, which succeeded *that*, as baptism did circumcision; and there is nothing of sense that hath been, or I think can be, spoken, to evade the force of this instance, nor of the many others before reckoned.

8. Fifthly: And as it is usual in all sacraments, so particularly it must be here, in which there is such a heap of tropes and figurative speeches, that almost in every word there is plainly a trope. For, 1. Here is the cup taken for the thing contained in it. 2. Testament for the legacy given by it. 3. *This*, is not "in recto," but "in obliquo." *This*, that is, "not this which you see, but this which you do not see." This which is under the species, is my body. 4. "My body," but not "bodily;" "my body," without the forms and figure of my body; that is, "my body," not as it is in "nature," not as it is in "glory," but as it is in "sacrament;" that is, "my body sacramentally."—5. "Drink ye;" that is also improper; for his blood is not drunk properly, for blood hath the same manner of existing in the chalice as it hath in the paten, that is, is under the form of wine as it is under the form of bread; and therefore it is in the veins, not separate, say they,[z] and yet it is in the bread, as it is in the chalice, and in both, as upon the cross, that is, poured out, so Christ said expressly; for else it were so far from being his blood, that it were not so much as the sacrament of what he gave; so that the wine in the chalice is not drunk, because it is not separate from the body; and in the bread it cannot be drunk, because there it is not in the veins; or if it were, yet is made as a consistent thing by the continent, but is not potable: now that which follows from hence is, that it is not drunk at all properly, but figuratively: and so Mr. Brerely[a] confesses sometimes, and Jansenius.[b] There is also an impropriety in the word "given," for "shall be given;" "is poured out," for "shall be poured out;"[c] in "broken," for then it was not broken when Christ spake it, and it cannot be properly spoken since his glorification. Salmeron allows an enallage in the former, and Suarez a metaphor in the latter: "Frangi cùm dicitur, est metaphorica locutio." And this is their excuse, why, in the Roman missal, they leave out the words "which is broken for you;" for they do what they please, they put in some words which Christ used not, and leave out something that he did use;—and yet they are all the words of institution! And upon the same account there is another trope in "eat;" and yet with a strange confidence, these men wonder at us for saying, the sacramental words are tropical or figurative,[d] when even, by their own confession[e] and proper grounds, there is scarce any word in the whole institution but admits an impropriety. And then concerning the main predication; "This is my body,"—as Christ called "bread his body," so he called "his body bread;" and both these affirmatives are destructive of transubstantiation; for if, of bread, Christ affirmed, it is his body,—by the rule of disparates it is figurative; and if, of his body, he affirmed it to be bread, it is certain also and confessed to be a figure. Now concerning this, besides that our blessed Saviour affirmed himself to be "the bread that came down from heaven," calling himself "bread," and, in the institution, calling "bread" his "body;" we have the express words of Theodoret:[f] Τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος; "Christ gave to his body the name of the symbol, and to the symbol the name of his body;" and St. Cyprian speaks expressly to this purpose, as you may see above, sect. 5. n. 9.

9. Sixthly: The strange inconveniences and impossibilities, the scandals and errors, the fancy of the Capernaites, and the temptations to faith, arising from the literal sense of these words, have been, in other cases, thought sufficient by all men to expound words of Scripture by tropes and allegories. The heresy of the Anthropomorphites and the Euchitæ, and the doctrine of the Chiliasts, and Origen gelding himself, proceeded from the literal sense of some texts of Scripture, against which there is not the hundredth part of so much presumption as I shall in the sequel make to appear to lie against this. And yet no man puts out his right eye literally, or cuts off his right hand, to prevent a scandal. Certain it is, there hath been much greater inconvenience by following the letter of these words of institution, than of any other in Scripture: by so much as the danger of idolatry, and actual tyranny, and uncharitable damning others, and schism, are worse than any temporal inconvenience, or an error in a matter of speculation.

10. Seventhly: I argue out of St. Austin's[g] grounds thus: As the fathers did eat Christ's body, so do we under a diverse sacrament, and different symbols, but in all the same reality; whatsoever we

[z] See Brerely. Liturg. tract. 4. sect. 8. Glossa in c. si per negligentiam, dist. 2. de consecrat. in hæc verba [de sanguine] ait de sanguine, i. e. de sacramento sanguinis. Sanguis enim Christi à corpore Christi separari non valet, ergo nec stillare nec fluere potest.

[a] See Brerely. Liturg. tract. 4. sect. 8.

[b] Concord. in eum locum.

[c] Salmer. in 1 Cor. xi. Gregor. de Valent. lib. 1. de Missa. c. 3. sect. igitur. tom. 3. disp. 47. sect. 4. sect. exempla tertiæ. Ruard Tapper in art. 13.

[d] Dico quòd figura corporis Christi est ibi, sed figura corporis Christi non est ibi figura corporis Christi. Holcot. in 4. sent. quæst. 3.

[e] Anselm, Lombard, Thomas, Lyran, Gorran, Cajetan, Dion. Carth. Catharinus, Salmeron, Bened. Justinian, Sà in 1 Cor. xi. et innumeri alii.

[f] Dial. 1. c. 8.

[g] Tract. 26. in S. Johan.

eat, the same they did eat; for the difference is this only, they received Christ by faith in him that was to come, and we by faith in him that is come already; but they had the same real benefit, Christ as really as we, for they had salvation as well as we. But the fathers could not eat Christ's flesh in a natural manner, for it was not yet assumed: and though it were as good an argument against our eating of it naturally, that it is gone from us into heaven: yet that which I now insist upon is, that it was "cibus spiritualis," which they ate under the sacrament of manna; therefore we, under the sacrament of bread and wine eating the same meat, eat only Christ in a spiritual sense, that is, our spiritual meat. And this is also true in the other sacraments of the rock and the cloud: "Our fathers ate of the same spiritual meat, and drank of the same spiritual drink, that is, Christ;" so he afterward expounds it. Now if they did eat and drink Christ, that is, were by him in sacrament, and, to all reality of effect, nourished up to life eternal, why cannot the same spiritual meat do the same thing for us, we receiving it also in sacrament and mystery? 2. To which I add, that all they, that do communicate spiritually, do receive all the blessing of the sacrament, which could not be, unless the mystery were only sacramental, mysterious, and spiritual. Maldonate,[h] speaking of something of this from the authority of St. Austin, is of opinion that if St. Austin were now alive, in very spite to the Calvinists, he would have expounded that of manna otherwise than he did: it seems he lived in a good time, when malice and the spirit of contradiction were not so much in fashion in the interpretations of the Scripture.

11. Now let it be considered, whether all that I have said be not abundantly sufficient to outweigh their confidence of the literal sense of these sacramental words. They find the words spoken,—they say, they are literally to be understood: they bring nothing considerable for it; there is no scripture that so expounds it; there is no reason in the circumstances of the words; but there is all the reason of the world against it, (as I have and shall show,) and such, for the meanest of which very many other places of Scripture are drawn from the literal sense, and rest in a tropical and spiritual. Now, in all such cases, when we find an inconvenience press the literal expression of a text, instantly we find another, that is figurative; and why it is not so done in this, the interest and secular advantages, which are consequent to this opinion of the church of Rome, may give sufficient account. In the mean time, 1. We have reason not to admit of the literal sense of these words, not only by the analogy of other sacramental expressions in both Testaments (I mean that of circumcision and the passover in the Old, and baptism, as Christ discoursed it to Nicodemus, in the New Testament); but also, 2. Because the literal sense of the like words, in this very article, introduced the heresy of the Capernaites; and, 3. Because the subject and the predicate, in the words of institution, are diverse and disparate, and cannot possibly be spoken of each other properly. 4. The words, in the natural and proper sense, seem to command an unnatural thing, the eating of flesh. 5. They rush upon infinite impossibilities; they contradict sense and reason, the principles and discourses of all mankind, and of all philosophy. 6. Our blessed Saviour tells us that the "flesh profiteth nothing," and (as themselves pretend) even in this mystery, that his words were "spirit and life." 7. The literal sense cannot be explicated by themselves, nor by any body for them. 8. It is against the analogy of other scriptures. 9. It is to no purpose. 10. Upon the literal sense of the words, the church could not confute the Marcionites,[i] Eutychians, Nestorians, the Aquarii. 11. It is against antiquity. 12. The whole form of words, in every of the members, is confessed to be figurative by the opposite party. 13. It is not pretended to be verifiable without an infinite company of miracles, all which being more than needs, and none of them visible, but contestations against art and the notices of two or three sciences, cannot be supposed to be done by God, who does nothing superfluously. 14. It seems to contradict an article of faith, viz. of Christ's sitting in heaven in a determinate place, and being contained there till his second coming. Upon these considerations, and upon the account of all the particular arguments, which I have and shall bring against it, it is not unreasonable, neither can it seem so, that we decline the letter, and adhere to the spirit in the sense of these words. But I have divers things more to say in this particular from the consideration of other words of the institution, and the whole nature of the thing.

[h] In S. Johan. 6. 49.

[i] Vide infra, sect. 12. n. 22. 32, &c. et sect. 10. n. 6.

SECTION VII.

Considerations of the Manner and Circumstances and Annexes of the Institution.

1. The blessed sacrament is the same thing now, as it was in the institution of it: but Christ did not really give his natural body in the natural sense, when he ate his last supper; therefore neither does he now. The first proposition is, beyond all dispute, certain, evident, and confessed; "Hoc facite" convinces it: "This do:" what Christ did, his disciples are to do. I assume,—Christ did not give his natural body properly in the last supper, therefore neither does he now; the assumption I prove by divers arguments.

2. First: If then he gave his natural body, then it was naturally broken, and his blood was actually poured forth before the passion; for he gave τὸ σῶμα κλώμενον, τὸ ποτήριον, or αἷμα ἐκχυνόμενον, "his body was delivered broken," "his blood was shed:" now those words were spoken either properly and naturally; and then they were not true, because his body was yet whole, his blood still in the proper channels; or else it was spoken in a figurative and

sacramental sense, and so it was true (as were all the words which our blessed Saviour spake): for that, which he then ministered, was the sacrament of his passion.

3. Secondly: If Christ gave his body in the natural sense at the last supper, then it was either a sacrifice propitiatory, or it was not; if it was not, then it is not now, and then their dream of the mass is vanished: if it was propitiatory at the last supper, then God was reconciled to all the world, and mankind was redeemed before the passion of our blessed Saviour: which, therefore, would have been needless and ineffective: so fearful are the consequents of this strange doctrine.

4. Thirdly: If Christ gave his body properly in the last supper, and not only figuratively and in sacrament, then it could not be a representment or sacrament of his passion, but a real exhibition of it: but that it was a sacrament only, appears by considering that it was then alive; that the passion was future, that the thing was really to be performed upon the cross, that then he was to be delivered for the life of the world. In the last supper, all this was in type and sacrament,—because it was before, and the substance was to follow after.

5. Fourthly: If the natural body of Christ was in the last supper under the accidents of bread, then his body, at the same time, was visible and invisible in the whole substance,—visible in his person, invisible under the accidents of bread: and then it would be inquired, what it was which the apostles received, what benefits they could have by receiving the body naturally; or whether it be imaginable, that the apostles understood it in the literal sense, when they saw his body stand by, unbroken, alive, integral, hypostatical.

6. Fifthly: If Christ's body were naturally in the sacrament, I demand, whether it be as it was in the last supper,—or as upon the cross,—or as it is now in heaven? "Not as in the last supper;"—for then it was frangible, but not broken; but typically, by design, in figure and in sacrament, as it is evident in matter of fact. 2. "Not as on the cross;"—for there the body was frangible and broken too, and the blood spilled; and if it were so now in the sacrament, besides that it were to make Christ's glorified body passible, and to crucify the Lord of life again: it also were not the same body which Christ hath now; for his body that he hath now, is spiritual and incorruptible, and cannot be otherwise: much less can it be so and not so at the same time properly, and yet be the same body. 3. "Not as in heaven,"—where it is neither corruptible nor broken; for then in the sacrament there were given to us Christ's glorified body; and then, neither were the sacrament a remembrance of Christ's death, neither were the words of institution verified, "This is my body, which is broken;" besides, in this we have Bellarmine's[k] confession: "Neque enim ore corporali sumi potest corpus Christi, ut est in cœlo." But then if it be remembered, that Christ hath no other body but that which is in heaven; and that can never be otherwise than it is, and so it cannot be received otherwise properly; it unanswerably follows, that if it be received in any other manner, (as it must if it be at all,) it must be received, not naturally or corporally, but spiritually and indeed. By a figure, or a sacramental, spiritual sense, all these difficulties are easily assoiled, but by the natural never.

7. Sixthly: At the last supper, they ate the blessed eucharist, but it was not in remembrance of Christ's death; for it was future then, and therefore not then capable of being remembered, any more than a man can be said to remember what will be done to-morrow; it follows from hence that then Christ only instituted a sacrament, or figurative, mysterious representment of a thing, that in the whole use of it was variable by "heri" and "cras," and therefore never to be naturally verified, but on the cross by a proper and natural presence, because then it was so and never else; at that time it was future, and now it is past, and in both it is relative to his death; therefore it could not be a real exhibition of his body in a natural sense, for that as it could not be remembered then, so neither broken now; that is, nothing of it is natural, but it is wholly ritual, mysterious, and sacramental. For that this was the sacrament of his death, appears in the words of institution, and by the preceptive words, "Do this in remembrance of me."—And in the reason subjoined by St. Paul, Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε, &c. "For so often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show the Lord's death till he come."[l] Therefore, when Christ said, "This is my body given," or "broken" on my part, "taken, eaten," on yours, it can be nothing else but the εἰκὼν, "the sacramental image of his death;" to effect which purpose it could not be necessary or useful to bring his natural body, that so the substance should become his own shadow, the natural presence be his own sacrament, or rather the image and representment of what he once suffered. His body, given in the sacrament, is the application and memory of his death, and no more; that as Christ in heaven represents his death in the way of intercession, so do we by our ministry: but as in heaven it is wholly a representing of his body crucified, a rememoration of his crucifixion, of his death and passion, by which he reconciled God and man: so it is in the sacrament after our manner, "This is my body given for you," that is, "This is the sacrament of my death, in which my body was given for you." For, as Aquinas said, in all sciences words signify things; but it is proper to theology, that things themselves, signified or expressed by voices, should also signify something beyond it. "This is my body," are the sacramental words, or those words by which the mystery or the thing is sacramental; it must, therefore, signify something beyond these words, and so they do; for they signify the death which Christ suffered in that body. It is but an imperfect conception of the mystery to say, it is the sacrament of Christ's body only, or his blood; but it is "ex parte rei," a sacrament of the death of his body: and to us a

[k] De Euch. lib. 1. c. 13. sect. 1.

[l] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

participation, or an exhibition of it, as it became beneficial to us, that is, as it was crucified, as it was our sacrifice. And this is so wholly agreeable to the nature of the thing, and the order of the words, and the body of the circumstances, that it is next to that which is evident in itself, and needs no further light but the considering the words and the design of the institution: especially since it is consonant to the style of Scripture in the sacrament of the passover, and very many other instances; it wholly explicates the nature of the mystery,—it reconciles our duty with the secret,—it is free of all inconvenience, it prejudices no right,—nor hinders any real effect it hath or can have: and it makes the mystery intelligible and prudent, fit to be discoursed of, and inserted into the rituals of a wise religion.

8. Seventhly: He that receives unworthily, receives no benefit to his body or to his soul by the holy sacrament, that is agreed on all sides; therefore, he that receives benefit to his body, receives it by his worthy communicating; therefore the benefit, reaching to the body by the holy eucharist, comes to it by the soul; therefore by the action of the soul, not the action of the body; therefore by faith, not by the mouth: whereas on the contrary, if Christ's body natural were eaten in the sacrament, the benefit would come to the body by his own action, and to the soul by the body. All that eat, are not made "Christ's body," and all that eat not, are not disentitled to the resurrection: the Spirit does the work without the sacrament; and in the sacrament, when it is done, "the flesh profiteth nothing;" and this argument ought to prevail upon this account; because, as is the nutriment, so is the manducation. If the nourishment be wholly spiritual, then so is the eating. But by the Roman doctrine the body of Christ does not naturally nourish; therefore neither is it eaten naturally; but it does nourish spiritually, and therefore it is eaten only spiritually. And this doctrine is also affirmed by Cajetan,[m] though how they will endure it, I cannot understand: "Manducatur verum corpus Christi in sacramento, sed non corporalitèr sed spiritualitèr. Spiritualis manducatio, quæ per animam fit, ad Christi carnem in sacramento existentem pertingit:" "The true body of Christ is eaten in the sacrament, but not corporally, but spiritually. The spiritual manducation which is made by the soul, reaches to the flesh of Christ in the sacrament;"—which is very good protestant doctrine. And if it be absurd to say, Christ's body doth nourish corporally, why it should not be as absurd to say, we eat it corporally, is a secret which I have not yet been taught. As is our eating, so is the nourishing, because that is in order to this; therefore, if you will suppose that natural eating of Christ's body does nourish spiritually, yet it must also nourish corporally; let it do more if it may, but it must do so much; just as the waters in baptism, although the waters are symbolical and instrumental to the purifying of the soul, yet because the waters are material and corporeal, they cleanse the body first and primarily: so it must be in this sacrament also; if Christ's body were eaten naturally, it must nourish naturally, and then pass further: but, "that which is natural is first, and then that which is spiritual."

9. Eighthly: For the likeness to the argument, I insert this consideration; By the doctrine of the ancient church, wicked men do not eat the body nor drink the blood of Christ. So Origen:[n] "Si fieri potest, ut qui malus adhuc perseveret, edat verbum factum carnem, cùm sit verbum et panis vivus, nequaquam scriptum fuisset, 'Quisquis ederit panem hunc, vivet in æternum:'" "If it were possible for him that perseveres in wickedness, to eat the Word made flesh, when it is the Word and the living bread, it had never been written, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread shall live for ever.'"—So St. Hilary:[o] "Panis qui descendit de cœlo, non nisi ab eo accipitur qui Dominum habet, et Christi membrum est:" "The bread that came down from heaven, is not taken of any but of him who hath the Lord, and is a member of Christ."—"Lambunt petram," saith St. Cyprian,[p] "They lick the rock," that is, eat not of the food, and drink not of the blood that issued from thence when the rock was smitten. They receive "corticem sacramenti, et furfur carnis," saith St. Bernard, "the skin of the sacrament, and the bran of the flesh."—But Venerable Bede[q] is plain without an allegory: "Omnis infidelis non vescitur carne Christi:" "An unbelieving man is not fed with the flesh of Christ;" the reason of which could not be any thing, but because Christ is only eaten by faith. But I reserved St. Austin[r] for the last: "So then these are no true receivers of Christ's body, in that they are none of his true members. For (to omit all other allegations) they cannot be both the members of Christ and the members of a harlot; and Christ himself saying, "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him," showeth what it is to receive Christ, not only sacramentally, but truly; for this is to dwell in Christ and Christ in him. For thus he spoke, as if he had said, He that dwelleth not in me nor I in him, cannot say, he eateth my flesh or drinketh my blood." In which words, (if the Roman doctors will be judged by St. Austin for the sense of the church in this question, and will allow him in this point to be a good catholic,) 1. He dogmatically declares, that the wicked man does not eat Christ's body truly. 2. He does eat it sacramentally. 3. That to eat with effect, is to eat Christ's body truly; to which, if they please to add this, that to eat it spiritually is to eat it with effect, it follows by St. Austin's doctrine, that "spiritually is really,"—and that there is no true and real body of Christ eaten in the sacrament, but by the faithful receiver: or, if you please, receive the conclusion in the words of St. Austin:[s] "Tunc erit unicuique corpus et sanguis Christi, si quod in sacramento sumitur, in ipsâ veritate spiritualiter manducetur, spiritualiter

[m] Opusc. tom. 2. tract. 2. de Euch. c. 5.
[n] In Matt. xv. [o] Lib. 8. de Trinit.
[p] De Cœna Dom. aut quicunque auctor est.
[q] Super Exod. de Agno Pasc.
[r] Lib. 21. de Civit. Dei, c. 25.
[s] Serm. 2. de Verb. Apost.

bibatur:" "Then to each receiver it becomes the body and blood of Christ, if that which is taken in the sacrament be, in the very truth itself, spiritually eaten and spiritually drunk:" which words of St. Austin, Bellarmine,[t] upon another occasion being to answer, instead of answering, grants it, and tells that this manner of speaking is very usual in St. Austin [the truest answer in all his books]: but whether it be for him or against him, he ought to have considered. Neither can this be put off with saying, that the wicked do not truly eat Christ, that is, not to any benefit or purpose; but that this does not mean, "they receive him not at all." Just as we say when a man eats but a little, he does not eat: for as good never a jot, as never the better. This, I say, is not a sufficient escape. 1. Because St. Austin opposes sacramental receiving to the true and real, and says that the wicked only receive it "sacramentally;" but not the thing whose sacrament it is; so that this is not a proposition of degrees, but there is a plain opposition of one to the other. 2. It is true St. Austin does not say that the wicked do not receive Christ at all; for he says they receive him sacramentally: but he says, they do not at all receive him truly, and the wicked man cannot say he does; and he proves this by unanswerable arguments out of Scripture. 3. This excuse will not, with any pretence, be fitted with the sayings of the other fathers, nor to all the words of St. Austin in this quotation, and much less in others which I have[u] and shall remark, particularly this; that he calls that, which the wicked eat, nothing but "signum corporis et sanguinis."—His words are these: "Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio non manducat spiritualiter carnem, non bibit sanguinem, licèt carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus signum corporis et sanguinis:"[x] "He does not eat the body and drink the blood spiritually, although carnally and visibly he presses with his teeth the sign of the body and blood."—Plainly, all the wicked do but eat the sign of Christ's body, all that is to be done beyond, is to eat it spiritually. There is no other eating but these two: and from St. Austin[y] it was that the schools received that famous distinction of "panis Dominus," and "panis Domini;" Judas received "the bread of the Lord" against the Lord: but the other apostles received "the bread which was the Lord," that is, his body. But I have already spoken of the matter of this argument in the third paragraph, Number 7., which the reader may please to add to this to make it fuller.

10. Ninthly: Lastly,—In the words of institution and consecration, as they call them, the words, which relate to the consecrated wine, are so different in the evangelists, and St. Paul respectively, as appears by comparing them together; that, 1. It does not appear which words were literally spoken by our blessed Saviour: for all of them could not be so spoken as they are set down. 2. That they all regarded the sense and meaning of the mystery, not the letters and the syllables. 3. It is not possible to be certain, that Christ intended the words of any one of them to be consecratory or effective of what they signify, for every one of the relaters differ in the words, though all agree in the things; as the reader may observe in the beginning of the fourth paragraph, where the four forms are set by each other to be compared. 4. The church of Rome, in the consecration of the chalice, uses a form of words, which Christ spake not at all, nor are related by St. Matthew, or St. Mark, or St. Luke, or St. Paul, but she puts in some things and changes others: her form is this: "Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei Novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum:" "For this is the chalice of my blood, of the New and eternal Testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins:" what is added is plain, what is altered would be very material, if the words were consecratory: for they are not so likely to be operative and effective as the words of Christ recited by St. Matthew and St. Mark, "This is my blood:" and if this had not been the ancient form used in the church of Rome long before the doctrine of transubstantiation was thought of; it is not to be imagined, that they would have refused the plainer words of Scripture, to have made the article more secret, the form less operative, the authority less warrantable, the words less simple and natural. But the corollary, which is natural and proper from the particulars of this argument, is, that the mystery was so wholly spiritual, that it was no matter by what words it were expressed, so the spirit of it were retained; and yet if it had been an historical, natural, proper sense that had been intended, it ought also, in all reason, to have been declared, or (much more) effected by a natural and proper and constant affirmative. But that there is nothing spoken properly, is therefore evident, because there are so many predications, and all mean the same mystery: "Hic est sanguis meus Novi Testamenti;" and "Hic calix est Novum Testamentum in meo sanguine;" and "Hic est calix sanguinis mei," in the Roman missal: all this declares it is "mysterium fidei," and so to be taken in all senses: and those words are left in their canon, as if on purpose either to prevent the literal and natural understanding of the other words, or for the reducing the communicants to the only apprehensions of faith: it is "mysterium fidei," not "sanguis naturalis," "a mystery of faith," not "natural blood." For supposing that both the forms used by St. Matthew and St. Luke, respectively, could be proper and without a figure; and St. Matthew's "Hic est sanguis testamenti," did signify, "This is the divine promise," (for so Bellarmine[z] dreams that testament there signifies,) and that in St. Luke's words, "This cup is the testament," it signifies "the instrument of the

[t] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 14. sect. Respond. apud Augustinum.
[u] De Serm. de Verb. Apost. Pauli. supr.
[x] Tract. 26. in Joh. vid. etiam Bellarmine, lib. 1. Euch. c. 14. sect. Respondeo St. August.
[y] Tract. 59. in Joh.
[z] Lib. 1. de Euch. c. 11. sect. Ad tertiam dico.

testament;" (for so a will, or a testament, is taken either for the thing willed, or the parchment in which it is written;) yet how are these, or either of these, affirmative of the wine being transubstantiated into blood? It says nothing of that, and so if this sense of those words does avoid a trope, it brings in a distinct proposition: if it be spoken properly, it is more distant from giving authority to their new doctrine; and if the same word have several senses, then in the sacramental proposition, as it is described by the several evangelists, there are several predicates, and therefore it is impossible that all should be proper. And yet besides this, although he thinks he may freely say any thing, if he covers it with a distinction, yet the very members of this distinction conclude against his conclusion; for if "testament" in one place be taken for the "instrument of his testament," it is a tropical locution; just as I say, "My Bible" (meaning "my book") "is the word of God," that is, contains the word of God, it is a metonymy of the thing containing for that which it contains. But this was more than I needed, and therefore I am content it should pass for nothing.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Arguments of the Romanists from Scripture.

1. Thus I have by very many arguments, taken from the words and circumstances and annexes of the institution or consecration, proved, that the sense of this mystery is mysterious, and spiritual,—that Christ's body is eaten only sacramentally by the body, but really and effectively only by faith,—which is the mouth of the soul; that "the flesh profiteth nothing," but "the words which Christ spake, are spirit and life." And let it be considered, whether besides a pertinacious resolution that they will understand these words as they sound in the letter, not as they are intended in the spirit, there be any thing, or indeed can be, in the nature of the thing, or circumstances of it, or usefulness, or in the different forms of words, or the analogy of the other discourses of Christ, that can give colour to their literal sense? against which so much reason, and Scripture, and arguments from antiquity do contest. This only I observe, that they bring no pretence of other scriptures to warrant this interpretation, but such which I have or shall wrest out of their hands; and which to all men's first apprehensions, and at the very first sight, do make against them, and which, without curious notions and devices, cannot pretend on their side: as appears first in the tenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, verses 16, 17.

2. Out of which I have already proved, that Christ's body is not taken in the natural sense, but in the spiritual. But when Bellarmine[a] had, out of the same words, forced for himself three arguments proving nothing; to save any man the labour of answering them, he adds at the end of them these words: "Sed tota difficultas est,[b] an corporaliter, realiter, propriè sumatur sanguis et caro, an solùm significativè et spiritualiter. Quod autem "corporaliter et propriè probari posset omnibus argumentis, quibus suprà probavimus propriè esse intelligenda verba illa institutionis, Hoc est corpus meum." —That is, after his arguments out of the first epistle to the Corinthians[c] were ended, all the difficulty of the question still remained; and that he was fain to prove by "Hoc est corpus meum," and the proper arguments of that; but brings nothing from the words of St. Paul in this chapter. But to make up this also he does "corrodere," "scrape together" some things extrinsical to the words of this authority; as, 1. That the literal sense is to be presumed, unless the contrary be proved;—which is very true: but I have evidently proved the contrary concerning the words of institution; and for the words in this chapter, if the literal sense be preferred, then the bread remains after consecration, because it is called bread. 2. "So the primitive saints expounded it"—which how true it is, I shall consider in his own place. 3. "The apostle calling the gentiles from their sacrificed flesh, proposes to them a more excellent banquet—but it were not more excellent, if it were only a figure of Christ's body;"—so Bellarmine: which is a fit cover for such a dish; for, 1. We do not say, that, in the sacrament, we only receive the sign and figure of Christ's body; but all the real effects and benefits of it. 2. If we had, yet it is not very much better than blasphemy, to say that the apostles had not prevailed upon that account. For if the very figure and sacrament of Christ's body be better than sacrifices offered to devils, the apostle had prevailed, though this sentence were true, that in the sacrament we receive only the figure. And thus I have, for all that is said against it, made it apparent that there is nothing in that place for their corporal presence.

3. There is one thing more, which, out of Scripture, they urge for the corporal presence, viz. "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body:" and, "He shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ."[d] Where they observe, that they, that eat unworthily, do yet eat Christ's body; because how else could they be guilty of it, and condemned for not discerning it?

4. To this I answer many things. 1. St. Paul does not say, "He that eateth and drinketh Christ's body and blood unworthily," &c. but indefinitely, "He that eateth and drinketh,"[e] &c.; yet it is probable he would have said so, if it had been a proper form of speech, because, by so doing, it would have laid a greater load upon them. 2. Where St. Paul does not speak indefinitely, he speaks most clearly against the article in the Roman sense; for he calls it ποτήριον Κυρίου, "the cup of the Lord," and ἄρτον τοῦτον, "this bread," and, "He that eats this bread

[a] Sect. 5. n. 6. lib. 1. Euch. c. 12.
[b] Sect. Sed tota difficultas.
[c] Chap. x. ver. 16.
[d] 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.
[e] Ver. 29.

unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ:"[f] and now these comminatory phrases are quitted from their pretence, but yet they have their proper consideration: therefore, 3. "Not discerning" the Lord's body, is, "not separating it" from profane and common usages, not treating it with addresses proper to the mystery. To which phrase Justin gives light in these words:—Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, "We do not receive it as common bread and common drink;" but τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, &c. "nourishment made eucharistical, or blessed, by the word of prayer;" and so it is the body and blood of the Lord. 4. It is the body of the Lord in the same sense here as in the words of institution, which I have evinced to be exegetical, sacramental, and spiritual; and, by despising the sacrament of it, we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ. "Reus erit corporis et sanguinis Christi, qui tanti mysterii sacramentum despexerit," saith St. Jerome.[g] And it is in this, as Severianus said concerning the statues of Theodosius broken in despite by the Antiochians: Ὕλη ἄψυχος, τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα φέρουσα, τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὕβριν εἰς βασιλέα ἀνάγει, "If you abuse the king's image, the affront relates to your prince."—5. The unworthy receiver is guilty of the body and blood of Christ; not naturally, for that cannot now be; and nothing is a greater probation of the spiritual sense of the words in this place, than this, which they would entice into their party; for Christ's body is glorified, and not capable of natural injury: but the evil communicant is "guilty of the body and blood of Christ;" just as relapsing christians are said by the same apostle, "to crucify the Lord of life again, and put him to an open shame," which, I suppose, they cannot do naturally or corporally. One is as the other, that is, both are tropical or figurative.

5. These are all that they pretend from Scripture; and all these are nothing to their purpose; but now, besides what I have already said, I shall bring arguments from other scriptures, which will not so easily be put off.

SECTION IX.

Arguments from other Scriptures, proving Christ's real Presence in the Sacrament to be only spiritual, not natural.

1. The first is taken from those words of our blessed Saviour; "Whatsoever entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast forth into the draught;"[h] meaning, that all food that is taken by the mouth, hath for his share the fortune of the belly; and indeed, manducation and ejection are equally diminutions of any perfect thing; and because it cannot, without blasphemy, be spoken, that the natural body of Christ ought or can suffer ejection, neither can it suffer manducation. To this Bellarmine[i] weakly answers, "that these words of Christ are only true of that which is taken to nourish the body;" which saying of his is not true; for if it be taken to purge the body, or to make the body sick, or to make it lean, or to minister to lust, or to chastise the body, as those who in penances have masticated aloes and other bitter gums, yet still it is cast into the draught. 2. But suppose his meaning true, yet this argument will not so be put off; because although the end of receiving the blessed sacrament is not to nourish the body; yet that it does nourish the body, is affirmed by Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and others; of which I have already given an account.[k] To which I here add the plain words of Rabanus: "Illud [corpus Christi] in nos convertitur, dum id manducamus et bibimus:" "That body is changed into us, when we eat it and drink it;" and therefore, although it hath a higher purpose, yet this also cannot be avoided. 3. Either we may manducate the accidents only, or else the substance of bread, or the substance of Christ's body. If we manducate only the accidents,[l] then how do we eat Christ's body? If we manducate bread, then it is capable of all the natural alterations, and it cannot be denied. But if we manducate Christ's body after a natural manner, what worse thing is it, that it descends into the guts, than that it goes into the stomach; to be cast forth, than to be torn in pieces with the teeth, as I have proved[m] that it is by the Roman doctrine? Now I argue thus: If we eat Christ's natural body, we eat it either naturally or spiritually; if it be eaten only spiritually, then it is spiritually digested, and is spiritual nourishment, and puts on accidents and affections spiritual. But if the natural body be eaten naturally, then what hinders it from affections and transmutations natural? 4. Although Algerus, and out of him Bellarmine, would have christians stop their ears against this argument, (and so would I against that doctrine, of which these fearful conclusions are unavoidable consequents,) yet it is disputed in the "Summa Angelica," and an instance or case put, which to my sense seems no inconsiderable argument to reprove the folly of this doctrine: for, saith he, what if the species pass indigested into the belly from the stomach? he answers, that they were not meat if they did not nourish; and therefore it is probable, as Boetius says, that the body of our Lord does not go into the draught, though the species do. And yet it is determined by the gloss on the canon law,[n] that as long as the species remain uncorrupted, the holy body is there under those species; and therefore may be vomited; and consequently ejected all ways by which the species can pass unaltered. "Eousque progreditur corpus, quousque species," said Harpsfield, in his

[f] Ver. 27.
[g] In 1 Cor. xi.
[h] St. Matt. xv. 17.
[i] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 14. sect. Resp. cum Algero.
[k] Sect. 5. n. 9.
[l] Ἡ δὲ τροφὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἄπτον. Aristot. lib. 3. de Anim. cap. 12.
[m] Sect. 3. n. 6.
[n] De Consecrat. dist. 2. c. Si per negligentiam. Glos. ibid.

disputation at Oxford. If these things be put together, viz. the body is there so long as the species are uncorrupted; and the species may remain uncorrupted till they be cast upwards or downwards, as in case of sickness; it follows that in this case, which is a case easily contingent, by their doctrine, the holy body must pass "in latrinam." And what then? "it is to be adored as a true sacrament, though it come from impure places, though it be vomited:" so said Vasquez;[o] and it is the prevailing opinion in their church. Add to this, that if this nourishment does not descend and cleave to the guts of the priest, it is certain that God does not hear his prayers: for he is enjoined by the Roman missal, published by authority of the council of Trent and the command of Pope Pius the Fourth, to pray, "Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis, quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis;" "Let thy body, O Lord, which I have taken, and the blood which I have drunk, cleave to my bowels." It seems indeed they would have it go no further, to prevent the inconveniences of the present argument; but certain it is, that if they intended it for a figurative speech, it was a bold one, and not so fitted for edification, as for an objection. But to return. This also was the argument of Origen:[p] "Quod si quicquid ingreditur in os, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur, et ille cibus, qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obsecrationem, juxta id, quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur:—et hæc quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore."—He plainly distinguishes the material part from the spiritual in the sacrament, and affirms, that "according to the material part, that meat that is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, enters into the mouths, descends into the belly, and goes forth in the natural ejection. And this is only true of the typical and symbolical body." Now besides that it affirms the words of our blessed Saviour[q] to have effect in the sacrament, he affirms, that the material part, the type and symbols, are the body of Christ, that is, his body is present in a typical and symbolical manner. This is the plain and natural sense of the words of Origen. But he must not mean what he means, if he says any thing, in another place, that may make for the Roman opinion. And this is their way of answering objections brought from the fathers; they use to oppose words to words, and conclude they must mean their meaning; or else they contradict themselves. And this trick Bellarmine uses frequently, and especially Cardinal Perron, and from them the lesser writers: and so it happens in this present argument; for other words of Origen are brought to prove he inclined to the Roman opinion. But I demand, 1. Are the words more contradictory, if they be both drawn to a spiritual sense, than if they be both drawn to a natural? 2. Though we have no need to make use of it, yet it is no impossible thing that the fathers should contradict one another and themselves too; as you may see pretended violently by Cardinal Perron in his answer to King James. 3. But why must all sheaves bow to their sheaf, and all words be wrested to their fancy, when there are no words any where pretended from them, but with less wresting than these must suffer for them, they will be brought to speak against them, or at least nothing for them? But let us see what other words Origen hath, by which we must expound these. 4. Origen says, that "the christian people drink the blood of Christ, and the flesh of the Word of God is true food." What then? so say we too; but it is spiritual food, and we drink the blood spiritually. He says nothing against that, but very much for it; as I have in several places remarked already. 5. But how can this expound the other words;—"christian people eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood?" therefore, when Origen says, "The material part, the symbolical body of Christ, is eaten naturally and cast into the draught," he means not the body of Christ in his material part, but the accidents of bread, the colour, the taste, the quantity, these are cast out by the belly. Verily a goodly argument; if a man could guess in what mood and figure it could conclude. 6. When a man speaks distinctly and particularly, it is certain he is easier to be understood in his particular and minute meaning, than when he speaks generally. But here he distinguishes a part from a part, one sense from another, the body in one sense from the body in another; therefore these words are to expound the more general, and not they to expound these, unless the general be more particular than that that is distinguished into kinds,—that is, unless the general be a particular, and the particular be a general. 7. Amalarius was so amused with these words and discourse of Origen, that his understanding grew giddy, and he did not know whether the body of Christ were invisibly taken up into heaven, or kept till our death in the body, or expired at letting of blood, or exhaled in air, or spit out, or breathed forth, our Lord saying, "That which enters into the mouth, descends into the belly, and so goes forth into the draught:" the man was willing to be of the new opinion of the real presence, because it began to be the mode of the age.[r] But his folly was soberly reproved by a synod at Carisiacum, about the time of Pope Gregory the Fourth, where the difficulty of Origen's argument was better answered, and the article determined, that "the bread and wine are spiritually made the body of Christ; which, being a meat of the mind and not of the belly, is not corrupted, but remaineth unto everlasting life." 8. To expound these words of the accidents of bread only, and say that they enter into the belly and go forth in the draught, is a device of them that care not what they say; for, 1. It makes that the "ejectamentum" or "excrement" of the body should consist of colour and quantity, without any substance. 2. It makes a man to be nourished by accidents, and so not only one substance to be changed into another, but that accidents are changed into substances, which must be, if they nourish the body and pass "in latrinam," and then beyond the device of transubstantiation we have

[o] In 3. t. 3. d. 195. n. 46. [p] In cap. xv. St. Matt. [q] St. Matt. xv. 17. [r] Ep. ad Guitard.

another production from Africa, a "transaccidentisubstantiation," a μεθυφισταμενομετουσία. 3. It makes accidents to have all the affections of substances, as motion, substantial corruption, alteration, that is, not to be accidents but substances. For matter and form are substances, and those that integrate all physical and compound substances: but till yesterday it was never heard that accidents could. Yea, but magnitude is a material quality, and ground or subject of the accidents. So it is said; but it is nonsense. For besides that magnitude is not a quality, but a quantity, neither can it be properly or truly said to be material but imperfectly; because it is an affection of matter; and however it is a contradiction to say, that it is the ground of qualities; for an accident cannot be the "fundamentum," the ground or subject of an accident; that is, the formality and definition of a substance, as every young scholar hath read in Aristotle's Categories: so that to say, that it is the ground of accidents, is to say, that accidents are subjected in magnitude, that is, that magnitude is neither a quantity nor quality, but a substance. Ἀεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ὑφιστάμενον: "An accident always subsists in a subject," says Porphyry. 9. This answer cannot be fitted to the words of Origen; for that which he calls the "quid materiale," or the material part in the sacrament, he calls it the symbolical body, which cannot be affirmed of accidents, because there is no likeness between the accidents, the colour, the shape, the figure, the roundness, the weight, the magnitude, of the host or wafer, and Christ's body: and therefore, to call the accidents a symbolical body, is to call it an unsymbolical symbol, an unlike similitude, a representment without analogy: but if he means the consecrated bread, the whole action of consecration, distribution, sumption, manducation, this is the symbolical body, according to the words of St. Paul; "He that drinks this cup, and eats this bread, represents the Lord's death;" it is the figure of Christ's crucified body, of his passion and our redemption. 10. It is a strange expression to call accidents a body; Λευκὸν γὰρ σῶμα λέγεται· ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ τοῦ λευκοῦ οὐδέποτε κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καταγορηθήσεται, says Aristotle;[s] "A body may be called white, but the definition or reason of the accident can never be affirmed of a body." I conclude, that this argument out of the words of our blessed Saviour urged also and affirmed by Origen, does prove that Christ's body is in the sacrament, only to be eaten in a spiritual sense, not at all in a natural, lest that consequent be the event of it,—which to affirm of Christ's glorified body in the natural and proper sense, were very blasphemy.

2. The next argument from Scripture, is taken from Christ's departing from this world; his going from us, the ascension of his body and soul into heaven; his not being with us, his being contained in the heavens: so said our blessed Saviour; "Unless I go hence, the Comforter cannot come:"[t] and "I go to prepare a place for you:"[u] "The poor ye have always, but me ye have not always."[x] St. Peter affirms of him, "that the heavens must receive him, till the time of restitution of all things."[y] Now, how these things can be true of Christ according to his human nature, that is a circumscribed body, and a definite soul, is the question. And to this the answer is the same, in effect, which is given by the Roman doctors, and by the Ubiquitaries, whom they call heretics. These men say, Christ's human nature is every where actually, by reason of his hypostatical union with the Deity, which is every where: the Romanists say no; it is not actually every where, but it may be where, and is in as many places as, he please: for although he be in heaven, yet so is God too, and yet God is upon earth: "eodem modo," says Bellarmine,[z] "in the same manner," the man Christ, although he be in heaven, yet also he can be out of heaven, where he please; he can be in heaven and out of heaven. Now these two opinions are concentred in the main impossibility; that is, that Christ's body can be in more places than one: if in two, it may be in two thousand, and then it may be every where; for it is not limited, and therefore is unlimited and potentially infinite. Against this, so seemingly impossible at the very first sight, and relying upon a similitude and analogy that are not far from blasphemy, viz. That as God is in heaven and yet on earth, "eodem modo," "after the same manner" is Christ's body; which words it cannot be easy to excuse: against this, I say, although for the reasons alleged it be unnecessary to be disproved, yet I have these things to oppose: 1. The words of Scripture, that affirm Christ to be in heaven, affirm also that he "is gone from hence."[a] Now if Christ's body not only could, but must, be every day in innumerable places on earth, it would have been said that Christ "is in heaven," but not that "he is not here," or that he is gone from hence. 2. "Surrexit, non est hîc," was the angel's discourse to the inquiring women at the sepulchre, "He is risen, he is not here:" but if they had been taught the new doctrine of the Roman schools, they would have denied the consequent; "He is risen, and gone from hence," but he may be here too. And this indeed might have put the angels to a distinction: but the women's ignorance rendered them secure. However, St. Austin is dogmatical in this article, saying, "Christum ubique totum esse tanquam Deum, et in eodem tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum:" "Christ as God is every where, but in respect of his body he is determined to a particular residence in heaven,"[b] viz. at the right hand of God, that is, in the best seat, and in the greatest eminency. And in the thirtieth treatise of St. John; "It behoveth that the body of our Lord, since it is raised again, should be in one place alone, but the truth is spread over all." But concerning these words of St. Austin, they have taken a course in all their editions to corrupt the place; and instead of *oportet* have clapped in

[s] Categor. c. 5. [t] St. John xvi. 7. [u] xiv. 2.
[x] Matt. xxvi. 11. [y] Acts iii. 21. Philip. iii. 20.
[z] Lib. 1. Euch. c. 14. sect. Respondeo Argumentum.
[a] St. John xvi. 28. [b] Epist. ad Dardan.

potest; instead of *must be* have foisted in *may be*, against the faith of the ancient canonists and scholastics; particularly Lombard, Gratian, Ivo Carnotensis, Algerus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Durand, Biel, Scotus, Cassander, and divers others. To this purpose is that of St. Cyril Alexandrinus:[c] "He could not converse with his disciples in the flesh, being ascended to his Father."—So Cassian:[d] "Jesus Christ, speaking on earth, cannot be in heaven but by the infinity of his Godhead:"[e] and Fulgentius argues it strongly: "If the body of Christ be a true body, it must be contained in a particular place:" but this place is just so corrupted in their editions, as is that of St. Austin, *potest* being substituted instead of *oportet;* but this doctrine, viz. That to be in several places is impossible to a body, and proper to God, was affirmed by the university of Paris in a synod under William their bishop, 1340, and Johannes Picus Mirandula maintained, in Rome itself, that it could not be by the power of God, that one body should, at once, be in divers places.

3. Thirdly: The Scripture speaks of his going thither from hence by elevation and ascension, and of his coming from thence at his appearing: Ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέχεσθαι, and ἐξ οὗ σωτῆρα ἀποδεχόμεθα· the words have an antithesis; "The heavens till then shall retain him;" but "then he shall come from thence;" which were needless, if he might be here and stay there too.

4. When Christ said, "Me ye have not always," and at another time, "Lo, I am with you always to the end of the world;" it is necessary that we distinguish the parts of a seeming contradiction. Christ is with us by his Spirit, but Christ is not with us in body; but if his body be here too, then there is no way of substantial, real presence, in which those words can be true, "Me ye have not always." The Rhemists, in their note upon this place, say, that when Christ said, "Me ye have not always," he means, "Ye have not me in the manner of a poor man, needing relief;" that is, "not me so as you have the poor."—But this is a trifle; because our blessed Saviour did not receive that ministry of Mary Magdalene as a poor man, for it was a present for a prince, not a relief to necessity, but a regalo fit for so great a person; and therefore, if he were here at all after his departure, he was capable of as noble a usage, and an address fit to represent a majesty, or at least to express a love. It was also "done for his burying;" so Christ accepted it, and that signified and plainly related to a change of his state and abode. But besides this, if this could be the interpretation of those words, then they did not at all signify Christ's leaving this world, but only his changing his circumstance of fortune, his outward dress and appendages of person; which were a strange commentary upon "Me ye have not always;" that is, "shall be with you still, but in a better condition;" but St. Austin[f] hath given sentence concerning the sense of these words of Christ; "Loquebatur de presentiâ corporis," &c. "He spake of the presence of his body, Ye shall have me according to my providence, according to majesty, and invisible grace, but according to the flesh which the Word assumed, according to that which was born of the Virgin Mary, ye shall not have me; therefore, because he conversed with his disciples forty days, he is ascended up into heaven and is not here;" if he be here in person, what need he to have sent his vicar, his Holy Spirit, in substitution? Especially since, by this doctrine, he is more now with his church, than he was in the days of his conversion in Palestine; for then he was but in one assembly at once; now he is in thousands every day. If it be said, "Because although he be here, yet we see him not;" this is not sufficient: for what matter is it, whether we see him or no, if we know him to be here, if we feel him, if we eat him, if we worship him in presence natural and proper? There wants nothing but some accidents of colour and shape. A friend in the dark, behind a curtain, or to a blind man, is as certainly present, as if he were in the light in open conversation, or beheld with the eyes. And then also the office of the Holy Spirit would only be to supply the sight of his person, which might possibly be true, if he had no greater offices, and we no greater needs; and if he himself also were visible and glorious to our eyes; for if the effect of his substitution is spiritual, secret, and invisible, our eyes are still without comfort; and if the Spirit's secret effect does supply it, and makes it not necessary that we should see him, then so does our faith do the same thing; for if we believe him there, the want of bodily sight is supplied by the eye of faith, and the Spirit is pretended to do no more in this particular, and then his presence also will be less necessary, because supplied by our own act. Add to this; that if, after Christ's ascension into heaven, he still would have been upon earth, in the eucharist, and received properly into our mouths, and in all that manner which these men dream; how ready it had been and easy to have comforted them who were troubled for want of his bodily presence, —by telling them, "Although I go to heaven, yet fear not to be deprived of the presence of my body; for you shall have it more than before, and much better; for I will be with you, and in you; I was with you in a state of humility and mortality, now I will be with you with a daily and mighty miracle; I before gave you promises of grace and glory, but now I will become to your bodies a seed of immortality: and though you will not see me, but under a veil, yet it is certain, I will be there, in your churches, in your pixes, in your mouths, in your stomachs, and you shall believe and worship." Had not this been a certain, clear, and proportionable comfort to their complaint, and present necessity, if any such thing were intended? It had been so certain, so clear, so proportionable, that it is more than probable, that if it had been true, it had not been omitted. But that such sacred things as these may not be exposed to contempt, by such weak pro-

[c] Lib. 11. in Jon. c. 3. [d] Lib. 4. de Incarnat. c. 1.
[e] Lib. 2. ad Thrasimundum, c. 7. Apol. p. 65.
[f] Tract. 50. in Johan.

positions and their trifling consequents, the case is plain, that Christ, being to depart hence, sent his Holy Spirit in substitution to supply his church the office of a teacher, which he, on earth, in person, was to his disciples; when he went from hence, he was to come no more in person, and therefore he sent his substitute; and therefore to pretend him to be here in person, though under a disguise which we see through with the eye of faith, and converse with him by presential adoration of his humanity, is in effect to undervalue the real purposes and sense of all the sayings of Christ concerning his "departure hence," and the "deputation of the Holy Spirit."[g] But for this, because it is naturally impossible, they have recourse to the Divine omnipotency: God can do it, therefore he does. But of this I shall give particular account in the section of reason; as also the other arguments of Scripture I shall reduce to their heads of proper matter.

SECTION X.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is against Sense.

1. THAT which is one of the firmest pillars, upon which all human notices and upon which all christian religion does rely, cannot be shaken; or if it be, all science and all religion must be in danger.[a] Now, besides that all our notices of things proceed from sense, and our understanding receives his proper objects, by the mediation of material and sensible fantasms, and the soul, in all her operations during this life, is served by the ministries of the body, and the body works upon the soul only by sense; besides this, St. John hath placed the whole religion of a christian upon the certainty and evidence of sense, as upon one unmovable foundation:[b] "That which was from the beginning, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have beheld, and our hands have handled of the word of life. And the life was made manifest, and we have seen it, and bear witness and declare unto you eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us, which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you." Tertullian, in his book "De Animâ," uses this very argument against the Marcionites: "Recita Johannis testationem; 'quod vidimus, (inquit,) quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, de sermone vitæ:' Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum, et aurium, et manuum sensus natura mentitur:" "His testimony was false, if eyes, and ears, and hands be deceived." In nature there is not a greater argument than to have heard, and seen, and handled.

> Sed quia profundâ non licet luctarier
> Ratione tecum, consulamus proxima:
> Interrogetur ipsa naturalium
> Simplex sine arte sensuum sententia.
> Supplic. Romani Martyr. Prudent.

And by what means can an assent be naturally produced, but by those instruments by which God conveys all notices to us, that is, by seeing and hearing? Faith comes by hearing, and evidence comes by seeing: and if a man, in his wits, and in his health, can be deceived in these things, how can we come to believe?

> Corpus enim per se communis deliquat esse
> Sensus; quo nisi prima fides fundata valebit,
> Haud erit, occultis de rebus quo referentes
> Confirmare animi quicquam ratione queamus.
> LUCRET. lib. 1.

For if a man or an angel declares God's will to us, if we may not trust our hearing, we cannot trust him; for we know not whether, indeed, he says what we think he says; and if God confirms the proposition by a miracle, an ocular demonstration, we are never the nearer to the believing him, because our eyes are not to be trusted. But if feeling also may be abused, when a man is, in all other capacities, perfectly healthy, then he must be governed by chance, and walk in the dark, and live upon shadows, and converse with fantasms and illusions, as it happens; and then at last it will come to be doubted, whether there be any such man as himself, and whether he be awake when he is awake, or not rather then only awake when he himself and all the world thinks him to have been asleep: "Oculatæ sunt nostræ manus, credunt quod vident."

2. Now then, to apply this to the present question, in the words of St. Austin, "Quod ergo vidistis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant:" "That which our eyes have seen, that which our hands have handled, is bread;[c] we feel it, taste it, see it to be bread, and we hear it called bread, that very substance, which is called the body of our Lord. Shall we now say, our eyes are deceived, our ears hear a false sound, our taste is abused, our hands are mistaken? It is answered, Nay; our senses are not mistaken: "For our senses, in health and due circumstances, cannot be abused in their proper object; but they may be deceived about that, which is under the object of their senses; they are not deceived in colour, and shape, and taste, and magnitude, which are the proper objects of our senses; but they may be deceived in substances which are covered by these accidents; and so it is not the outward sense so much as the inward sense that is abused. For so Abraham, when he saw an angel in the shape of a human body, was not deceived in the shape of a man, for there was such a shape; but yet it was not a man, and, therefore, if he thought it was, he was abused:[d] this is their answer: and if this will not serve the turn, nothing will: this, therefore, must be examined.

[g] Heb. ix. 24. 2 Cor. v. 6, 8. Philip. i. 23. iii. 20. Coloss. iii. 1, 2. St. John xiv. 16. xvi. 7.

[a] Τούτου ζητεῖν λόγον, ἀφέντας τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀῤῥωστία ἐστὶ διανοίας.—ARIST. lib. viii. PHYS. tom. 22.

Ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων κρείττων ἐφάνη τοῦ λόγου τῆς αἰτίας ἡ πεῖρα.—S. BASIL. ep. 43

[b] 1 St. John i. 1, 2, 3.

[c] In Serm. apud Bed. in 1 Cor. x. Sed hæc verba citantur ab Algero, lib. i. de Sacram. c. 5. ex Serm. de verbis Domini.

[d] Bellarm. lib. i. Euch. c. 14. Sect. Jam. ad Petrum Martyrem.

3. Now this, instead of taking away the insuperable difficulty, does much increase it, and confesses the things which it ought to have avoided. For, 1. The accidents, proper to a substance, are for the manifestation, a notice of the substance, not of themselves; for as the man feels, but the means by which he feels is the sensitive faculty, so that which is felt is the substance, and the means by which it is felt is the accidents: as the shape, the colour, the bigness, the motion of a man, are manifestative and declarative of a human substance: and if they represent a wrong substance, then the sense is deceived by a false sign of a true substance, or a true sign of a false substance: as if an alchymist should show me brass coloured like gold, and made ponderous, and so adulterated, that it would endure the touchstone for a long while, the deception is, because there is a pretence of improper accidents; true accidents indeed, but not belonging to that substance. But, 2. It is true that is pretended, that it is not so much the outward sense that is abused as the inward; that is, not so much the eye as the man; not the sight, but the judgment: and this is it we complain of. For indeed, in proper speaking, the eye or the hand is not capable of being deceived; but the man, by the eye, or by the ear, or by his hand. The eye sees a colour, or a figure, and the inward sense apprehends it to be the figure of such a substance, and the understanding judges it to be the thing which is properly represented by the accident: it is so, or it is not so: if it be, there is no deception; if it be not so, then there is a cozenage, there is no lie till it comes to a proposition, either explicit or implicit; a lie is not in the senses; but when a man, by the ministry of the senses, is led into the apprehension of a wrong object, or the belief of a false proposition, then he is made to believe a lie; and this is our case, when accidents, proper to one substance, are made the cover of another, to which they are not naturally communicable. And in the case of the holy sacrament, the matter, if it were as is pretended, were intolerable. For in the cases wherein a man is commonly deceived, it is his own fault by passing judgment too soon; as if he should judge glass to be crystal, because it looks like it; this is not any deception in the senses, nor any injury to the man; because he ought to consider more things than the colour, to make his judgment whether it be glass, or crystal, or diamond, or ice; the hardness, the weight, and other things, are to be ingredients in the sentence. And if any two things had all the same accidents, then, although the senses were not deceived, yet the man would, certainly and inculpably, mistake. If therefore, in the eucharist, as is pretended, all the accidents of bread remain, then all men must necessarily be deceived; if only one or two did remain, one sense would help the other, and all together would rightly inform the understanding. But when all the accidents remain, they cannot but represent that substance, to which those accidents are proper; and then the holy sacrament would be a constant, irresistible deception of all the world, in that in which all men's notices are most evident and most relied upon,—I mean their senses. And then the question will not be, whether our senses can be deceived or no? but whether or no it can stand with the justice and goodness of God, to be angry with us for believing our senses, since himself hath so ordered it, that we cannot avoid being deceived? there being, in this case, as much reason to believe a lie as to believe a truth,—if things were so as they pretend. The result of which is this: That as no one sense can be deceived about his proper object, but that a man may about the substance lying under those accidents, which are the object proper to that sense, because he gives sentence according to that representment otherwise than he ought, and he ought to have considered other accidents proper to other senses, in making the judgment; as the birds that took the picture of grapes for very grapes, and he that took the picture of a curtain for a very curtain, and desired the painter to draw it aside; they made judgment of the grapes and the curtain only by colour and figure, but ought to have considered the weight, the taste, the touch, and the smell: so on the other side, if all the senses concur, then not only is it true, that the senses cannot be deceived about that object which is their own, but neither ought the man to be deceived about that substance which lies under those accidents; because their ministry is all that natural instrument of conveying notice to a man's understanding, which God hath appointed. 4. Just upon this account it is, that St. John's argument had been just nothing in behalf of the whole religion: for that God was incarnate, that Jesus Christ did such miracles, that he was crucified, that he rose again, and ascended into heaven, that he preached these sermons, that he gave such commandments, he was made to believe by sounds, by shapes, by figures, by motions, by likenesses, and appearances, of all the proper accidents, and his senses could not be deceived about the accidents, which were the proper objects of the senses; but if they might be deceived about the substance under these accidents, of what truth or substance could he be ascertained by their ministry? for he indeed saw the shape of a human body: but it might so be, that not the body of a man, but an angelical substance, might lie under it; and so the article of the assumption of human nature is made uncertain. And upon the same account, so are all the other articles of our faith, which relied upon the verity of his body and nature: all which, if they are not sufficiently signified by their proper accidents, could not be ever the more believed for being seen with the eyes, and heard with the ears, and handled with our hands; but if they were sufficiently declared by their proper accidents, then the understanding can no more be deceived in the substances lying under the accidents, than the senses can in the accidents themselves.

4. To the same purpose it was, that the apostles were answered concerning the article of the truth of Christ's resurrection. For when the apostles were affrighted at his sudden appearing, and thought it had been a spirit, Christ called them to feel his hands, and to show that it was he; "For a spirit

hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have:"[g] plainly meaning, that the accidents of a body[h] were not communicable to a spirit; but how easily might they have been deceived, if it had pleased God to invest other substances with new and stranger accidents? For though a spirit hath not flesh and bones, they may represent to the eyes and hands the accidents of flesh and bones; and if it could, in the matter of faith, stand with the goodness and wisdom of God to suffer it, what certainly could there be of any article of our religion relating to Christ's humanity, or any proposition proved by miracles? To this instance *the man that must answer all*, I mean *Bellarmine*, ventures something;[i] saying it was a good argument of our blessed Saviour, "Handle and see that I am no spirit: that which is handled and seen is no spirit;" but it is no good argument to say, This is not seen, not handled, therefore it is no body: and, therefore, the body of Christ may be naturally in the sacrament, though it is not seen nor handled.—To this I reply, 1. That suppose it were true what he said, yet it would also follow by his own words. "This is seen bread," and "is handled," so therefore "it is bread." "Hoc enim affirmativè colligitur." This is the affirmative consequent made by our blessed Lord, and here confessed to be certain. It being the same collection. "It is I; for, by feeling and seeing, you shall believe it to be so;" and "it is bread; for, by feeling, and seeing, and tasting, and smelling it, you shall perceive it to be so."—To which let this be added; That in Scripture it is as plainly affirmed to be bread, as it is called Christ's body. Now then because it cannot be both in the proper and natural sense, but one of them must be figurative and tropical; since both of the appellatives are equally affirmed, is it not notorious, that, in this case, we ought to give judgment on that side which we are prompted to by common sense? If Christ had said only, This is my body,—and no apostle had told us also that it is bread,—we had reason to suspect our senses to be deceived, if it were possible they should be: but when it is equally affirmed to be bread, as to be our Lord's body, and but one of them can be naturally true and in the letter, shall the testimony of all our senses be absolutely of no use in casting the balance? The two affirmatives are equal; one must be expounded tropically; which will you choose? Is there in the world any thing more certain and expedite than that what you see, and feel, and taste, natural and proper, should be judged to be that which you see, and feel, and taste, naturally and properly, and therefore, that the other be expounded tropically? Since you must expound one of the words tropically, I think it is not hard to determine whether you ought to do it against your sense, or with it. But it is also remarkable, that our blessed Lord did not, only by feeling and seeing, prove it to be a body; but by proving it was "his body," he proved it was "himself;" that is, "by these accidents representing my person ye are not led into an error of the person, any more than of the kind of substance; 'see my hands and my feet,' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμί, 'that it is even I myself:'" this I noted, lest a silly escape be made, by pretending these accidents only proved Christ to be no spirit, but a body; and so the accidents of bread declare a latent body, meaning the body of Christ; for as the accidents of a body declare the substance of a body, so the particular accidents of this kind declare this kind, of this person declare this person. For so our blessed Saviour proved it to be himself in particular; and if it were not so, the deceit would pass from one thing to another; and although it had not been a spirit, yet it might be John the Baptist risen from the dead, or Moses, or Elias, and not Jesus their dear Lord. Besides, if this had been all that Jesus had intended, only to prove he was no "spectrum," but a body, he had not done what was intended. For put case it had been a spirit, and had assumed a body, as Bellarmine, in the very next paragraph, forgetting himself, or else being entangled in the wildernesses of an inconsistent discourse, affirms, that in Scriptures the Israelites did sometimes see; and then they were not deceived in touching or seeing a body; for there was a body assumed, and so it seemed to Abraham and Lot; but then, suppose Jesus Christ had done so, and had been indeed a spirit in an assumed body, had not the apostles been deceived by their feeling and seeing, as well as the Israelites were, in thinking those angels to be men, that came to them in human shapes? How had Christ's arguments been pertinent and material? How had he proved, that he was no spirit, by showing a body, which might be the case of a spirit? but that it is not consistent with the wisdom and goodness of God to suffer any illusion in any matter of sense relating to an article of faith.

5. Secondly: It was the case of the christian church once, not only to rely upon the evidence of sense for an introduction to the religion, but also to need and use this argument in confirmation of an article of the creed; for the Valentinians and the Marcionites thought Christ's body to be fantastical, and so denied the article of the incarnation: and if arguments from sense were not enough to confute them, viz. that the apostles did see and feel a body, flesh, and blood, and bones, how could they convince these misbelievers? for whatsoever answer can be brought against the reality of bread in the eucharist, all that may be answered in behalf of the Marcionites: for if you urge to them all those places of Scripture, which affirm Christ to have a body, they answer, it was in Scripture called a body, because it seemed to be so; which is the answer Bellarmine gives to all those places of Scripture, which call it "bread" after consecration. And if you object, that if it be not what it seems, then the senses are deceived: they will answer, (a Jesuit being by,[k] and prompting them,) the senses were not deceived, because they only saw colour, shape, figure, and the other accidents; but the inward sense and under-

[g] St. Luke xxiv. 39.

[h] Quod videtur, corpus est: quod palpatur, corpus est. S. Ambros. in S. Luc. 4.

[i] Lib. i. de Euch. c. 14. Sect. Resp. ad Calvinum.

[k] Lib. i. de Euch. c. 14. Sect. Respondent nonnulli.

standing, that is, the man was deceived, when he thought it to be the body of a man; for under those accidents and appearances, there was an angel, or a Divinity, but no man: and now, upon the grounds of transubstantiation, how can they be confuted, I would fain know.

6. But Tertullian,[l] disputing against them, uses the argument of sense, as the only instrument of concluding against them infallibly: "Non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos revocare," &c. "It is not lawful to doubt of our senses, lest the same doubt be made concerning Christ; lest, peradventure, it should be said, he was deceived when he said, 'I saw Satan, like lightning, fall from heaven;' or when he heard the voice of his Father testifying concerning him; or lest he should be deceived when he touched Peter's wife's mother by the hand; or that he smelt another breath of ointment, and not what was offered to his burial; 'Alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit,' or 'tasted another taste of wine, which he consecrated to the memory of his blood.'" And if the catholic christians had believed the substantial, natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and, consequently, disbelieved the testimony of four senses, as the church of Rome at this day does,—seeing, smelling, tasting, feeling,—it had been impudence in them to have reproved Marcion, by the testimony of two senses, concerning the verity of Christ's body. And supposing that our eyes could be deceived, and our taste, and our smelling, yet our touch cannot; for supposing the organs equally disposed, yet "touch" is the guardian of truth, and his nearest natural instrument; all sensation is by touch, but the other senses are more capable of being deceived; because, though they finally operate by touch variously affected, yet their objects are further removed from the organ; and, therefore, many intermedial things may intervene, and, possibly, hinder the operation of the sense; that is, bring more diseases and disturbances to the action: but in "touch," the object and the instrument join close together; and, therefore, there can be no impediment, if the instrument be sound, and the object proper. And yet no sense can be deceived in that which it always perceives alike; "The touch can never be deceived;"[m] and, therefore, a testimony from it and three senses more, cannot possibly be refused: and, therefore, it were strange if all the christians, for above one thousand six hundred years together, should be deceived, as if the eucharist were a perpetual illusion, and a riddle to the senses, for so many ages together: and indeed the fault in this case could not be in the senses: and, therefore, Tertullian and St. Austin[n] dispute wittily, and substantially, that the senses could never be deceived, but the understanding ought to assent to what they relate to it, or represent; for if any man thinks the staff is crooked that is set half way in the water, it is the fault of his judgment, not of his sense; for the air and the water being several mediums, the eye ought to see otherwise in air, otherwise in water; but the understanding must not conclude falsely from these true premises, which the eye ministers; for the thicker medium makes a fraction of the species by incrassation and a shadow; and when a man in the yellow jaundice, thinks every thing yellow, it is not the fault of his eye, but of his understanding; for the eye does his office right, for it perceives just as is represented to it, the species are brought yellow; but the fault is in the understanding, not perceiving that the species are stained near the eye, not further off; when a man in a fever thinks every thing bitter, his taste is not deceived, but judges rightly; for as a man that chews bread and aloes together, tastes not false, if he tastes bitterness; so it is in the sick man's case; the juice of his meat is mingled with choler, and the taste is acute and exact, by perceiving it such as it is so mingled. The purpose of which discourse is this, that no notices are more evident and more certain than the notices of sense; but if we conclude contrary to the true dictates of sense, the fault is in the understanding, collecting false conclusions from right premises:[o] it follows, therefore, that in the matter of the eucharist, we ought to judge that which our senses tell us; for whatsoever they say is true; for no deceit can come by them; but the deceit is, when we believe something besides or against what they tell us; especially when the organ is perfect, and the object proper, and the medium regular, and all things perfect, and the same always and to all men. For it is observable, that in this case, the senses are competent judges of the natural being of what they see, and taste, and smell, and feel; and according to that, all the men in the world can swear that what they see is bread and wine; but it is not their office to tell us, what they become by the institution of our Saviour; for that we are to learn by faith, that what is bread and wine in nature is, by God's ordinance, the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour of the world; but one cannot contradict another; and therefore they must be reconciled: both say true, that which faith teaches is certain; and that which the senses of all men teach always, that also is certain and evident; for as the rule of the school says excellently, "Grace never destroys nature, but perfects it,"[p] and so it is in the consecration of bread and wine; in which, although we are more to regard their signification than their matter,—their holy employment than their natural usage,—what they are by grace rather than what they are by nature,—that they are sacramental rather than that they are nutritive,—that they are consecrated and exalted by religion, rather than that they are mean and low in their natural beings,—what they are to the spirit and understanding, rather than what they are to the sense;—yet this also is

[l] Lib. de Animâ, c. 17.

[m] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἴσθησις τῶν ἰδίων αἰεὶ ἀληθής.—ARISTOT. de Animâ, lib. iii. t. 152.

[n] Lib. de Animâ, c. 87, &c. S. Austin. c. 33. de Verâ Religione.

[o] Αἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς αἰεί, αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι γίνονται αἱ πλείους ψευδεῖς.—ARIST. lib. iii. De Anim. lib. clxv. Διανοεῖσθαι δ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ ψευδῶς.—Id. ibid.

[p] Aquin. part I. q. 1. a. 8. ad. 2.

as true and as evident as the other; and, therefore, though not so apt for our meditation, yet as certain as that which is.

7. Thirdly: Though it be a hard thing to be put to prove that bread is bread, and that wine is wine; yet, if the arguments and notices of sense may not pass for sufficient, an impudent person may, without possibility of being confuted, outface any man, that an oyster is a rat, and that a candle is a pig of lead: and so might the Egyptian soothsayers have been too hard for Moses; for when they changed rods into serpents, they had some colour to tell Pharaoh they were serpents as well as the rod of Moses; but if they had failed to turn the water into blood, they needed not to have been troubled, if they could have borne down Pharaoh, that, though it looked like water, and tasted like water, yet, by their enchantment, they had made it verily to be blood: and upon this ground of having different substances, improper and disproportioned accidents, what hinders them but they might have said so? and if they had, how should they have been confuted? But this manner of proceeding would be sufficient to evacuate all reason, and all science, and all notices of things; and we may as well conclude snow to be black, and fire cold, and two and two to make five and twenty.

8. But, it is said, although the body of Christ be invested with improper accidents, yet sometimes Christ hath appeared in his own shape, and blood and flesh hath been pulled out of the mouths of the communicants: and Plegilus the priest saw an angel showing Christ to him in form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took in his arms and kissed, but did eat him up presently in his other shape, in the shape of a wafer. "Speciosa certè pax nebulonis, ut qui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium," said Berengarius;[q] "It was but a Judas's kiss, to kiss with the lip, and bite with the teeth."—But if such stuff as this may go for argument, we may be cloyed with them in those unanswerable authors, Simeon Metaphrastes for the Greeks, and Jacobus de Voragine for the Latin, who make it a trade to lie for God, and for the interest of the catholic cause. But, however, I shall tell a piece of a true story. In the time of Soter, pope of Rome, there was an impostor called Mark;[r] Εἰδωλοποιὸς, that was his appellative; and he ποτήρια οἴνου κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκ τίνων τῶν λόγων τῆς ἐπικλήσεως πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ, "pretending to make the chalice of wine and water eucharistical, saying long prayers over it, made it look red or purple," that it might be thought that grace, which is above all things, does drop the blood into the chalice by invocation. Such as these have been often done by human artifice, or by operation of the devil, said Alexander of Ales.[s] If such things as these were done regularly, it were pretence enough to say it is flesh and blood that is in the eucharist; but when nothing of this is done by God,—but heretics and knaves, jugglers and impostors, hoping to change the sacrament into a charm, by abusing the spiritual sense into a gross and carnal, against the authority of Scripture and the church, reason or religion,—have made pretences of those things, and still the holy sacrament, in all the times of ministration, hath the form and all the perceptibilities of bread and wine: as we may believe those impostors did more rely upon the pretences of sense than of other arguments, and, distrusting them, did fly to these as the greater probation: so we rely upon that way of probation, which they would have counterfeited, but which indeed Christ, in his institution, hath still left in the nature of the symbols, viz. that it is that which it seems to be, and that the other superinduced predicate of the body of Christ is to be understood only in that sense, which may still consist with that substance, whose proper and natural accidents remain, and are perceived by the mouth, and hands, and eyes of all men. To which this may be added, that, by the doctrine of the late Roman schools, all those pretences of real appearances of Christ's body or blood, must be necessarily concluded to be impostures, or airy phantasms and illusions; because themselves teach that Christ's body is so in the sacrament,—that Christ's own eyes cannot see his own body in the sacrament: and in that manner by which it is there, it cannot be made visible; no, not by the absolute power of God. Nay, it can be neither seen, nor touched, nor tasted, nor felt, nor imagined. It is the doctrine of Suarez, in 3. Tho. disp. 53. sect. 3. and disp. 52. sect. 1. and of Vasquez, in 3. tom. 3. disp. 191. n. 22. which besides that it reproves the whole article, by making it incredible and impossible, it doth also infinitely convince all these apparitions, if ever there were any, of deceit and fond illusion. I had no more to say in this particular, but that the Roman doctors pretend certain words out of St. Cyril's fourth "mystagogique catechism," against the doctrine of this paragraph: "Pro certissimo habeas," &c. "Be sure of this, that this bread, which is seen of us, is not bread, although the taste perceives it to be bread, but the body of Christ; for under the species of bread, the body is given to thee; under the species of wine, the blood is given to thee."—Here if we will trust St. Cyril's words, at least in Bellarmine's and Brerely's sense, and understand of them before you will believe your own eyes, you may. For St. Cyril bids you not believe your sense. For taste and sight tells you it is bread, but it is not. But here is no harm done. 2. For himself plainly explains his meaning in his next catechism. "Think not that you taste bread and wine," saith he.—No, what then? Ἀλλὰ ἀντίτυπα καὶ σώματος καὶ αἵματος, "but the antitypes of the body and blood;" and in this very place he calls bread τύπος, "a type;" ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου δίδοται σοὶ τὸ σῶμα, and, therefore, it is very ill rendered by the Roman priests by "species," which signifies accidental forms; for τύπος signifies no such thing, but εἶδος, which is not St. Cyril's word. 3. He says it is not bread, though the taste feel it so; that is, "it is not

[q] Guil. Malmesbur. de Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. iii.
[r] Irenæ. lib. i. c. 9.
[s] Sum. Theod. part 4. q. 11. memb. 2. art. 4. sect. 3.

mere bread," which is a usual expression among the fathers, "Non est panis communis," says Irenæus;[t] οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, says Justin Martyr; just as St. Chrysostom says of baptismal water, "it is not common water;" and as St. Cyril himself says of the sacramental bread, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, "it is not mere bread," ἀλλὰ σῶμα Κυρίου, "but the Lord's body."—For if it were not that, in some sense or other, it were still mere bread, but that it is not. But this manner of speaking is not unusual in the holy Scriptures, that restrained and modificated negatives be propounded in simple and absolute forms. "I have given them statutes which are not good."[u] "I will have mercy and not sacrifice."[x] "They have not rejected thee, but me."[y] "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father." "I came not to send peace, but a sword."[z] "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me." And, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true,"[a] which is expressly confronted by St. John:[b] "Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is true;" which shows manifestly, that the simple and absolute negative in the former place, must, in his signification, be restrained. So St. Paul speaks usually: "Henceforth I know no man according to the flesh."[c] "We have no strife against flesh and blood."[d] And in the ancient doctors, nothing more ordinary than to express limited senses by unlimited words; which is so knowing, that I should lose my time, and abuse the reader's patience, if I should heap up instances. So Irenæus: "He that hath received the Spirit, is no more flesh and blood, but spirit."—And Epiphanius affirms the same of the flesh of a temperate man: "It is not flesh, but is changed into spirit:" so we say of a drunken man, and a furious person: "He is not a man, but a beast."—And they speak thus particularly in the matter of the holy sacrament, as appears in the instances above reckoned, and in others respersed over this treatise. But to return to the present objection, it is observable that St. Cyril does not say "it is not bread," though the sense suppose it to be so, for that would have supposed the taste to have been deceived, which he affirms not; and if he had, we could not have believed him; but he says, "though the sense perceive it to be bread," so that it is still bread, else the taste would not perceive it to be so; but "it is more," and the sense does not perceive it; for it is "the body of our Lord." Here then is his own answer plainly opposed to the objection; he says, "it is not bread," that is, "it is not mere bread;" and so say we: he says, that "it is the body of our Lord, ἀντίτυπον, the antitype of the Lord's body," and so say we; he says, "the sense perceives it to be bread;" but it is more than the sense perceives; so he implies, and so we affirm; and yet we may trust our sense for all that it tells us, and our understanding too, for all it learns besides. The like to this are the words of St. Chrysostom,[e] where he says, "We cannot be deceived by his words; but our sense is often deceived; look not at what is before us, but observe Christ's words. Nothing sensible is given to us, but things insensible, by things sensible," &c. This, and many higher things than this, are in St. Chrysostom, not only relating to this, but to the other sacrament also. "Think not thou receivest the body from a man, but fire from the tongue of a seraphim;" that for the eucharist:—and for baptism this: "The priest baptizes thee not, but God holds thy head." In the same sense that these admit, in the same sense we may understand his other words; they are tragical and high, but may have a sober sense; but literally they sound a contradiction; that nothing sensible should be given us in the sacrament; and yet that nothing insensible should be given, but what is conveyed by things sensible; but it is not worth the while to stay here: only this, the words of St. Chrysostom are good counsel, and such as we follow: for, in this case, we do not finally rely upon sense, or resolve all into it; but we trust it only for so much as it ought to be trusted for; but we do not finally rest upon it, but upon faith, and look not on the things proposed, but attend to the words of Christ, and though we see it to be bread, we also believe it to be his body, in that sense which he intended.

[t] Lib. iv. contr. Hæres. c. 34. Psal. xxii. homil. 16.
[u] Ezek. xx. 25. [x] Hos. vi. 6
[y] 1 Sam. viii. 7. [z] S. Matt. x. 20, and 34.
[a] S. John v. 31. [b] Cap. viii. 14.
[c] 2 Cor. v. 16. [d] Ephes. vi. 12.
[e] Homil. 83. upon St. Matt.

SECTION XI.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is wholly without and against Reason.

1. WHEN we discourse of mysteries of faith and articles of religion, it is certain that the greatest reason in the world, to which all other reasons must yield, is this,—"God hath said it, therefore it is true." Now if God had expressly said, "This which seems to be bread, is my body in the natural sense," or to that purpose, there had been no more to be said in the affair; all reasons against it had been but sophisms; when Christ hath said, "This is my body," no man that pretends to christianity, doubts of the truth of these words, all men submitting their understanding to the obedience of faith: but since Christ did not affirm that he spake it in the natural sense, but there are, not only in Scripture, many prejudices, but in common sense much evidence against it, if reason also protests against the article, it is the voice of God, and to be heard in this question. For,

> Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit.
> JUVEN. Sat. xiv. 2.

And this the rather, because there are so many ways to verify the words of Christ, without this strange and new doctrine of transubstantiation, that in vain will the words of Christ be pretended against reason; whereas the words of Christ may be many ways verified, if transubstantiation be condemned: as, first, if Picus Mirandula's proposition be true,

which in Rome he offered to dispute publicly, that "Paneitas possit suppositare corpus Domini," which I suppose, if it be expounded in sensible terms, means, "that it may be bread and Christ's body too;" or, secondly, if Luther's and the ancient schoolmen's way be true, that Christ's body be present together with the bread;—in that sense Christ's words might be true, though no transubstantiation; and this is the sense, which is followed by the Greek church. 3. If Boquinus's way be true, that between the bread and Christ's body there were a communication of proprieties, as there is between the Deity and humanity of our blessed Saviour; then, as we say, "God gave himself for us," and the blessed virgin is Θεοτόκος, "the mother of God," and "God suffered and rose again," meaning, that God did it according to his assumed humanity,—so we may say, "this is Christ's body," by the communication of the idioms or proprieties to the bread, with which it is united. 4. If our way be admitted, that Christ is there after a real spiritual manner; the words of Christ are true, without any need of admitting transubstantiation. 5. I could instance, in the way of Johannes Longus, in his annotations upon the second apology of Justin Martyr, "Hoc est corpus meum," that is, "My body is this," that is, "is nourishment spiritual, as this is natural." 6. The way of Johannes Campanus would afford me a sixth instance, "Hoc est corpus meum," that is, "meum" as it is "mea creatura." 7. Johannes à Lasco, Bucer, and the Socinians, refer "hoc" to the whole ministry, and mean that to be representative of Christ's body. 8. If Rupertus the abbot's way were admitted, which was confuted by Algerus, and is almost like that of Boquinus, that, between Christ's body and the consecrate symbols there was an hypostatical union, then both substances would remain, and yet it were a true proposition to affirm of the whole hypostasis, "this is the body of Christ."—Many more I could reckon; all which, or any of which, if it were admitted, the words of Christ stand true and uncontradicted; and therefore, it is a huge folly to quarrel at them, that admit not transubstantiation, and to say, they deny the words of Christ. And, therefore, it must not now be said, "Reason is not to be heard against an article of faith;" for that this is an article of faith, cannot nakedly be inferred from the words of Christ, which are capable of so many meanings. Therefore, reason, in this case, is to be heard by them, that will "give a reason of their faith;" as it is commanded in Scripture; much less is that to be admitted, which Fisher or Flued, the Jesuit, was bold to say to King James; that because transubstantiation seems so much against reason, therefore it is to be admitted, as if faith were more faith for being against reason. Against this, for the present, I shall oppose the excellent words of St. Austin, Ep. 7. "Si manifestissimæ certæque rationi velut Scripturarum sanctarum objicitur auctoritas, non intelligit qui hoc facit, et non Scripturarum illarum sensum, ad quem penetrare non potuit, sed suum potiùs objicit veritati: nec quod in eis, sed quod in seipso, velut pro eis, invenit, opponit;" "He that opposes the authority of the Holy Scriptures against manifest and certain reason, does neither understand himself nor the Scripture." Indeed, when God hath plainly declared the particular, the more it seems against my reasons, the greater is my obedience in submitting; but that is, because my reasons are but sophisms, since truth itself hath declared plainly against them: but if God hath not plainly declared against that which I call reason, my reason must not be contested, by a pretence of faith, but upon some other account; "Ratio cum ratione concertet."

3. Secondly; But this is such a fine device, that it can, if it be admitted, warrant any literal interpretation against all the pretences of the world: for when Christ said, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out;"—here are the plain words of Christ: And, "Some make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven;"—nothing plainer in the grammatical sense: and why do we not do it? Because it is an unnatural thing to mangle our body for a spiritual cause, which may be supplied by other more gentle instruments. Yea, but reason is not to be heard against the plain words of Christ, and the greater our reason is against it, the greater excellency in our obedience; that as "Abraham, against hope, believed in hope," so we, against reason, may believe in the greatest reason, the Divine revelation: and what can be spoken against this?

4. Thirdly; Stapleton, confuting Luther's opinion of consubstantiation, pretends against it many absurdities drawn from reason;[c] and yet it would have been ill taken, if it should have been answered, that "the doctrine ought the rather to be believed, because it is so unreasonable;"—which answer is something like our new preachers, who pretend, that therefore they are spiritual men, because they have no learning; they are to confound the wise, because they are the weak things of the world; and that they are to be heard the rather, because there is the less reason they should;—so crying stinking fish, that men may buy it the more greedily. But I will proceed to the particulars of reason in this article; being contented with this, that if the adverse party shall refuse this way of arguing, they may be reproved by saying "they refuse to hear reason,"—and it will not be easy for them, in despite of reason, to pretend faith; for ἄτοποι, and μὴ ἔχοντες πίστιν, "unreasonable men," and "they that have not faith," are equivalent in St. Paul's expression.[d]

5. First; I shall lay this prejudice in the article, as relating to the discourses of reason; that in the words of institution, there is nothing that can be pretended to prove the conversion of the substance of bread into the body of Christ, but the same will infer the conversion of the whole into the whole; and therefore of the accidents of the bread into the accidents of the body. And, in those little pretences of philosophy, which these men sometimes make to cozen fools into a belief of the possibility, they pre-

[c] Prompt. Cath. ser. 3. hebd. Sanct. sect. 3. in hæc verba: Hoc est corpus meum.

[d] 2 Thess. iii. 2.

tend to no instance, but to such conversions, in which, if the substance is changed, so also are the accidents: sometimes the accident is changed in the same remaining substance; but if the substance be changed, the accidents never remain the same individually; or in kind, unless they be symbolical, that is, are common to both, as in the change of elements, of air into fire, of water into earth. Thus when Christ changed water into wine, the substances being changed, the accidents also were altered, and the wine did not retain the colour and taste of water; for then, though it had been the stranger miracle, that wine should be wine, and yet look and taste like water,—yet it would have obtained but little advantage to his doctrine and person, if he should have offered to prove his mission by such a miracle. For if Christ had said to the guests; "To prove that I am come from God, I will change this water into wine;" well might this prove his mission: but if, while the guests were wondering at this, he should proceed and say, "Wonder ye not at this, for I will do a stranger thing than it, for this water shall be changed into wine, and yet I will so order it, that it shall look like water, and taste like it, so that you shall not know one from the other:" certainly this would have made the whole matter very ridiculous; and indeed it is a strange device of these men to suppose God to work so many prodigious miracles, as must be in transubstantiation, if it were at all,—and yet that none of these should be seen; for to what purpose is a miracle, that cannot be perceived? It can prove nothing, nor do any thing, when itself is not known whether it be or no. When bread is turned into flesh, and wine into blood, in the nourishment of our bodies, (which I have seen urged for the credibility of transubstantiation,) the bread, as it changes his nature, changes his accidents too, and his flesh in colour, and shape, and dimensions, and weight, and operation, as well as it is in substance. Now let them rub their foreheads hard, and tell us, it is so in the holy sacrament. For if it be not so, then no instance of the change of natural substances, from one form to another, can be pertinent: for, 1. Though it be no more than is done in every operation of a body, yet it is always with change of their proper accidents; and then, 2. It can, with no force of the words of the institution, be pretended, that one ought to be, or can be, without the other. For he that says, this is the body of a man, says that it hath the substance of a human body, and all his consequents, that is, the accidents: and he that says, this is the body of Alexander, says (besides the substance) that it hath all the individuating conditions, which are the particular accidents: and therefore Christ, affirming this to be his body, did as much affirm the change of accidents as the change of substance: because that change is naturally and essentially consequent to this. Now if they say, "they therefore do not believe the accidents of bread to be changed, because they see them remain;" I might reply, "Why will they believe their sense against faith?" since there may be evidence, but here is certainty; and it cannot be deceived, though our eyes can: and it is certain, that Christ affirmed it without distinction of one part from another, of substance from his usual accidents. "This is my body:" "Hoc," "Hîc," "Nunc," and "Sic."—Now, if they think their eyes may be credited for all the words of our blessed Saviour, why shall not their reason also? or is it nothing so certain to the understanding, as any thing is to the eye? If, therefore, it be unreasonable to say, that the accidents of bread are changed against our sense, so it will be unreasonable to say, that the substance is changed against our reason; not but that God can and does often change one substance into another, and it is done in every natural production of a substantial form; but that we say it is unreasonable, that this should be changed into flesh, not to flesh simply, for so it is when we eat it;—nor into Christ's flesh simply, for so it might have been, if he had, as it is probable he did, eaten the sacrament himself,—but into that body of Christ, which is in heaven; he remaining there, and being whole and impassible, and infrangible, this, we say, is unreasonable and impossible: and that is now to be proved.

6. Secondly; In this question, when our adversaries are to cozen any of the people, they tell them, the protestants deny God's omnipotency,—for so they are pleased to call our denying their dreams: and this device of theirs to escape is older than their doctrine of transubstantiation; for it was the trick of the Manichees, the Eutychians, the Apollinarists, the Arians, when they were confuted by the arguments of the catholics, to fly to God's omnipotency; ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξειργόμενοι λογισμῶν καταφεύγουσι ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατὸν εἶναι Θεῷ, says Nazianzen,[e] and it was very usually by the fathers called the sanctuary of heretics: "Potentia (inquiunt) ei hæc est, ut falsa sint vera: medacis est, ut falsum dicat verum, quod Deo non competit," saith St. Austin: "They pretend it to belong to God's power to verify their doctrine, that is, to make falsehood truth; that is, not power, but a lie, which cannot be in God:" and this was older than the Arians; it was the trick of the old tragedians; so Plato told them; ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι, θεούς αἴροντες,[f] which Cicero rendering, says, "Cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum:" "When you cannot bring your argument about, you fly to the power of God."[g]—But when we say, this is impossible to be done, either we mean it naturally or ordinarily impossible; that is, such a thing which cannot without a miracle be done; as a child cannot, with his hands, break a giant's arm, or a man cannot eat a millstone, or, with his finger, touch the moon. Now, in matters of religion, although to show a thing to be thus impossible is not enough to prove it was not at all, if God said it was; for although to man it be impossible, yet to God all things are possible; yet when the question is of the sense of the words of Scripture, which are capable of various interpretations, he that brings an argument

[e] Orat. 51. Theodor. dial. ἀτρεπτ. Tertull. contr. Praxeam. c. x. 79. Vet. et Nov. Testam.

[f] In Cratylo.

[g] De Nat. Deor. lib. i.

"ab impossibili" against any one interpretation, showing that it infers such an ordinary impossibility, as cannot be done without a miracle, has sufficiently concluded, not against the words, for nothing ought to prejudice them,—but against such an interpretation, as infers that impossibility. Thus when, in Scripture, we find it recorded that Christ was born of a virgin—to say this is impossible, is no argument against it; because although it be naturally impossible, (which I think is demonstrable against the Arabian physicians,) yet to him that said it, it is also possible to do it. But then if from hence any man shall obtrude as an article of faith, that the blessed virgin mother was so a virgin, that her holy Son came into the world without any aperture of his mother's womb, I doubt not but an argument "ab impossibili" is a sufficient conviction of the falsehood of it; though this impossibility be only an ordinary and natural: because the words of Scripture, affirming Christ to be born of a virgin, say only that he was not begotten by natural generation: not that his egression from his mother's womb made a penetration of dimensions.—To instance once more: The words of Scripture are plain, that Christ is "man," that Christ is "God;" here are two natures, and yet but one Christ; no impossibility ought to be pretended against these plain words, but they must be sophisms, because they dispute against truth itself. But now if a Monothelite shall say, that by this unity of nature, God hath taught a unity of wills in Christ, and that he had but one will, because he is but one person; I do not doubt but an argument from an ordinary and natural impossibility will be sufficient to convince him of his heresy; and, in this case, the Monothelite hath no reason to say, that the orthodox christian denies God's omnipotency, and says, that God cannot unite the will of Christ's humanity to the will of his divinity: and this is true in every thing, which is not declared minutely, and in his particular sense. There is ordinarily no greater argument in the world, and none better is commonly used, nor any better required, than to reduce the opinion to an impossibility; for if this be not true without a miracle, you must prove your extraordinary, and demonstrate your miracle; which will be found to be a new impossibility. A sense, that cannot be true without a miracle to make it so, it is a miracle if it be true; and, therefore, let the literal sense in any place be presumed, and have the advantage of the first offer or presumption; yet if it be ordinarily impossible to be so, and without a miracle cannot be so, and the miracle no where affirmed, then to affirm the literal sense is the hugest folly that can be, in the interpretation of any scriptures.

7. But there is an impossibility which is absolute, which God cannot do, therefore, because he is Almighty; for to do them were impotency, and want of power; as God cannot lie,—he cannot be deceived,—he cannot be mocked,—he cannot die,—he cannot deny himself,—nor do unjustly:—And I remember, that Dionysius brings in (by way of scorn) Elymas, the sorcerer, finding fault with St. Paul for saying God could not deny himself; as if the saying so were denying God's omnipotency; so Elymas objected; as it is to be seen in the book de Divin. Nom. c. 8. And by the consent of all the world it is agreed upon this expression, "That God cannot reconcile contradictions;" that is, it is no part of the Divine omnipotency to make the same proposition true and false, at the same time, in the same respect; it is absolutely impossible, that the same thing should be and not be at the same time,—that the same thing, so constituted in his own formality, should lose the formality or essential affirmative; and yet remain the same thing. For it is absolutely the first truth, that can be affirmed in metaphysical notices, "Nothing can be, and not be." This is it, in which all men, and all sciences, and all religions are agreed upon, as a prime truth in all senses, and without distinctions. For if any thing could be and not be at the same time,—then there would be something whose being were not to be. Nay, Dominicus à Soto affirms expressly,[h] that not only things only cannot be done by God, which, intrinsically, formally, and expressly, infer two contradictories, but those also, which the understanding, at the first proposal, does, by his natural light, dissent from, and can by no means admit: because that which is so repugnant to the understanding, naturally does "suâ naturâ repugnare," "is impossible in the nature of things;" and therefore, when it is said in St. Luke, "nothing is impossible with God," it is meant, "nothing is impossible, but that which naturally repugns to the understanding."

Now to apply this to the present question; our adversaries do not deny, but that in the doctrine of transubstantiation there are a great many impossibilities, which are such naturally and ordinarily; but by Divine power they can be done; but that they are done they have no warrant, but the plain literal sense of the words of "Hoc est corpus meum." Now this is so far from proving, that God does work perpetual miracles to verify their sense of it, that the working of miracles ought to prove that to be the sense of it. Now the probation of the proposition by miracles is an open thing, clear as thunder: and being a matter of sense, and consequently more known than the thing which they intend to prove, ought not to be proved by that which is the thing in question. And therefore to say, that God will work a miracle rather than his words should be false, is certain, but impertinent: for concerning the words themselves there is no question, and therefore now no more need of miracles to confirm them: concerning the meaning of them is the question: they say this is the meaning.—Quest. How do you prove it, since there are so many impossibilities in it naturally and ordinarily? Answ. Because God said it, therefore it is true.—Resp. Yea, that God said the words we doubt not, but that his words are to be understood in your sense, that I doubt; because, if I believe your sense, I must admit many things ordinarily impossible. Answ. Yea, but nothing is impossible to God.—Resp. True; nothing that can be done, exceeds his power: but supposing this absolutely possible, yet how does it appear, that God

[h] Quæst. in Phys. lib. 3. q. 4.

will do a miracle to verify your sense, which otherwise cannot be true; when, without a miracle, the words may be true in many other senses? "Jam dic, Posthume:" for it is hard, that men, by a continual effort and violence, should maintain a proposition against reason and his unquestionable maxims, thinking it sufficient to oppose against it God's omnipotency; as if the crying out "a miracle" were a sufficient guard against all absurdity in the world: as if the wisdom of God did arm his power against his truth, and that it were a fineness of spirit to be able to believe the two parts of a contradiction, and all upon confidence of a miracle, which they cannot prove. And indeed it were something strange, that thousands and thousands of times every day for above fifteen hundred years together, the same thing should be done, and yet this should be called a miracle, that is, a daily extraordinary: for by this time it would pass into nature and a rule, and so become a supernatural natural event, an extra-regular rule, and extraordinary ordinary, a perpetual wonder, that is, a wonder and no wonder: and therefore I may infer the proper corollaries of this argument, in the words of Scotus,[i] whose opinion it was pity it could be overborne by tyranny. 1. "That the truth of the eucharist may be saved without transubstantiation:" and this I have already proved. 2. "The substance of bread, under the accidents, is more a nourishment than the accidents themselves; and, therefore, more represents Christ's body in the formality of spiritual nourishment." And indeed, that I may add some weight to these words of Scotus, which are very true and very reasonable;—1. It cannot be told, why bread should be chosen for the symbol of the body, but because of his nourishing faculty; and that the accidents should nourish without substance, is like feeding a man with music, and quenching his thirst with a diagram. 2. It is fantastical and mathematical bread, not natural, which, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, is represented on the table, and, therefore, unfit to nourish, or to typify that which can. 3. Painted bread might as well be symbolical as the real, if the real bread become no bread: for then that which remains, is nothing but the accidents, as colour and dimensions, &c. But Scotus proceeds. 4. "That understanding of the words of institution, that the substance of bread is not there, seems harder to be maintained, and to it more inconveniences are consequent, than by putting the substance of bread to be there." 5. Lastly, "It is a wonder why, in one article, which is not a principal article of faith, such a sense should be affirmed, for which faith is exposed to the contempt of all that follow reason:"[k] and all this is, because in transubstantiation there are many natural and ordinary impossibilities. "In hâc conversione sunt plura difficiliora quàm in creatione," said Aquinas; "There are more difficulties in this conversion of the sacrament, than in the whole creation."

9. But then, because we are speaking concerning what may be done by God, it ought to be considered that it is rash and impudent to say, that the body of Christ cannot, by the power of God, who can do all things, be really in the sacrament, without the natural conversion of bread into him. "God can make, that the body of Christ should be 'de novo' in the sacrament of the altar, without any change of itself, and without the change of any thing into itself, yet some change being made about the bread, or something else." They are the words of Durand.[l] Cannot God in any sense make this proposition true; "This bread is the body of Christ," or, "this is bread and Christ's body too?" If they say, he cannot,—then it is a clear case, who it is that denies God's omnipotency. If God can, then how will they be able from the words of Scripture to prove transubstantiation? This also would be considered.

10. But now concerning impossibilities,—if it absolutely can be evinced, that this doctrine of transubstantiation does affirm contradictions, then it is not only an intolerable prejudice against the doctrine, as is the ordinary and natural impossibility; but it will be absolutely impossible to be true; and it derogates from God to affirm such a proposition in religion, and much more to adopt it into the body of faith. And, therefore, when St. Paul had quoted that place of Scripture; "He hath put all things under him;" he adds, "It is evident, that he is excepted, who did put all things under him;" for if this had not been so understood, then he should have been under himself, and he that gave the power should be lessened, and be inferior to him that received it; which because they infer impossibilities, like those which are consequent to transubstantiation, St. Paul makes no more of it but to say, "The contrary is manifest," against the unlimited literal sense of the words. Now for the eviction of this, these two mediums are to be taken. The one, that "this doctrine affirms that of the essence, or existence of a thing which is contrary to the essence or existence of it, and yet that the same thing remains; that is, that the essence remains without the essence, that is, without itself:"—the other, that "this doctrine makes a thing to be and not to be at the same time:" I shall use them both but promiscuously, because they are reducible to one.

11. The doctrine of transubstantiation is against the nature and essence of a body. Bellarmine seems afraid of this; for immediately before, he goes about to prevaricate about "the being of a body in many places at once;" he says,[m] that if the essence of things were evidently and particularly known, then we might know what does and what does not imply a contradiction; but, "id non satis constat," "there is no certainty of that;" by that pretended uncertainty making way, as he hopes, to escape from all the pressure of contradictions, that lie upon the prodigious philosophy of this article: but we shall make a shift so far to understand the essence of a body, as to evince this doctrine to be full of contradictions.

12. First; For Christ's body, his natural body, is changed into a spiritual body; and it is not now

[i] Sent. dist. 11. q. 3. tit. b [k] 3. q. 75. art. 2. ad. 3. [l] Sent. 4. dist. 11. q. 1. [m] Lib. 3. Euch. c. 2. Sect. ult.

a natural body but a spiritual; and, therefore, cannot be now in the sacrament after a natural manner, because it is so no where; and, therefore, not there; "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." And therefore, though this spirituality be not a change of one substance into another, yet it is so a change of the same substance, that it hath lost all those accidents, which were not perfective nor constitutive, but imperfect and separable from the body; and therefore, in no sense of nature can it be manducated. And here is the first contradiction. The body of Christ is the sacrament. The same body is in heaven. In heaven it cannot be broken naturally; in the sacrament, they say, it is broken naturally and properly; therefore, the same body is and is not, it can and it cannot be broken. To this they answer, that "this is broken under the species of bread; not in itself." Well! is it broken, or is it not broken? let it be broken under what it will,—if it be broken, the thing is granted. For if being broken under the species, it be meant that the species be broken alone, and not the body of Christ,—then they take away in one hand when they reach forth with the other. This being a better argument, "The species only are broken, the species are not Christ's body, therefore Christ's body is not broken:" better I say than this, "The body of Christ is under the species; the species alone are broken; therefore the body of Christ is broken." For how can the breaking of species or accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body, unless the accidents be Christ's body, or inseparable from it; or rather, how can the breaking of the accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body, when it cannot be broken? To this I desire a clear and intelligible answer. Add to this, how can species, that is, accidents, be broken, but when a substance is broken? for an accident, properly, such as smell, colour, taste, hath of itself no solid and consistent, nor indeed any fluid parts,—nothing whereby it can be broken, and have a part divided from a part; but as the substance, in which the accident is subjected, becomes divided, so do the inherent accidents; but no otherwise; and if this cannot be admitted, men cannot know what one another say or mean; they can have no notices of things or regular propositions.

13. Secondly; but I demand, when we speak of a body, what we mean by it? For, in all discourses and intercourses of mankind, by words we must agree concerning each other's meaning: when we speak of a body, of a substance, of an accident, what does mankind agree to mean by these words? All the philosophers, and all the wise men in the world, when they divide a substance from an accident, mean by a substance, that which can subsist in itself, without a subject of inherence.

But an accident is "that, whose very essence is to be in another:"[n] when they speak of a body and separate it from a spirit, they mean that a spirit is that which hath no material, divisible parts, physically; that which hath nothing of that which makes a body, that is, extension, limitation by lines, and superficies and material measures. The very first notion and conception of things teaches all men, that what is circumscribed and measured by his proper place, is there and no where else. For if it could be there, and be in another place, it were two, and not one. A finite spirit can be but in one place, but it is there without circumscription; that is, it hath no parts measured by the parts of a place; but is there after another manner than a body, that is, it is in every part of his definition or spiritual location. So it is said, a soul is in the whole body; not that a part of it is in the hand, and a part of it in the eye, but it is whole in the whole, and whole in every part; and it is true that it is so, if it be wholly immaterial: because that which is spiritual and immaterial, cannot have material parts. But when we speak of a body, all the world means that, which hath a finite quantity, and is determined to one place. This was the philosophy of all the world, taught in all the schools of the christians and heathens, even of all mankind, till the doctrine of transubstantiation was to be nursed and maintained, and even after it was born, it could not be forgotten by them, who were bound to keep it. And I appeal to any man of the Roman persuasion, if they can show me any ancient philosopher, Greek, or Roman, or christian of any nation, —who did not believe it to be essential to the "being of a body to be in one place:" and Amphitruo in the old comedy, had reason to be angry with Sosia upon this point.

> Tun' id dicere audes? quod nemo unquam homo antehac
> Vidit, nec potest fieri, tempore uno,
> Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit?
> Plaut. Amphitr. act. 2. sc. 1.

And, therefore, to make the body of Christ to be in a thousand places at once, and yet to be but one body,—to be in heaven, and to be upon so many altars,—to be on the altar in so many round wafers,—is to make a body to be a spirit, and to make a finite to be infinite; for nothing can be so but an infinite Spirit.

14. Neither will it be sufficient to fly here to God's omnipotency: for God can indeed make a body to be a spirit; but can it consist with the Divine Being, to make an infinite substance? Can there possibly be two categorematical, that is, positive substantial infinites? or can it be that a finite should, remaining finite, yet not be finite, but indefinite and in innumerable places at once?[p] God can new create the body, and change it into a spirit; but can a body, remaining a body, be at the same time a spirit? or can it be a body, and yet not be in a place? is it not determined so, that remaining in a place it cannot be out of it? If these things could be otherwise, then the same thing, at the same time, could be a body and a spirit,—limited and un-

[n] Aristot. lib. i. posterior, c. 6. et lib. ii. c. 10. Metaph. lib. vi. c. 4. Idem significatur per ipsum nomen *συμβεβηκὸς*; quod abit cum substantiâ, *ἐνδεχόμενον*, receptum scilicet in subjecto. Accidens quod accidit.

[p] *Ὅπερ σώματι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν.*—Plotin. lib. de Anim. apud Euseb. præpar. Evang. lib. 15.

limited,—wholly in a place, and wholly out of it,—finite and infinite,—a body, and yet no body,—one, and yet many,—the same, and not the same,—that is, it should not be itself. Now, although God can change any thing from being the thing it is, to become another thing,—yet is it not a contradiction to say, it should be the same it is, and yet not the same? These are the essential, immediate consequents of supposing a body remaining a body, whose essence it is to be finite and determined in one place, can yet, so remaining, be in a thousand places.

Thirdly; the Socinians teach, that our bodies at the resurrection shall be (as they say Christ's body now is) changed substantially. For corruptible and incorruptible, mortal and immortal, natural and spiritual, are substantial differences; and now our bodies being natural, corruptible, and mortal, differ substantially from bodies spiritual, immortal, and incorruptible, as they shall be hereafter, and as the body of our Lord now is. Now I am sure, the church of Rome allows not of this doctrine in these; neither have they reason for it; but do not they admit that "in hypothesi," which they deny "in thesi?" For is it not a perfect change of substance, that a body from finite is changed to be at least potentially infinite, from being determined in one place to be indefinite and indeterminable? To lose all his essential properties must needs infer a substantial change;[q] and that it is of the essence of a body to be in one place, at least an essential propriety, they will not, I suppose, be so impudent as to deny, since they fly to the Divine omnipotency and a perpetual miracle to make it be otherwise; which is a plain demonstration, that naturally it is so: this, therefore, they are to answer, if they can.

15. But let us see what christian philosophy teaches us in this particular. St. Austin is a good probable doctor, and may be trusted for a proposition in natural philosophy. These are his conclusions in this article. "Corpora quæ non possunt esse nisi in loco;"[r] "Bodies cannot be, but in their place."—"Angustias omnipotentiæ corpora patiuntur; nec ubique possunt esse, nec semper; Divinitas autem ubique præstò est:"[s] "The Divinity is present every where; but not bodies,—they are not omnipotent:" meaning, it is a propriety of God to be in many places, an effect of his omnipotence.—But more plainly yet; "Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt;" "If you take from bodies the spaces of place, they will be no where, and if they be no where they will not be at all:"[t]—and to apply this to the present question, he affirms, "Christus homo, secundùm corpus, in loco est, et de loco migrat; et cum ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco unde venit, non est:"[u] "Christ, as man, according to the body, is in a place, and goes from a place; and when he comes to another place, is not in the place from whence he came."—For besides that so to do is of the verity of Christ's body, that it should have the same affections with ours; according as it is insisted upon in divers places of the Scripture, particularly St. Luke xxiv. 39.; it is also in the same place, and in the story, apparent, that the case was not altered after the resurrection, but Christ moved finitely by dimensions and change of places. So Theodoret;[x] "Dominicum corpus incorruptibile resurrexit, et impatibile, et immortale, et divinâ gloriâ glorificatum est, et, à cœlestibus adoratur potestatibus; corpus tamen est, priorem habens circumscriptionem:" "Christ's body even after the resurrection is circumscribed as it was before." And, therefore, as it is impious to deny God to be invisible; so it is profane, not to believe and profess the Son of God, in his assumed humility, to be visible, corporeal, and local, after the resurrection: it is the saying of St. Austin.[y]

16. And I would fain know how it will be answered, that they attribute to the body of Christ, which is his own creature, the incommunicable attribute of ubiquity, either actually or potentially. For let them say, is it not an attribute of God to be unlimited, and to be undefined by places?[z] St. Austin says it, and it is affirmed by natural reason, and all the world attributes this to God, as a propriety of his own. If it be not his own, then all the world hath been always deceived, till this new generation arose. If it be, let them fear the horrid consequent of giving that to a creature which is the glory of the Creator. And if they think to escape by saying, that they do not attribute to it actual ubiquity, but potential,—that is, that though he be not, yet he may be every where;—let it be considered, if the argument of the fathers was good, (by which they proved the Divinity of the Holy Ghost,) "This is every where; therefore this is God;" is it not also as good to say, "This may be every where; therefore this may be God?" And then it will be altogether as bad as any thing can be imagined; for it makes the incommunicable attribute of God to be communicable to a creature: and not only so, but it is worse; for it makes, that an actual creature may be a potential god, that is, that there can be a god, which is not eternally a god, that is, not a pure act,—a god that is not yet, but that shall have a beginning in time.

17. Fourthly; There was not, in all school divinity, nor in the old philosophy, nor in nature, any more than three natural proper ways of being in a place, "circumscriptivè," "definitivè," "repletivè." The body of Christ is not in the sacrament "circumscriptively;" because there he could be but in one altar, in one wafer. It is not there "definitively," for the same reason, because to be definitively in a place is to be in it, so as to be there, and no where else.—And both these are affirmed by their own Turrecremata:[a] it remains, that it must be "repletivè" in many places, which we use to attribute to

[q] Quomodo erit sol splendore privatus? vel quomodo erit splendor, nisi sol sit à quo defluat? Ignis verò quomodo erit calore carens? vel calor unde manabit, nisi ab igne?—CYRIL. Alex. lib. i. in 1 c. Joh.

[r] Serm. Dom. monte. c. 9

[s] In Psal. lxxxvi.

[t] Ep. 57.

[u] Tract. 31. in Johan.

[x] Dial. 2.

[y] Lib. de Essent. Divinit.

[z] Ἐγὼ δ', ὃ Θεοῦ ἐστιν ἴδιον, εἰμὶ πανταχοῦ.—STOB. tit. iii.

[a] Super Decret. 3. part. de Consecrat. d. 2 cap. Quid sit.

God only, and it is that manner of being in a place, by which God is distinguished from his creatures: but now a fourth word must be invented, and that is "sacramentalitèr;" Christ's body is, "sacramentally," in more places than one; which is very true, that is, the sacrament of Christ's body is; and so is his body figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really in effect and blessing. But this is not a natural, real being in a place, but a relation to a person; the other three are all the manners of location, which the soul of man could yet ever apprehend.

18. Fifthly; It is essential to a body to have "partem extra partem," "one part without the other," answering to the parts of his place; for so the eyes stand separate from the hands, and the ears from the feet, and the head from the belly. But in transubstantiation, the whole body is in a point, in a "minimum naturale," in the least imaginable crumb of consecrated bread: how, then, shall nose and eyes, and head and hands, be distinct, unless the mutiny of the members be reconciled, and all parties pleased? because the feet shall be the eyes, and the leg shall be the head, and possess each other's dimension and proper cells of dwelling. "Quod ego non credo," said an ancient gloss.[b] I will not insist upon the unworthy questions, which this carnal doctrine introduces, viz. whether Christ's whole body be so there, that the prepuce is not wanting? Suarez,[c] supposing that as probable, others denying it, but disputing it fiercely; neither will I make scrutiny concerning Christ's bones, guts, hair, and nails, nor suppose the Roman priests to be such καρχαρόδοντες, and to have such "saws in their mouths:" these are appendages of their persuasion, but to be abominated by all christian and modest persons, who use to eat not the bodies, but the flesh of beasts, and not to devour, but to worship the body of Christ in the exaltation, and more in the union with his Divinity. But that which I now insist upon is, that, in a body, there cannot be indistinction of parts, but each must possess his own portion of place; and, if it does not, a body cannot be a body, nor distinguished from a spirit.

19. Sixthly; When a body is broken into half, one half is separate from another, and remains divided; but, in the doctrine of transubstantiation, the wafer, which, they say, is Christ's whole body,—if it be broken, is broken into two whole ones, not into the halves of one; and so there shall be two bodies, if each half make one, and yet those two bodies are but one, and not two. Add to this, if each wafer be Christ's body whole, and the fraction of it makes, that every part is whole Christ; then every communicant can consecrate as well as the priest; for, at his breaking the host in his mouth, why the body should not also become whole to each part in the mouth, as well as to each part in the hand, is one of the unintelligible secrets of this mystery.

20. Aquinas says, that "The body of Christ is not in the sacrament, in the manner of a body, but of a substance, and so is whole in the whole:" well, suppose that for a while; yet, 1. Those substances which are "whole in the whole," are, by his own doctrine, neither divisible nor multiplicable; and how, then, can Christ's body be supposed to be multiplicable,[d] (for there are no other words to express my meaning, though no words can speak sense according to their doctrine, words not signifying here as every where else, and among them as they did always in all mankind,) how can it, I say, be multiplied, by the breaking of the wafer or bread, upon the account of the likeness of it to a substance that cannot be broken, or if it could, yet were not multipliable? But, 2. If Christ's body be there according to the manner of a substance, not of a body, I demand according to the nature of what substance, whether of a material or an immaterial? If according to the nature of a material substance, then it is commensurate by the dimensions of quantity, which he is now endeavouring to avoid. If according to the nature of an immaterial substance, then it is not a body, but a spirit; or else the body may have the being of a spirit whilst it remains a body, that is, be a body and not a body at the same time. But, 3. To say that a body is there, not according to the nature of a body, but of a "substance," is not sense; for besides that, by this answer, it is a body without the nature of a body, it says that it is also there determined by a manner, and yet that manner is so far from determining it, that it makes it yet more undetermined and general than it was. For "substance" is the highest genus in that category: and "corpus" or "body" is under it, and made more special by a superadded difference. To say, therefore, that a body is there after the manner of a substance, is to say, that, by being specificated, limited, and determined, it becomes not a species, but a genus,—that is, more unlimited by limitations, more generical by his specification, more universal by being made more particular. For impossible is it for wise men to make sense of this business. 4. But besides all this, to be in a place after the manner of a substance, is not to be in a place at all: for "substantia" hath in it no relation to a place, till it be specificated to a body or a spirit; for "substantia dicit solùm formalitatem substandi accidentibus et subsistendi per se;" but the capacity of, or relation to, a place, is by the specification of it by some substantial difference. 5. Lastly; to explicate the being in a place, in the manner of a substance, by being whole in the whole, and whole in every part, is to say, that every substance is so; which is notoriously false: for corporal substances are not so; whether spiritual be, is a question not proper for this place.

21. Aquinas[e] hath yet another device to make all whole,—saying, that one body cannot be in divers places "localitèr," but "sacramentalitèr," not "locally," but "sacramentally."—But first I wish the words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally and not locally—unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place,—that

[b] In Decret. de Concil. dist. 2. ubi pars in Glossâ.
[c] In Thom. tom. iii. disp. 51.
[d] Corpus Christi est multiplicatum ad omne punctum hostiæ. Tho. Waldens. tom. ii. c. 55. Multiplicatio corporis Christi facta est substantialitèr ad omne punctum hostiæ. Id.
[e] In 4 Sent. d. 41. q. 2. art. 2. q. 3.

is, so to be in, that it is also out: but so long as it is a distinction, it is no matter, it will amuse and make way to escape, if it will do nothing else. But if, by being sacramentally in many places, is meant "figuratively," as before I explicated it, then I grant Aquinas's affirmative; Christ's body is in many places sacramentally, that is, it is represented upon all the holy tables or altars in the christian church. But if by "sacramentally" he means "naturally and properly," then he contradicts himself: for that is it he must mean by "localitèr," if he means any thing at all. But it matters not what he means; for it is sufficient to me that he only says it, and proves it not; and that it is not sense; and lastly, that Bellarmine confutes it,[f] as not being home enough to his purpose, but a direct destruction of the fancy of transubstantiation: "Si non possit esse unum corpus 'localitèr' in duobus locis, quia divideretur à seipso, profectò non esse possit 'sacramentalitèr,' eâdem ratione." I might make advantage of this contestation between two so great patrons of transubstantiation, if I did need it; for Aquinas says, that a body cannot be in two places at once, locally. Bellarmine says, then neither can it "sacramentally;" it were easy, then, to infer that therefore it is in two places no way in the world. But I shall not need this.

22. Seventhly: For there is a new heap of impossibilities, if we should reckon that which follows from the multiplication of totalities; I mean of "the body of Christ," which is one continual substance, "one in itself, and divided from every thing else," as all unity is; and yet every wafer, consecrated, is the whole body of Christ, and yet that body is but one, and the wafers, which are not one, are, every one of them, Christ's body. And how is it possible, that Christ's body should be in heaven, and between it and us are many other bodies interposed, and his body is in none of the intermedials, and that his body should be also here, and yet not joined to that, either by continuity or contiguity, and the same body should be a thousand miles off, and ten thousand bodies between them, and yet all this be but one; that is, how can it be two, and yet be one? For how shall any man reckon two? How can he know that two glasses of wine are not one? We see them in two places, their continuity divided; there is an intermedial distance, and other bodies interposed, and therefore we, silly men, usually say they are two; but it is strange to see, a man may be confident and yet without reason, when he hath not wit enough to tell two. But then there is not in nature any way for a man to tell two, if this principle be taken from us.

It will also be an infinite, impossible contradiction, which follows the being of a body in two places at once; upon this account: for it will infer that the same body is, at the same time, in the same respect, in order to the same place, both actually and potentially, that is, possessed and not possessed of it, and may go to that place where it is already. For suppose a body at St. Omers, and the same body, at the same time, at Douay; then that body which is actually at St. Omers, may yet, at the same time, be going from Douay thither; and then he is, at the same time, there and not there, at his journey's end and yet on the way thither; that is, in disposition and tendency to that place, where he is already actually, and whither he is arrived before he set out and began his journey; and goes away from Douay before he leaves it.

Add to this, that to be in two places at once, makes the same thing, which is contained in divers places, to be contained in none. For as to be in a place like a body, is to be contained in that place; so to be contained in that place, is to be terminated or bounded by that place; but whatsoever is bounded by a thing, is not without or beyond that bounds: it follows, therefore, that if a body can be entirely without or beyond that place in which it is contained, that is, without the bounds, then it is bounded and not bounded, it is contained and not contained; that is, it is contained by divers, and it is contained by none.

23. But how can any thing be divided from itself wholly? for either it must be where it is not, or else it must be two. The wit of man cannot devise a shift to make this seem possible. But Bellarmine can;[g] for he says there is a double indivision, or unity, or being; an intrinsical and an extrinsical, a local and an essential; now of these one can be without the other; and though a body have but one unity essential, because it can be but one body, yet it may have more extrinsical or local beings. This is the full sense of his device, if, at least, there be any sense in it. But besides that this distinction is no where taught in any philosophy, a child of his own, still-born, not offered to be proved or made credible; it is, if it be brought into open view from without the curtains of a formal distinction, just as if he had said, "Whereas you object, that one thing can be but in one place, for whatsoever is in two places is two bodies; you are deceived; for it is true, that one body can be but one, but yet it may be two in respect of place; that is, it is but one in nature, but it may be in two places; and so you are confuted."—But then if I should reply, "This answer is but to deny the conclusion, and affirms the thing in question;" there were no more to be said. For that one thing in nature cannot have two adequate places, at the same time, was the conclusion of my argument; and the answer is, "It can have two, and this is all is said." 2. But then I would fain know what warrant there is for the real distinction of "esse essentiale" and "esse locale" of bodies, as if they were two distinct, separable beings; whereas quantity is inseparable from bodies, and measure from continual quantities, and to be in a place is nothing but to have his quantity measured.[h] 3. To be in a place, is the termination or limit of a quantitative body, and makes it not to be infinite: and if this can be separated by a distinction from a finite body, then something is said; but if a finite body must be finite and not infinite, then to

[f] Euch. l. iii. c. 3. sect. Quidam tamen. Ib. sect. Adde quod.
[g] Euch. lib. iii. c. 3. sect. Sed hæc ratio. et c. 4. sect. Sed media via.

[h] Substantias enim facis, quibus loca assignas.—TERTUL. c. 11. contr. Hermog.

be determined by a place, the proper determination or definition of a quantitative body, is not separable from it. 4. If any man should say that one person cannot be together in two several times, no more than in two several places; this distinction would fetch him in to be of two times together; for there is a double indivision, one in respect of essence, the other in respect of duration,—that intrinsical, this extrinsical; though one man or body hath but one being or essence intrinsical and essential, yet he may have more extrinsical, accidental, and temporary. And really the case, as to this distinction, is all one, and so it is to the argument too: for as two times cannot be together, because of their successive nature, so neither can two places be adapted at once to one body, because of their continual and united nature: unity and quantity continually being as essential to quantitative bodies, as succession is to them who are measured by time. 5. If one body may possess and fill two places circumscriptively, so that it is commensurate to both of them, or to as many more as it shall chance to be in, then suppose a body of five feet long is in a place at Rome, at Valladolid, at Paris, and at London, in each of these places it must fill a space of five feet long, because it is always commensurate to his place: it will follow, that a body but of five feet long shall fill up the room of twenty feet; which whether it implies not a contradiction, that the same body should be but five feet long, and yet, at the same time, be twenty feet long of the same measure,—let all the geometricians judge. This is such a device, that as one said of the witty drunkenness and arts of the symposiac among the Greeks, that amongst them a dunce could not be drunk: so, in this device, a man had need to be very cunning to speak such nonsense, and make himself believe those things, which are against the conceptions of all men in the world, till this new doctrine turned their brains,—and make new propositions and new affirmatives out of old impossibilities. But these people, in all this affair, deal with mankind as if they were beasts, and not reasonable creatures; or as if all their disciples were babies or fools, and that to them it is lawful to say any thing, and having no understanding of their own, they are to efform them as they please.

But to this objection it is answered, that it may have a double sense: that a body of five feet long may fill the space of five feet. One; "So as the magnitude of such a body should be commensurate to that place, and so a body of five feet cannot fill up the spaces of twenty feet: but another way is, so as the magnitude of the body should not be commensurate, but only to the space of five feet, but yet the same magnitude may be twice or thrice put to such a space, and this may be done."—This is Bellarmine's answer;[i] "that is, if you consider a body of five feet long, so as it can but fill five feet space, in that sense it cannot fill twenty. But if you consider it so as it is commensurate to a space, that is, twenty feet, so it cannot be, being but of five feet long."—That this is the sense of his answer, I appeal to all men that can understand common sense. But though it be but of five feet long, yet it may be placed twice or thrice in a space of five feet long; and what then? Then it fills still but a place of five feet long. True in one place: but if it fills five feet at Rome, and at the same time five feet at Valladolid, and five feet at Paris, and five feet at London, I pray are not four times five twenty? As although the sun have but force to drink up five measures of water in Egypt; and at the same time as much in Arabia, and as much in Ethiopia, and as much in Greece, he, at the same time, drinks up twenty measures, though his whole force, in one place, be but to drink five, and yet still it is but one sun. But besides all this, that the same body be put twice or thrice into a space of five feet at the same time, is that unreasonable thing, which all the natural and congenite notices of men cry down, and therefore ought not to be said confidently, in a distinction without proof; as if the putting it into a nonsense distinction, could oblige all the world to believe it.

24. Eighthly: but I proceed: Valentia[k] affirms that the fathers prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost by his ubiquity: and it is certain they do so, as appears in St. Athanasius,[l] St. Basil,[m] St. Ambrose,[n] Didymus[o] of Alexandria, St. Cyril[p] of Alexandria, St. Austin,[q] and divers others: and yet these men affirm that a body may be in many places, and therefore may be in all, and that it is potentially infinite; is it not evident that they take from the fathers the force of the argument, because ubiquity is communicable to something that is not God; or if it be not, why do they give it to a creature? That which can be in many places, can be in all places; for all the reason that forbids it to be in two thousand, forbids it to be in two; and if those cannot determine it to one place, it cannot be determined at all; I mean, "the nature of a body, his determination to places, his circumscription, continuity, unity, quantity, dimensions."—Nay, that which is not determined by place, by continuity, nor by his nature, but may be any where, is in his own nature uncircumscribed and indefinite, which is that attribute of God upon which his omnipresence does rely; and that Christ's body is not every where actually, as is the Holy Ghost, it says nothing against this; because he, being a voluntary agent, can restrain the measure of his presence, as God himself does the many manners of his presence. However, that nature is infinite that can be every where; and therefore if it can be communicated to a body, to be so is not proper to God, nor can it prove the Holy Ghost so to be. Of the same nature is that other argument used frequently by the primitive doctors, proving two natures to be in Christ, the Divine and the human, and the difference between them is remarked in this, that the

[i] Euch. lib. iii. c. 4. sect. Respondeo dupliciter potest intelligi, &c.
[k] De verâ Christi Præsentiâ, l. i. c. 12.
[l] Cont. Arium. disp. inter oper. S. Athanas.
[m] De Spir. S. lib. i. c. 22.
[n] De Spir. S. lib. i. c. 7.
[o] De Spir. S. lib. i.
[p] De Spir. S. Quod non sit creatura.
[q] Cont. Maxim. Arian. ep. lib. iv. c. 31

Divine is in many places, and in all: but the human can be but in one at once. This is affirmed by Origen,[r] St. Hilary,[s] St. Jerome,[t] St. Austin,[u] Gelasius,[x] Fulgentius,[y] and Venerable Bede.[z] But this is but variety of the same dish; if both these can prevail together, then either of them ought to prevail singly.

25. Against all this, and whatsoever else can be objected, it is pretended, that it is possible for a body to be in many distant places at once. For Christ, who is always in heaven, yet appeared to St. Paul on earth, and to many other saints, as to St. Peter, to St. Anthony, to St. Tharsilla, St. Gregory, and I cannot tell who. To this I answer; 1. That in all this there is nothing certain but that Christ appeared to St. Paul; for it may be, he appeared to him in heaven, St. Paul being on earth: for so he did to St. Stephen, as is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles:[a] and from heaven there might only come a voice and a light. 2. It may be, St. Paul saw Christ, when he was wrapt up into "the third heavens:" for that Christ was seen by him, himself affirms; but he says not that he saw him at his conversion; and all that he says he saw then, was, that "he saw a great light and heard a voice."[b] 3. That in case Christ did appear corporally to Saul on earth, it follows not his body was in two places at once. I have the warrant of him, that is willing enough, otherwise, that this argument should prevail: "Quia non est improbabile, Christum, privatim et ad breve tempus, descendisse de cœlo post ascensionem:" "It is not unlikely, that Christ might privately and for a short time descend from heaven after his ascension;[c] for when it is said in Scripture that "the heavens must receive him till the day of restitution of all things," it is to be meant "ordinarily," and as his place of residence; but that hinders not an extraordinary commigration; as a man may be said to dwell continually in London, and yet sometimes to go into the country to take the air. For the other instances of St. Peter and St. Anthony, and the rest, if I were sure they were true, I would say the same answer would also serve their turn; but as they are, it is not material whether it does or no.

26. Another way of answering is taken from the examples of God and the reasonable soul. Concerning the soul I have these things to say; 1. Whether the soul be whole in every part of the body, and whole in the whole, is presumed by most men, but substantially proved by none, but denied by a great many, and those of the first rank of learned men. 2. If it were, it follows not, that it is in two places or more: because not the hand, nor the foot, is the adequate place of the soul, but the whole body; and therefore the usual expression of philosophy, saying "The soul is whole in every part," is not true positively, but negatively; that is, the soul being immaterial, cannot be cantonized into parts by the division of the body; but positively it is not true. For the understanding is not in the foot nor the will in the hand; and something of the soul is not organical, or depending upon the body: viz. the pure acts of volition, some little glimpses of institution, reflexion, and the like. 3. If it were, yet to allege this is impertinent to their purpose: unless whatsoever is true concerning a spirit, can also be affirmed of a body. 4. When the body is divided into parts, the soul is not multiplied into fantastic or real numbers, as it is pretended in transubstantiation; and therefore although the soul were "whole in every part," it could do no service in this question; unless it were so whole in each part, as to be whole when each part is divided, for so it is said to be in the eucharist; which because we say is impossible, we require an instance in something where it is so; but because it is not so in the soul, this instance is not home to any of their purposes. But Bellarmine[d] says God can make it to be so, that the soul shall remain in the member that is discontinued and cut off. I answer, that God ever did do so, nor he nor any man else can pretend,—unless he please to believe St. Winifred's and St. Denis's walking with their heads in their hands after their decollation; but since we never knew that God did so, and whether it implied a contradiction or no that it should be so, God hath no where declared; it is sufficient to the present purpose, that it is as much a question, and of itself no more evident than that a body can be conserved in many places: and therefore being as uncertain as the principal question, cannot give faith to it, or do any service. But this is to amuse unwary persons, by seeming to say something, which, indeed, is nothing to the purpose.

27. But that the omnipresence of God should be brought to prove it possible that a body may be in many places, truly though I am heartily desirous to do it, if I could justly, yet I cannot find any colour to excuse it from great impiety. But this I shall add, that it is so impossible, that any body should be in two places, and so impossible to justify this from the immensity of God; that God himself is not, in proper manner of speaking, in two places, he is not capable of being in any place at all, as we understand being in a place; he is greater than all places, and fills all things, and locality, and place; and beings and relations are all from him: and therefore they cannot comprehend him. But then, although this immensity of God is beyond the capacity of place, and he can no more be in a place than all the world can be in the bottom of a well,—yet if God could be limited and determined, it were a contradiction to say that he could be in two places; just as it is a contradiction to say there are two Gods. So that this comparison of Bellarmine's, as it is odious up to the neighbourhood and similitude of a great impiety, so it is ἀφιλόσοφον, it is "against that philosophy," whereby we understand any of the perfective notices of God. But these men would fain prevail by all means, they care not how.

[r] In St. Matt. hom. 33.
[s] Ad Marcel. de d. quæst.
[t] Disp. contr. Sab. Ar. Phot.
[u] Lib. ii. ad Thrasim. c. 17.
[x] Lib. x. de Trinit.
[y] Tract. xxx. in Johan.
[z] Hom. invent. crucis.
[a] Acts vii. 55.
[b] Acts ix. 3. xxii. 6.
[c] Bellar. de Euch. lib. iii. c. 3. sect. 1. Confirmatur.
[d] Lib. iii. Euch. c. iii. Sect. ad hoc argumentum.

28. But why may we not believe as well the doctrine of transubstantiation in defiance of all the seeming impossibilities, as well as we believe the doctrine of the Trinity in defiance of greater? To this I answer many things. 1. Because the mystery of the Trinity is revealed plainly in Scripture, but the doctrine of transubstantiation is against it: as I suppose myself to have plainly proved. So that if there were a plain revelation of transubstantiation, then this argument were good; and if it were possible for ten thousand times more arguments to be brought against it, yet we are to believe the revelation in despite of them all; but when so much of revelation is against it, and nothing for it, it is but vain to say we may believe this, as well as the doctrine of the Trinity; for so we may as well argue for the heresy of the Manichees; why may we not as well believe the doctrine of the Manichees, in despite of all the arguments brought against it; when there are so many seeming impossibilities brought against the holy Trinity? I suppose, the answer, that I have given, would be thought reasonable to every such pretence. 2. As the doctrine of the holy Trinity is set down in Scripture, and in the Apostles' Creed, and was taught by the fathers of the first three hundred years, I know no difficulties it hath; what it hath met withal since, proceeds from the too curious handling of that which we cannot understand. 3. The schoolmen have so pried into this secret, and have so confounded themselves and the articles, that they have made it to be unintelligible, inexplicable, indefensible in all their minutes and particularities; and it is too sadly apparent in the arguments of the antitrinitarians, whose sophisms against the article itself, although they are most easily answered, yet as they bring them against the minutiæ and impertinences of the school, they are not so easily to be avoided. But, 4. There is not the same reason; because concerning God, we know but very few things, and concerning the mysterious Trinity, that which is revealed is extremely little; and it is general, without descending to particulars: and the difficulty of the seeming arguments against that, being taken from our philosophy and the common manner of speaking, cannot be apportioned and fitted to so great a secret; neither can that at all be measured by any thing here below. But I hope we may have leave to say we understand more concerning bodies and their nature, than concerning the persons of the holy Trinity: and therefore we may be sure, in the matter of bodies, to know what is and what is not possible; when we can know no measure of truth or error in all the mysteriousnesses of so high and separate, super-exalted secrets, as is that of the holy Trinity. 5. Because when the church, for the understanding of this secret of the holy Trinity, hath taken words from metaphysical learning, as "person," "hypostasis," "consubstantiality," *ὁμοούσιος*, and such like, —the words, of themselves, were apt to change their signification, and to put on the sense of the present school. But the church was forced to use such words as she had, the highest, the nearest, the most separate and mysterious. But when she still kept these words to the same mystery, the words swelled or altered in their sense; and were exacted, according to what they did signify amongst men in their low notices; this begat difficulty in the doctrine of the holy Trinity. For better words she had none, and all that which they did signify in our philosophy, could not be applied to this mystery; and therefore we have found difficulty; and shall for ever, till, in this article, the church returns to her ancient simplicity of expression. For these reasons, I conceive, the case is wholly different; and the difficulty and secret of one mystery, which is certainly revealed, cannot warrant us to admit the impossibilities of that which is not revealed. Let it appear that God hath affirmed transubstantiation, and I, for my part, will burn all my arguments against it, and make public amends. The like also is to be said in the matter of incarnation.

29. But if two bodies may be in one place, then one body may be in two places. Aquinas[e] denies the consequent of this argument; but I, for my part, am careless whether it be true or no. But I shall oppose against it this, "If two bodies cannot be in one commensurate place, then one body cannot be in two places." Now concerning this, it is certain, it implies a contradiction that two bodies should be in one place, or possess the place of another, till that be cast forth:

> Quod, nisi inania sint, quâ possent corpora quæque
> Transire, haud ullâ fieri ratione videres. LUCR. l. 1.

And the great dispute between the scholars of Epicurus and the Peripatetics, concerning vacuity, was wholly upon this account: Epicurus saying, there could be no motion, unless the place were empty; all the other sects saying, that it was enough that it was made empty by the coming of the new body; all agreeing, that two bodies could not be together, *τὸ γὰρ πλῆρες ἀδύνατον εἶναι δέξασθαι· εἰ δὲ δέξαιτο καὶ δύο, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνδέχοιτο, καὶ ὑπόσα οὖν ἅμα εἶναι σώματα.*[f] All agreed that two bodies could not be together,—and that the first body must be thrust forth by the intromission of the second.

> ——— Quæ, si non esset inane,
> Non tam sollicito motu privata carerent,
> Quàm genita omninò nullâ ratione fuissent;
> Undique materies quoniam stipata quiesset.—LUCR. l. 1.

For the contrary says, that two bodies are one. For the proper dimensions of a quantitative body are length, breadth, and thickness. Now the extension[g] of the body in these dimensions is measured by the place: for the place is nothing else, but the measuring and limiting of the thing so measured and limited by these measures and limitations of length, breadth, and thickness. Now if two bodies could be in one place, then they must both have one superficies, one length, one thickness; and then either the other hath none, or they are but one body and not two; or else, though they be two bodies, and have two superficies, yet these two

[e] In 4. dist. 44. q. 2. 2. 2.
[f] Arist. lib. iv. *φυσικ. ἀκροάς.*
[g] *Σωμάτων γὰρ ἴδιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐκτείνεσθαι.*—St. BASIL. Seleuct. homil. in *Θεοτοκ.*

superficies are but one: all which are contradictions. Bellarmine[h] says, "that to be co-extended to a place, is separable from a magnitude of body, because it is a thing that is extrinsical and consequent to the intrinsical extension of parts,—and being later than it, is by Divine power separable."—But this is as very a sophism as all the rest. For if whatever in nature is later than the substance, be separable from it, then fire may be without heat, or water[i] without moisture; a man can be without time;—for that also is in nature after his essence; and he may be without a faculty of will or understanding, or of affections, or of growing to his state, or being nourished: and then he will be a strange man, who will neither have the power of will or understanding, of desiring or avoiding, of nourishment or growth, or any thing that can distinguish him from a beast, or a tree, or a stone. For these are all later than the essence, for they are essential emanations from it. Thus also quantity can be separated from a substantial body, if every thing that is later than the form can be separated from it. And therefore nothing of this can be avoided by saying, to fill a place is an act;[k] but these other instances are faculties and powers, and, therefore, the act may better be impeded by Divine power, the thing remaining the same, than by the ablation of faculties. This, I say, cannot justify the trick. 1. Because "to be extended into parts" is as much an act as "to be in a place;" and yet that is inseparable from magnitude, and so confessed by Bellarmine. 2. To be in a place is not an act at all, any more than to be created, to be finite, to be limited; and it was never yet heard of, that "esse locatum," or "esse in loco," was reducible to the predicament of action.[l] 3. An act is no more separable than a faculty is, when the act is as essential as the faculty; now for a body to be in a place, is as essential to a body as it is for a man to have understanding; for this is confessed[m] to be separable by Divine power, and the other cannot be more; it cannot be naturally. 4. If to be in a place be an act, it is no otherwise an act, than it is an act for a father actually to have a son, and, therefore, is no more separable this than that; and you may as well suppose a father and no child, as a body and no place. 5. It is a false proposition to say, that place is extrinsical to a quantitative body; and it relies upon the definition Aristotle gives of it in the fourth book of his physics, "that place is the superficies of the ambient body;" which is as absurd in nature as any thing can be imagined; for then a stone, in the bottom of a river, did change his place (though it lie still) in every instant, because new water still washes it; and by this rule it is necessary (against Aristotle's great grounds) that some quantitative bodies should not be in a place, or else that quantitative bodies were categorimatically infinite. For either there is no end, but body encloses body for ever,—or else the ultimate or utmost body is not enclosed by any thing,—and so cannot be in a place. To which add this; that if Epicurus's opinion were true, and that there were some spaces empty, which, at least by a Divine power, can become true, and he can take the air out from the enclosure of four walls; in this case, if you will suppose a man sitting in the midst of that room, either that man were in no place at all, which were infinitely absurd;—or else (which indeed is true) circumscription or superficies were not the essence of a place. Place, therefore, is nothing but the space, to which quantitative bodies have essential relation and finition: that, where they consist, and by which they are not infinite: and this is the definition of place, which St. Austin gives in his fourth book Exposit. of Genes. "ad literam, chap. viii."

30. God can do what he please, and he can reverse the laws of his whole creation, because he can change or annihilate every creature, or alter the manners and essences; but the question now is, what laws God hath already established, and whether or no essentials can be changed, the things remaining the same? that is, whether they can be the same when they are not the same? He that says, God can give to a body all the essential properties of a spirit, says true, and confesses God's omnipotency; but he says also, that God can change a body from being a body to become a spirit; but if he says, that remaining a body it can receive the essentials of a spirit, he does not confess God's omnipotency, but makes this article difficult to be believed, by making it not to work wisely and possibly. God can do all things; but are they undone when they are done? that is, are the things changed in their essentials, and yet remain the same? then how are they changed, and then what hath God done to them?

31. But as to the particular question. To suppose a body not co-extended to a place, is to suppose a man alive not co-existent to time; to be in no place, and to be in no time, being alike possible:[n] and this intrinsical extension of parts is as inseparable from the extrinsical, as an intrinsical duration is from time. Place and time being nothing but the essential manners of material complete substances, these cannot be supposed such as they are, without time and place: because quantitative bodies, in their very formality, suppose that; for place without body in it, is but a notion in logic, but when it is a reality, it is a "ubi," and time is "quando;" and a body supposed abstractly from place, is not real but intentional, and in notion only,—and is in the category of substance, but not of quantity. But it is a strange thing, that we are put to prove the very principles of nature, and first rudiments of art, which are so plain that they can be understood naturally, but by all devices of the world cannot be made dubitable.

De Euch. lib. iii. c. 5. Sect. Secundò observandum.
Quod non possit alterum sine altero intelligi, quemadmodum neque aqua sine humectatione, neque ignis sine calore. —IRENÆUS, lib. ii. c. 14.

[k] Bellar. de Euch. lib. iii. c 7. Sect. Ad secundum Petr

[l] Lib. 3. Euch. c. 5. Sect. Secund. obser.

[m] Ibid. c. 7. Sect. Deinde etiam.

[n] Paschasius Diaconus Eccles. Rom. A. D. 500. lib. i. de Spir. S. cap. 12.

32. But against all the evidences of essential and natural reason, some overtures of Scripture must be pretended. For that two bodies can be in one place appears, because Christ came from his mother's womb, it being closed; into the assembly of the apostle's, "the doors being shut;" out of the grave, the stone not being rolled away; and ascended into heaven, through the solid orbs of all the firmament. Concerning the first and the last, the Scripture speaks nothing, neither can any man tell whether the orbs of heaven be solid or fluid, or which way Christ went in. But of "the heavens opening" the Scripture sometimes makes mention. And the prophet David spake in the spirit, saying, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in."—The stone of the sepulchre was removed by an angel; so saith St. Matthew.[q] But why should it be supposed the angel rolled it away after Christ was risen,—or if he did, why Christ did not remove it himself, (who loosed all the bands of death, by which he was held,) and there leave it when he was risen? or if he had passed through, and wrought a miracle, why it should not be told us, or why it should not remain as a testimony to the soldiers and Jews, and convince them the more when they should see the body gone, and yet their seals unbroken? or if it were not, how we should come to fancy it was so, I understand not, neither is there ground for it. There is only remaining that we account concerning Jesus's entering into the assembly of the apostles, "the doors being shut." To this I answer, that this infers not a penetration of bodies, or that two bodies can be in one place. 1. Because there are so many ways of effecting it without that impossibility. 2. The door might be made to yield to his Creator as easily as water, which is fluid, be made firm under his feet; for consistence or lability are not essential to wood and water.[r] For water can naturally be made consistent, as when it is turned to ice; and wood, that can naturally be petrified, can, upon the efficiency of an equal agent, be made thin, or labile, or inconsistent. 3. This was done on the same day, in which the sea yielded to the children of Israel, that is, the seventh day after the passover, and we may allow it to be a miracle, though it be no more than that of the waters, that is, as these were made consistent for a time.

Suppositumque rotis solidum mare; Juven.

So the doors apt to yield to a solid body.

———possint namque omnia reddi
Mollia, quæ fiunt, aer, aqua, terra, vapores,
Quo pacto fiant, et quâ vi cunque gerantur. Lucret.

4. How easy was it for Christ to pass his body through the pores of it and the natural apertures, if he were pleased to unite them, and thrust the matter into a greater consolidation? 5. Wood, being reduced to ashes, possesses but a little room; that is, the crass impenetrable parts are but few, the other apt for cession, which could easily be disposed by God as he pleased. 6. The words in the text are κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν, in the past tense; the gates or "doors having been shut;" but that they were shut in the instant of his entry, it says not: they might, if Christ had so pleased, have been insensibly opened, and shut in like manner again; and if the words be observed, it will appear that St. John[s] mentioned the shutting the doors in relation to the apostles' fear; not to Christ's entering: he intended not (so far as appears) to declare a miracle. 7. But if he had, there are ways enough for him to have entered strangely, though he had not entered impossibly. Vain, therefore, is the fancy of those men, who think a weak conjecture able to contest against a perfect, natural impossibility. For when a thing can be done without a penetration of dimensions, and yet by a power great enough to beget admiration, though without contesting against the unalterable laws of nature, to dream it must be this way, is to challenge confidently, but to be careless of our warrant; I conclude, that it hath never yet been known, that two bodies ever were, at once, in one place.

33. I find but one objection more pretended, and that is, that place is not essential to bodies; because the utmost heaven is a body, and yet is not in a place; because it hath nothing without it that can circumscribe it. To this I have already answered[t] in the confutation of Aristotle's definition of a place. But besides; I answer, that what the utmost heaven is, our philosophy can tell or guess at; but it is certain that beyond any thing that philosophy ever dreamed of, there are bodies. For Christ "is ascended far above all heavens;" and, therefore, to say it is not in a place, or that there is not a place where Christ's body is, is a ridiculous absurdity. But if there be places for bodies above the highest heavens, then the highest heaven also is in a place, or may be for aught any thing pretended against it. "In my Father's house are many mansions," said Christ, "many places of abode;" and it is highly probable that that pavement, where the bodies of saints shall tread to eternal ages, is circumscribed, though by something we understand not. Many things more might be said to this. But I am sorry that the series of a discourse must be interrupted with such trifling considerations.

34. The sum is this;[u] as substances cannot subsist without the manner of substances; no more can accidents without the manner of accidents; quantities, after the manner of quantities; qualities, as qualities; for to separate that from either by which we distinguish them from each other, is to separate that from them by which we understand them to be themselves. And four may as well cease to be four, and be reduced to unity, as a line cease to be a line, and a body a body, and a place a place, and a "quantum" or "extensum" to be extended in his

[q] St. Matt. xxviii. 2.

[r] Ἅμα γὰρ ὑπεξίεναι, ἀλλήλοις ἐνδέχεται, οὐδενός ὄντος διαστήματος χωριστοῦ παρὰ τὰ σώματα τὰ κινούμενα· καὶ τοῦτο ὅῆλον καὶ ἔν ταῖς τῶν συνεχῶν ὶίναις, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐι ταῖς τῶν ὑγρῶν.—Arist. lib. 4. φύσικ. ἀκροας.

[s] Chap. xx. 19.

[t] Num. 28

[u] Vide Boeth. in Prædicam. Aristot.

own kind of quantity or extension: and if a man had talked otherwise, till this new device arose, all sects of philosophers of the world would have thought him mad; and I may here use the words of Cotta in Cicero: "Corpus quid sit, sanguis quid sit, intelligo: quasi corpus, et quasi sanguis, quid sit, nullo prorsus modo intelligo."[u] But concerning the nature of bodies and quantities, these may suffice in general. For if I should descend to particulars, and insist upon them, I could cloy the reader with variety of one dish.

35. Tenthly: By this doctrine of transubstantiation, the same thing is bigger and less than itself: for it is bigger in one host than in another; for the wafer is Christ's body, and yet one wafer is bigger than another: therefore Christ's body is bigger than itself. The same thing is above itself and below itself, within itself and without itself: it stands wholly upon his own right side, and wholly, at the same time, upon his own left side; it is as very a body, as that which is most divisible, and yet it is as indivisible as a spirit; and it is not a spirit but a body; and yet a body is no way separated from a spirit, but by being divisible. It is a perfect body, in which the feet are further from the head than the head from the breast; and yet there is no space between head and feet at all: so that the parts are further off and nearer, without any distance at all; being further and not further, distant, and yet in every point. By this also here is magnitude without extension of parts; for if it be essential to magnitude to have "partem extra partem," that is, "parts distinguished, and severally sited," then where one part is, there another is not; and, therefore, the whole body of Christ is not in every part of the consecrated wafer; and yet if it be not, then it must be broken into parts, when the wafer is broken, and then it must fill his place by parts. But then it will not be possible, that a bigger body, with the conditions of a body, should be contained in a thing less than itself;—that a man may throw the house out at the windows: and if it be possible, that a magnitude should be in a point, and yet Christ's body be a magnitude, and yet in a point, then the same thing is in a point, and not in a point; extended, and not extended; great, and not divisible; a quantity without dimension; something and nothing. By this doctrine, the same thing lies still and yet moves; it stays in a place, and goes away from it; it removes from itself, and yet abides close by itself, and in itself, and out of itself; it is removed, and yet cannot be moved; broken, and cannot be divided; passes from east to west through a middle place, and yet stirs not; it is brought from heaven to earth, and yet is no where in the way, nor ever stirs out of heaven; it ceases to be where it was, and yet does not stir from thence, nor yet cease to be at all; it is removed at the motion of the accidents, and yet does not fall when the host falls; it changes his place, but falls not, and yet the changing of place was by falling. It supposes a body of Christ, which was made of bread,[x] that is, "Not born of the Virgin Mary;" it says, that Christ's body is there, without power of moving, or seeing, or hearing, or understanding; he can neither remember nor foresee, save himself from robbers or vermin, corruption or rottenness: it makes that which was raised in power, to be again sown in weakness; it gives to it the attribute of an idol, to have "eyes and see not, ears and hear not, a nose and not to smell, feet and yet cannot walk."[y] It makes a thing contained bigger than the continent,—and all Christ's body to go into a part of his body; his whole head into his own mouth, if he did eat the eucharist, as it is probable he did, and certain that he might have done. These are the certain consequents of this most unreasonable doctrine, in relation to motion and quantity. I need not instance, in those collateral absurdities, which are appendant to some of the foregoing particulars; as how it should be credible that Christ, in his sumption of the last supper, should eat his own flesh; *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸ ἐπιδέχεται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἔξωθέν τι*, said Simplicius;[z] nothing can receive itself; nothing can really participate of itself, and properly; figuratively and sacramentally this may be done, but not in a natural and physical sense; for as St. Cyril[a] of Alexandria argues; "Si verè idem est, quod participat et quod participatur,—quid opus est participatione?" What need he partake of himself? what need he receive a part of that, which he is already whole? and if the partaker and the thing partaken be naturally the same, then the sacrament did as much eat Christ, as Christ did eat the sacrament. It would also follow from hence, that the soul of Christ should enter into his body, though it were there before it entered; and yet it would now be there twice at the same time; for it is but one soul, and yet enters after it is there, it never having gone forth. Nay further yet,—upon supposition that Christ did eat the sacrament, as it is most likely he did, and we are sure he might have done,—then the soul of Christ, which certainly went along with his body, which surely was then alive, should be in his body in two contrary and incompatible manners; by one of which he does operate freely, and exercise all the actions of life, by the other he exercises none; by one he is visible, by the other invisible; by one movable, by the other immovable; by one after the manner of a body, by the other after the manner of a spirit. The one of these being evident in itself, the other by their own affirmation. But these are by the by; there are whole categories of fond and impossible consequents from this doctrine.

36. Eleventhly: But if I should also consider the change of consecration, i. e. the conversion of bread into Christ's body, and their rare stratagems and devices in ridiculous affirmatives and negatives as to that particular, it would afford a new heap of matter.

37. For this conversion is not generation; it is not corruption; it is not creation; because Christ's body already is, and cannot be produced again; it is

[u] De Nat. Deor. l. i.
[x] Bellarm. Euch. lib. iii. c. 10. Sect. Respondeo corpus — Suarez. in 3. Tho. 9. 76. art. 7. dispens. sect. 4.
[y] Quomodo potest Deus alibi esse vivus, alibi mortuus?—Lact. lib. i. c. 1.
[z] Id Categ. cap. de Substant.
[a] In S. Joh. ix.

not after the manner of natural conversions, it differs from the supernatural; there is no change of one form into another; the same first matter does not remain under several forms, first of bread, then of Christ's body. It is turned into the substance of Christ's body, and yet nothing of the bread becomes any thing of the body of Christ. It is turned into Christ, and yet it is turned into nothing; the substance is not annihilated, (for then it were not turned into Christ's body,) and yet it is annihilated or turned to nothing, for it does not become Christ's body; it is determined upon Christ's body, and yet does not become it, though it be changed into it: for if bread could become Christ's body, then bread could receive a greater honour than any of the servants of Christ; for it could be glorified with the biggest glorification, it would be exalted far above all angels; bread should reign for ever, and be king of all the world; which are honours not communicable to mere man, and by no change can be wrought upon him; and if they may upon bread, then bread is exalted higher than the sons of men; and yet so it is, if it be naturally and substantially changed into the body of Christ. I cannot insist upon any thing of this,[b] the absurdity being so vast, the labour would be as great as needless: only I shall transcribe part of a disputation, by which Tertullian[c] proves the resurrection of our bodies, by such words which do certainly confute the Roman fancies of transubstantiation. "Discernenda est autem demutatio ab omni argumento perditionis," &c. "Change must be distinguished from perdition. But they are not distinguished, if the flesh be so changed that it perishes. As that which is lost is not changed, so that which is changed is not lost or perished. For it suffered change, not perdition; for to perish, is wholly not to be that which it was; but to be changed, is only to be otherwise; moreover, while it is otherwise it can be the same thing, or itself; for it hath his being, which did not perish."—Now how it is possible that these words should be reconciled with transubstantiation, in which they affirm the bread to be changed, and, yet totally to have perished; that is, that nothing of it remains, neither matter nor form,—it concerns them to take care: for my part, I am satisfied that it is impossible; and I choose to follow the philosophy of Tertullian, by which he fairly confirms the article of the resurrection; rather than the impossible speculations of these men, which render all notices of men to be mere deceptions, and all articles of faith in many things uncertain, and nothing to be certain but that which is impossible. This consideration so moved Durand,[d] and their doctor Fundatissimus, Egidius Romanus,[e] that they thought to change the word "transubstantiation," and, instead of it, that they were obliged to use the word of "transformation" simply, affirming that other to be unintelligible. But I proceed. By this doctrine, Christ's body is there where it was not before, and yet not by change of place, for it descends not;—nor by production, for it was produced before;—not by natural mutation, for Christ himself is wholly immutable, and though the bread be mutable, it can never become Christ. That which is now, and was always, begins to be; and yet it cannot begin, which was so long before. And by this doctrine is affirmed that, which even themselves judge to be simply and absolutely impossible. For if, after a thing hath his being, and during the first being it shall have every day many new beginnings, without multiplying the beings,—then the same thing is under two times at the same time; it is but a day old, and yet was six days ago, and six ages, and sixteen. The body of Christ obtains to be what it was not before, and yet it is wholly the same, without becoming what it was not. It obtains to be under the form of bread; and that which it is now and was not before, is neither perfective of his being, nor destructive, nor alterative, nor augmentative, nor diminutive, nor conservative. It is as it were a production, as it were a creation, as a conservation, as an adduction; that is, it is as it were just nothing; for it is not a creation, not a generation, not an adduction, not a conservation. It is not a conversion productive; for no new individual is produced. It is not a conversion conservative; that is a child of Bellarmine's: but it is perfect nonsense; for it is, as he says, a conversion, in which both the terms remain in the same place; that is, in which there are two things not converted, but not one that is: but it is a thing of which there never was any example. But then if we ask what conversion it is? after a great many fancies and devices, contradicting each other, at last it is found to be "adductive,"—and yet that "adductive" does not change the place, but signifies a substantial change; and yet adduction is no substantial change, but accidental; and yet this change is not accidental, but adductive and substantial. "O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!" It is a succession, not a conversion and transubstantiation; for it is "Corpus ex pane confectum," "a body made of bread;" and yet it was made before the bread was made: but it is "made of it as day of night," not "tanquam ex materiâ," but "tanquam ex termino," "not as of matter, but as of a term,"[f] from whence, say they, but that is, a direct motion or succession, not a substantial change. For that I may use the words of Faventinus;[g] "What is the formal term of this action of transubstantiation, or conversion? Not the body of Christ; for that is the material term:" the formal term is, that Christ's body should be contained under the species of bread and wine: "Hoc autem totum est accidentale, et nihil addit in re nisi præsentiam realem sub speciebus:" "But all this is accidental, and nothing real, but that he becomes present there." For since the body of Christ relates to the accidents only accidentally, it cannot, in respect of them, have any substantial manner of being, different from that

[b] Sola enim mutari transformarique in se possunt, quæ habent unius materiæ commune subjectum.—Boeth. de duab. Nat. Christi.

[c] De Resurrectione Carnis, c. 55

[d] In iv. d. 11. q. 3. sect. 5.

[e] Theor. i. 2.

[f] Bellarm. de Missâ. lib. i. c. 27. Sect. 3. Propositio. Lib. iii. de Euch. cap. ult. sect. ad tertiam. Scotus 4. dist. 11. q. 3.

[g] Faven. in 4. disp. 35. c. 6.

which it had before it was eucharistical. And it is no otherwise, than if water on the ground were annihilated, or removed, or corrupted, and some secret way changed from thence, and, in the place of it, snow should descend from heaven, or honey, or manna, it were hard to call this conversion, or transubstantiation: just as if we should say, that Augustus Cæsar was converted into his successor, Tiberius, and Moses into Joshua, and Elias into Elisha, or the sentinel is substantially changed into him that relieves him.

38. Twelfthly: Lastly, if we consider the changes that are incident to the accidents of bread and wine, they would afford us another heap of incommodities: for besides that accidents cannot subsist without their proper subjects, and much less can they become the subjects of other accidents,[h] for what they cannot be to themselves, they cannot be to others, in matter of supply and subsistence; it being a contradiction to say, insubsistent subsistencies:—besides this, I say, if Christ's body be not invested with these accidents, how do they represent it, or to what purpose do they remain? If they be the investiture of Christ's body, then the body is changed by the mutation of the accidents. But however, I would fain know, whether an accident can be sour or be burnt, as Hesychius[i] affirms they used in Jerusalem to do the reliques of the holy sacrament; or can accidents make a man drunk, as Aquinas supposes the sacramental wine did the Corinthians, of whom St. Paul says, "One is hungry, and another is drunken?" I am sure if it can, it is not the blood of Christ; for Mr. Bland's argument, in Queen Mary's time, concluded well in this instance. That which is in the chalice can make a man drunk; but Christ's blood cannot make a man drunk: therefore, that which is in the chalice, is not Christ's blood. To avoid this, they must answer to the major, and say that it does not "supponere universalitèr;" for every thing in the chalice does not make a man drunk,—for in it there are accidents of bread, and the body besides, and they do inebriate, not this; that is to say, a man may be drunk with colour,[k] and quantity, and a smell, when there is nothing that smells;[l] for indeed if there were a substance to be smelt, it might; but that accidents can do it alone, is not to be supposed; unless God should work a miracle to make a man drunk, which to say, I think, were blasphemy. But again, can "an accidental form" kill a man? But the young emperor of the house of Luxemburgh was poisoned by a consecrated wafer, and Pope Victor III. had like to have been, and the archbishop of York was poisoned by the chalice, say Matthew Paris and Malmsbury. And if the body be accidentally moved at the motion of accidents,[m] then, by the same reason, it may accidentally become mouldy, or sour, or poisonous; which, methinks, to all christian ears, should strike horror to hear it spoken. I will not heap up more instances of the same kind of absurdities and horrid consequences of this doctrine; or consider how a man or a mouse can live upon the consecrated wafers, (as Aimonius tells that Lewis the Fair did, for forty days together, live upon the sacrament; and a Jew, or a Turk, could live on it without a miracle, if he had enough of it,) and yet cannot live upon accidents; it being a certain rule in philosophy, "Ex iisdem nutriuntur mixta ex quibus fiunt;" and a man may as well be made of accidents, and be no substance, as well as be nourished by accidents without substance: neither will I inquire how it is possible, that we should eat Christ's body without touching it; or how we can be said to touch Christ's body, when we only touch and taste the accidents of bread; or, lastly, how we can touch the accidents of bread, without the substance, so to do being impossible in nature:

Tangere nam et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res,

said Lucretius, and from him Tertullian, in his fifth chapter of his book "De Animâ." These, and divers other particulars, I will not insist upon: but instead of them, I argue thus from their own grounds; if Christ be properly said to be touched, and to be eaten, because the accidents are so,—then, by the same reason, he may be properly made hot, or cold, or mouldy, or dry, or wet, or venomous, by the proportionable mutation of accidents: if Christ be not properly taken and manducated, to what purpose is he properly there? so that on either hand there is a snare. But it is time to be weary of all this, and inquire after the doctrine of the church, in this great question; for thither at last, with some seeming confidence, they do appeal. Thither, therefore, we will follow.

SECTION XII.

Transubstantiation was not the Doctrine of the primitive Church.

CONCERNING this topic or head of argument, I have some things to premise.

1. First: In this question, it is not necessary that I bring a catalogue of all the ancient writers. For, although to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to be catholic, it is necessary, by Vincentius Lirinensis's rules, and by the nature of the thing, that they should all agree; yet to show it not to have been the established, resolved doctrine of the primitive church, this *ἀκρίβεια* is not necessary. Because although no argument can prove it catholic, but a consent; yet if some, as learned, as holy, as orthodox, do dissent, it is enough to prove it not to be catholic. As a proposition is not universal, if there

[h] Τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς οὐ συμβεβηκότι συμβεβηκὸς, εἰ μὴ ὅτι ἄμφω συμβέβηκε ταυτῷ.—ARIST. Metaph. lib. iv. c. 4. 1.

[i] In Lev. c. 1.

[k] Ψόφος δὲ καὶ χρῶμα καὶ ὀσμὴ οὐ τρέφει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ οὔτε αὔξησιν, οὔτε φθίσιν.—ARIST. de Anim. lib. iii. c. 12.

[l] Est enim hic color et sapor, qualitas et quantitas, cùm nihil in alterutro sit coloratum, et sapidum, quantum et quale.—INNOCENT. 3. de Offic. Missæ, lib. iii. 21.

[m] Bellar. lib. iii. c. 10. de Euch. Sect. Respondeo corpus.

be one, or three, or ten exceptions; but to make it universal, it must be *κατὰ παντὸς*, it must take in all.

2. Secondly: None of the fathers speak words exclusive of our way, because our way contains a spiritual sense; which, to be true, our adversaries deny not, but say, it is not sufficient, but there ought to be more. But their words do often exclude the way of the church of Rome, and are not so capable of an answer for them.

3. Thirdly: When the saying of a father is brought, out of which his sense is to be drawn by argument and discourse, by two or three remote uneasy consequences; I do not think it fit to take notice of those words, either for or against us: because then his meaning is as obscure as the article itself, and, therefore, he is not fit to be brought in interpretation of it. And the same also is the case, when the words are brought by both sides: for then it is a shrewd sign, the doctor is not well to be understood, or that he is not fit, in those words, to be an umpire; and of this Cardinal Perron is a great example, who spends a volume in folio, to prove St. Austin to be of their side in this article, or rather, not to be against them.

4. Fourthly: All those testimonies of fathers, which are as general, indefinite, and unexpounded, as the words of Scripture which are in question, must, in this question, pass for nothing; and, therefore, when the fathers say, that in the sacrament is "the body and blood of Christ,"—that "there is the body of our Lord,"—that before consecration it is *λιτὸς ἄρτος*, "mere bread," but after consecration it is "verily the body of Christ, truly his flesh, truly his blood,"—these and the like sayings are no more than the words of Christ, "This is my body;" and are only true in the same sense, of which I have all this while been giving an account: that is, by a change of condition, of sanctification, and usage. We believe—that "after consecration and blessing, it is really Christ's body, which is verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's supper;"—and upon this account, we shall find that many, very many of the authorities of the fathers, commonly alleged by the Roman doctors in this question, will come to nothing. For we speak their sense, and in their own words,—the church of England expressing this mystery frequently in the same form of words;[a] and we are so certain that to eat Christ's body spiritually is to eat him really, that there is no other way for him to be eaten really, than by spiritual manducation.

5. Fifthly: When the fathers, in this question, speak of the change of the symbols in the holy sacrament, they sometimes use the words of *μεταβολὴ, μεταῤῥύθμισις, μετασκεύασμος, μεταστοιχείωσις, μεταποίησις*, in the Greek church:[b] "conversion, mutation, transition, migration, transfiguration," and the like in the Latin; but they by these do understand accidental and sacramental conversions, not proper, natural, and substantial. Concerning which, although I might refer the reader to see it highly verified in David Blondel's familiar elucidations of the eucharistical controversy, yet a shorter course I can take to warrant it, without my trouble or his; and that is, by the confession of a Jesuit, and of no mean fame or learning amongst them. The words of Suarez, whom I mean, are these; "Licet antiqui Patres," &c. "Although the ancient fathers have used divers names, yet all they are either general, as the names of conversion, mutation, transition; or else they are more accommodated to an accidental change, as the name of transfiguration, and the like; only the name of "transelementation," which Theophylact did use, seems to approach nearer to signify the propriety of this mystery, because it signifies a change even of the first elements; yet that word is harder, and not sufficiently accommodate; for it may signify the resolution of one element into another, or the resolution of a mixed body ino the elements."[c] He might have added another sense of *μεταστοιχείωσις*, or "transelementation." For Theophylact[d] uses the same word to express the change of our bodies to the state of incorruption, and the change that is made in the faithful, when they are united unto Christ. But Suarez proceeds: "But transubstantiation does most properly and appositely signify the passage and conversion of the whole substance into the whole substance." So that by this discourse we are quitted, and made free from the pressure of all those authorities of the fathers which speak of the "mutation, conversion, transition, or passage, or transelementation, transfiguration, and the like," of the bread into the body of Christ; these do, or may, only signify an accidental change; and come not home to their purpose of transubstantiation; and it is as if Suarez had said, "the words which the fathers use in this question, make not for us, and, therefore, we have made a new word for ourselves, and obtruded it upon all the world."—But against it, I shall only object an observation of Bellarmine, that is not ill. "The liberty of new words is dangerous in the church, because out of new words, by little and little new things arise, while it is lawful to coin new words in divine affairs."

6. Sixthly: To which I add this, that if all the fathers had more unitedly affirmed "the conversion of the bread into Christ's body," than they have done, and had not explicated their meaning as they have done indeed, yet this "word" would so little have helped the Roman cause, that it would directly have overthrown it. For in their "transubstantiation" there is "no conversion" of one thing into another, but a local succession of Christ's body into the place of bread. A change of the "ubi" was not used to be

[a] See article 28 of the church of England.

[b] *Μεταποιήσει νόμους.*—Suid. *Αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων μετεποιοῦντο εἰς ἐκκλησίας.*—Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrys. c. 55. *Οὐδείς ἐστιν ὁ διασκεδάσαι, ἢ τὴν βουλὴν μεταποιήσαι δυνάμενος.*—Chrys. Vit. Auctor. Anon. Id. in *μεταβολὴ*, et reliquis observare est *μεταποίεω, μεταβάλλω.*—Suidas. *Μεταστοιχείουσα, μετασχηματίζουσα, μεταπλάττουσα.*—Suidas. *Πάντας πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν μεταστοιχείου μεταῤῥυθμίζων.*—Auctor Vitæ Chrysost. Anon. c. 52. et de corpore Chrysostomi dixit, *εἰς λίθου φύσιν μετεσκευάσθη. Ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, ἤτοι μεταποιήσας.*—Œcumen. in 1 Pet. i. *Ἡ διδαχὴ μεταῤῥυθμίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον.*—Clem. Alex. Strom. 4. Idem. lib. iii. Pædag. c. 2. *Μετασκευάζει τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς πόρνας.*

[c] Chap. 5. in 3. disp. 50. sect. 3.

[d] Theoph. in St. Luc. xxiv. et in St. John vi.

called "a substantial conversion." But they understood nothing of our present ἀκρίβεια; they were not used to such curious nothings, and intricate falsehoods, and artificial nonsense, with which the Roman doctors troubled the world in this question. But they spake wholly another thing, and either they did affirm a substantial change, or they did not. If they did not, then it makes nothing for them, or against us; but if they did mean a proper substantial change, then, for so much as it comes to, it makes against us, but not for them; for they must mean a change of one substance into another, by conversion,—or a change of substances, by substitution of one in the place of another. If they meant the latter, then it was no conversion of one into another; and then they expressed not what they meant; for "conversion," which was their word, could signify nothing of that; but if they meant the change of substance into substance, properly by conversion,—then they have confuted the present doctrine of transubstantiation; which though they call a substantial change, yet an accident is the "terminus mutationis," that is, it is, by their explication of it, wholly an accidental change, as I have before discoursed;[e] for nothing is produced but ubiquity or presentiality; that is, it is only made present, where it was not before. And it is to be observed, that there is a vast difference between conversion and transubstantiation: the first is not denied; meaning by it a change of use, of condition, of sanctification; as a table is changed into an altar, a house into a church, a man into a priest, Matthias into an apostle, the water of the river into the laver of regeneration; but this is not any thing of transubstantiation. For in this new device there are three strange affirmatives, of which the fathers never dreamed. 1. That the natural being of bread is wholly ceased, and is not at all neither the matter nor the form. 2. That the accidents of bread and wine remain without a subject, their proper subject being annihilated, and they not subjected in the holy body. 3. That the body of Christ is brought into the place of the bread, which is not changed into it, but is succeeded by it. These are the constituent propositions of transubstantiation, without the proof of which, all the affirmations of conversion signify nothing to their purpose, or against ours.

7. Seventhly: When the fathers use the word "nature" in this question, sometimes saying the "nature is changed," sometimes that "the nature remains," it is evident that they either contradicted each other, or that the word "nature" hath, amongst them, diverse significations. Now in order to this, I suppose, if men will be determined by the reasonableness of the things themselves, and the usual manners of speech, and not by prejudices and prepossessions,—it will be evident, that when they speak of the change of nature, saying that bread changes his nature, it may be understood of an accidental change: for that the word "nature" is used for a change of accidents, is, by the Roman doctors, contended for, when it is to serve their turns (particularly in their answer to the words of Pope Gelasius): and it is evident in the thing; for we say, a man of a good nature, that is, of a loving disposition. It is natural to me to love or hate this or that; and it is against my "nature," that is, "my custom or my affection." But then, as it may signify accidents, and a natural change may yet be accidental, as when water is changed into ice, wine into vinegar; yet it is also certain that "nature" may mean "substance:" and if it can, by the analogy of the place, or the circumstances of speech, or by any thing be declared, when it is that they mean a "substance" by using the word "nature;" it must be certain, that then "substance," is meant when the word "nature" is used distinctly from, and in opposition to, accidents; or when it is explicated by, and in conjunction with, substance; which observation is reducible to practice, in the following testimonies of Theodoret, Gelasius, and others: "Immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit," says St. Austin.[f]

8. Eighthly: So also, whatsoever words are used by the ancient doctors seemingly affirmative of a substantial change, cannot serve their interest, that now most desire it; because themselves being pressed with the words of "natura," and "substantia," against them, answer, that the fathers using these words, mean them not φυσικῶς, but θεολογικῶς, not "naturally," but "theologically," that is, as I suppose, not "properly," but "sacramentally:" by the same account, when they speak of the change of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, they may mean the change of substance, not naturally, but sacramentally; so that this ought to invalidate the greatest testimony, which can be alleged by them; because themselves have taken from the words that sense, which only must have done them advantage; for if "substantia" and "natura," always mean "naturally," then their sentence is oftentimes positively condemned by the fathers; if this may mean "sacramentally," then they can never, without a just answer, pretend from their words to prove a "natural, substantial change."

9. Ninthly; But that the words of the fathers, in their most hyperbolical expressions, ought to be expounded sacramentally and mystically, we have sufficient warrant from themselves, affirming frequently that the name of the thing signified is given to the sign. St. Cyprian affirms "ut significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censeantur," "the same words represent the sign and the thing signified."[g]—The same is affirmed by St. Austin, in his epistle "ad Bonifacium."[h] Now upon this declaration of themselves, and of Scripture, whatsoever attributes either of them give to bread after consecration, we are, by themselves, warranted against the force of the words by a metaphorical sense; for if they call the sign by the name of the thing signified, and the thing intended is called by the name of a figure, and the figure by the name of the thing, then no affirmative of the fathers can conclude against them, that have reason to believe the sense of the words of institution to be figurative; for their answer is ready; the fathers, and the Scriptures too, call the

[e] Vide sect. 11. n. 31. [f] Ad Dardanum. [g] Serm. de Unit. [h] Vide infra, n. 30.

figure by the name of the thing figurated; the bread by the name of flesh, or the body of Christ, which it figures and represents.

10. Tenthly; The fathers in their alleged testimonies, speak more than is allowed to be literally and properly true, by either side, and, therefore, declare and force an understanding of their words different from the Roman pretension. Such are the words of St. Chrysostom; "Thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him, and thy tongue is made bloody by this admirable blood,—thy teeth are fastened in his flesh, thy teeth are made red with his blood:"[i] and the author of the book "De Cœnâ Domini," attributed to St. Cyprian, "Cruci hæremus," &c. "We stick close to the cross, we suck his blood, and fasten our tongue between the very wounds of our Redeemer:" and under this head may be reduced very many other testimonies: now how far these go beyond the just positive limit, it will be in the power of any man to say,—and to take into this account, as many as he please, even all that go beyond his own sense and opinion, without all possibility of being confuted.

11. Eleventhly; In vain will it be for any of the Roman doctors, to allege the words of the fathers proving the conversion of bread into Christ's body or flesh, and of the wine into his blood; since they say the same thing of us, that we also are turned into Christ's flesh, and body, and blood. So St. Chrysostom; "He reduces us into the same mass, or lump, neque id fide solùm sed reipsâ; and in very deed makes us to be his body."[k]—So Pope Leo: "In mysticâ distributione spiritualis alimoniæ, hoc impertitur et sumitur, ut, accipientes virtutem cœlestis cibi, in carnem ipsius, qui caro nostra factus est, transeamus."—And in his 24th sermon of the passion, "Non alia igitur participatio corporis quàm ut in id quod sumimus transeamus:" "There is no other participation of the body, than that we should pass into that which we receive. In the mystical distribution of the spiritual nourishment, this is given and taken, that we receiving the virtue of the heavenly food, may pass into his flesh who became our flesh."—And Rabanus[l] makes the analogy fit to this question; "Sicut illud in nos convertitur, dum id manducamus et bibimus; sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur, dum obedienter et piè vivimus:" "As that Christ's body is converted into us while we eat it, and drink it; so are we converted into the body of Christ, while we live obediently and piously."—So Gregory Nyssen;[m] *τὸ ἀθανατὸν σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸ γινόμενον, πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν μετεποίησεν.* "The immortal body being in the receiver, changes him wholly into his own nature:"—and Theophylact useth the same word; "He that eateth me, liveth by me, whilst he is in a certain manner mingled with me, is transelementated (*μεταποιεῖται* or changed) into me." Now let men of all sides do reason, and let one expound the other, and it will easily be granted, that as we are turned into Christ's body, so is that into us, and so is the bread into that.

12. Twelfthly: Whatsoever the fathers speak of this, they affirm the same also of the other sacrament, and of the sacramentals, or rituals of the church. It is a known similitude used by St. Cyril of Alexandria: "As the bread of the eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer common bread, but it is the body of Christ; so this holy unguent is no longer mere and common ointment, but it is (*χάρισμα Χριστοῦ*) the grace of Christ: *χρίσμα Χριστοῦ* it uses to be mistaken, the 'chrism' for the grace or gift of Christ; and yet this is not spoken properly, as is apparent; but it is in this as in the eucharist:"—so says the comparison. Thus St. Chrysostom says, that "the table or altar is as the manger in which Christ was laid;" that "the priest is a seraphim, and his hands are the tongs taking the coal from the altar."—But that which I instance in, is that, 1. they say that they that hear the word of Christ, eat the flesh of Christ: of which I have already given account in sect. 3. num. 10, &c. As hearing is eating, as the word is his flesh, so is the bread after consecration in a spiritual sense. 2. That which comes most fully home to this, is their affirmative concerning baptism, to the same purposes and in many of the same expressions which they use in this other sacrament. St. Ambrose[n] speaking of the baptismal waters, affirms "naturam mutari per benedictionem," "the nature of them is changed by blessing;"—and St. Cyril, of Alexandria,[o] saith, "By the operation of the Holy Spirit, the waters are reformed to a divine nature, by which the baptized cleanse their body."—For in these, the ground of all their great expressions is, that which St. Ambrose expressed in these words: "Non agnosco usum naturæ; nullus est hic naturæ ordo, ubi est excellentia gratiæ:" "Where grace is the chief ingredient, there the use, and the order of nature, is not at all considered."—But this whole mystery is most clear in St. Austin,[p] affirming, that "we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, when, in baptism, we are made members of Christ; and are not estranged from the fellowship of that bread and chalice, although we die before we eat that bread and drink that cup."—"Tingimur in passione Domini;" "We are baptized into the passion of our Lord," says Tertullian;—"into the death of Christ," saith St. Paul, for by both sacraments "we show the Lord's death."

13. Thirteenthly; Upon the account of these premises we may be secured against all the objections, or the greatest part of those testimonies from antiquity, which are pretended for transubstantiation; for either they speak that which we acknowledge, or that "it is Christ's body," that it is "not common bread," that "it is a Divine thing," that "we eat Christ's flesh," that "we drink his blood," and the like; all which we acknowledge and expli-

[i] Hom. 83. in S. Mat. Hom. 60. et. 6. ad Antioch. pop.
[k] Homil. 88. in S. Mat. ad Cler. Const.
[l] De Instit. Cler. lib. xi. c. 31.
[m] Orat. Catech. 37.
[n] Lib. iv. de Sacram. et lib. de iis qui initiantur myster. c. 9.
[o] Lib. ii. in Johan. c. 42.
[p] Ad infantes apud Bedam in 1 Cor. x. lib. de Bap.

cate, as we do the words of institution; or else they speak more than both sides allow to be literally true; or speak as great things of other mysteries which must not, cannot be expounded literally; that is, they speak more, or less, or diverse from them, or the same with us: and I think there is hardly one testimony in Bellarmine, in Coccius, and Perron, that is pertinent to this question, but may be made invalid, by one or more of the former considerations. But of those, if there be any, of which there may be a material doubt, beyond the cure of these observations, I shall give particular account in the sequel.

14. But then for the testimonies which I shall allege against the Roman doctrine in this article, they will not be so easily avoided. 1. Because many of them are not only affirmative in the spiritual sense, but exclusive of the natural and proper. 2. Because it is easy to suppose they may speak hyperbôles, but never that which would undervalue the blessed sacrament; for an hyperbole is usual, not a *μείωσις* or the "lessening" a mystery; that may be true,—this, never; that may be capable of fair interpretations, this can admit of none; that may breed reverence,—this, contempt. To which I add this, that the heathens, slandering the christians, to be worshippers of Ceres or Liber, because of the holy bread and chalice, (as appears in St. Austin, book xx. chap. 13. against Faustus the Manichee,) had reason to advance the reputation of sacramental signs to be above common bread and wine, not only so to explicate the truth of the mystery, but to stop the mouth of their calumny: and therefore for higher expressions there might be cause, but not such cause for any lower than the severest truth; and yet let me observe this by the way: St. Austin answered only thus; "We are far from doing so, Quamvis panis et calicis sacramentum ritu nostro amplectamur." St. Austin might have further removed the calumny, if he had been of the Roman persuasion; who adore not the bread, nor eat it at all in their synaxes, until it be no bread, but changed into the body of our Lord. But he knew nothing of that. Neither was there ever any scandal of christians upon any mistake, that could be a probable excuse for them to lessen their expressions in the matter eucharistical. Indeed Mr. Brerely hath got an ignorant fancy by the end, which I am now to note, and wipe off. He says, that the primitive christians were scandalized by the heathen to be eaters of the flesh of a child, which, in all reason, must be occasioned by their doctrine of the manducation of Christ's flesh in the sacrament; and if this be true, then we may suspect, that they, to wipe off this scandal, might remove their doctrine as far from the objection as they could, and therefore might use some lessening expressions. To this I answer, that the occasions of the report were the sects of the Gnostics, and the Peputians. The Gnostics, as Epiphanius reports, bruised a new-born infant in a mortar, and all of them did communicate, by eating portions of it; and the Montanists, having sprinkled a little child with meal, let him blood, and of that made their eucharistical bread; and these stories the Jews published to disrepute, if they could, the whole religion: but nothing of this related to the doctrine of the christian eucharist, though the bell always must tinkle as they are pleased to think. But this turned to advantage of the truth, and to the clearing of this article. For when the scandal got foot, and run abroad, the heathens spared not to call the christians cannibals, and to impute to them anthropophagy, or the devouring human flesh, and that they made Thyestes's feast, who, by the procurement of Atreus, ate his own children. Against this the christian apologists betook themselves to a defence. Justin Martyr says the false devils had set on work some vile persons, to kill some one or other to give colour to the report. Athenagoras,[q] in a high defiance of the infamy, asks, "Do you think we are murderers? for there is no way to eat man's flesh, unless we first kill him."—Octavius, in Minutius Felix, confutes it upon this account: "We do not receive the blood of beasts into our food or beverage; therefore we are infinitely distant from drinking man's blood."—And this same Tertullian in his Apologetick,[r] presses further, affirming, that "to discover christians, they use to offer them a black pudding, or something in which blood remained," and they chose rather to die than to do it; and of this we may see instances, in the story of Sanctus and Blandina, in the ecclesiastical histories. Concerning which it is remarkable, what Oecumenius, in his Catena upon the 2d chapter of the first epistle of St. Peter, reports out of Irenæus; "The Greeks, having taken some servants of christians, pressing to learn something secret of the christians, and they having nothing in their notice to please the inquisitors, except that they had heard of their masters, that the divine communion is the blood and body of Christ; they supposing it true according to their rude natural apprehensions, tortured Sanctus and Blandina, to confess it. But Blandina answered them thus: "How can they suffer any such thing in the exercise of their religion, who do not nourish themselves with flesh that is permitted?" All this trouble came upon the act of the forementioned heretics; the report was only concerning the blood of an infant, not of a man, as it must have been, if it had been occasioned by the sacrament; but the sacrament was not so much as thought of in this scrutiny, till the examination of the servants gave the hint in the torture of Blandina.—Cardinal Perron, perceiving much detriment likely to come to their doctrine by these apologies of the primitive christians, upon the eleventh anathematism of St. Cyril, says, that they deny anthropophagy, but did not deny theanthropophagy,—saying, that "they did not eat the flesh nor drink the blood of a mere man, but of Christ, who was God and man:"—which is so strange a device, as I wonder it could drop from the pen of so great a wit. For this would have been a worse and more intolerable scandal, to affirm that christians eat their God, and sucked his blood, and were devourers not only of a man, but of an immortal God. But, however, let his fancy be confronted

[q] Legat. pro Christian

[r] Cap. 9.

with the extracts of the several apologies, which I have now cited,—and it will appear, that nothing of the cardinal's fancy can come near their sense, or words: for all the business was upon the blood of a child, which the Gnostics had killed, or the Montanists tormented; and the matter of the sacrament was not in the whole rumour so much as thought upon.

15. Lastly: Unless there be no one objection of ours, that means as it says, but all are shadows, and nothing is awake but Bellarmine, in all his dreams; or Perron, in all his laborious excuses; if we be allowed to be in our wits, and to understand Latin, or Greek, or common sense; unless the fathers must all be understood according to their new nonsense answers, which the primitive doctors were so far from understanding or thinking of, that besides that it is next to impudence to suppose they could mean them, their own doctors, in a few ages last past, did not know them, but opposed, and spake some things contrary, and many things diverse from them: I say, unless we have neither sense, nor reason, nor souls like other men, it is certain, that not one, nor two, but very many of the fathers, taught our doctrine most expressly in this article, and against theirs. And after all, whether the testimonies of the doctors be ancient or modern, it is advantage to us, and inconvenient for them; for if it be ancient, it shows their doctrine not to be from the beginning; if it be modern it does it more; for it declares plainly the doctrine to be but of yesterday; now I am very certain I can make it appear not to have been the doctrine of the church, not of any church whose records we have, for above a thousand years together.

16. But now, in my entry upon the testimonies of fathers, I shall make my way the more plain and credible, if I premise the testimonies of some of the Roman doctors in this business. And the first I shall name is Bellarmine[s] himself, who was the most wary of giving advantage against himself; but yet he says, "Non esse mirandum," &c. "it is not to be wondered at, if St. Austin, Theodoret, and others of the ancients, spake some things, which, in show, seem to favour the heretics, when, even from Jodocus some things did fall, which by their adversaries were drawn to their cause."—Now though he lessens the matter by "quædam" and "videantur," and "in speciem," "seemingly," and "in show" and "some things," yet it was as much as we could expect from him; with whom "visibilitèr," if it be on our side, must mean "invisibilitèr," and "statuimus" must be "abrogamus."—But I rest not here: Alphonsus à Castro[t] says more: "De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi, rara est, in antiquis scriptoribus, mentio:" "The ancient writers seldom mention the change of the substance of bread into the body of Christ."—And yet these men would make us believe, that all the world is their own. But Scotus does directly deny the doctrine of conversion or transubstantiation to be ancient; so says Henriquez.[u]—"Ante concilium Lateranense, transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei;" so said Scotus himself, as Bellarmine[x] cites him: and some of the fathers[y] of the society in England, in their prison affirmed, "Rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem;" "That the fathers did not so much as touch the matter of transubstantiation;"—and it was likely so, because Peter Lombard,[z] whose design it was to collect the sentences of the fathers into heads of articles, found in them so nothing to the purpose of transubstantiation, that he professed he was not able to define, whether the conversion of the eucharistical bread were formal or substantial, or of another kind. "To some it seems to be substantial, saying, "the substance is changed into the substance:"—"Quibusdam," et "videtur," "it seems,"—and that not *to all* neither, but *to some*; for his part, he knows not whether they are right or wrong; therefore, in his days, the doctrine was not catholic. And, methinks, it was an odd saying of Vasquez,[a] and much to this purpose; "that as soon as ever the later schoolmen heard the name of transubstantiation, such a controversy did arise concerning the nature of it, (he says not of the meaning of the word, but the nature of the thing,) that by how much the more they did endeavour to extricate themselves, by so much the more they were entangled in difficulties."—It seems that it was news to them to hear talk of it, and they were as much strangers to the nature of it, as to the name; it begat quarrels, and became a riddle, which they could not resolve; but, like Achelous's horn sent forth a river of more difficulty to be waded through, than the horn was to be broken. And amongst these schoolmen, Durandus maintained an heretical opinion, (says Bellarmine,[b]) saying, "that the form of bread was changed into Christ's body: but that the matter of bread remained still;"—by which also it is apparent, that then this doctrine was but in the forge; it was once stamped upon at the Lateran council, but the form was rude, and it was fain to be cast again, and polished at Trent; the Jesuit order being the chief masters of the mint. But now I proceed to the trial of this topic.

17. I shall not need to arrest the reader with consideration of the pretension made by the Roman doctors, out of the passions of the apostles, which all men condemn for spurious and apocryphal; particularly "the passion of St. Andrew," said to be written by the priests and deacons of Achaia. For it is sufficient that they are so esteemed by Baronius,[c] censured for such by Gelasius, by Philastrius, and Innocentius; they were corrupted also by the Manichees by additions and detractions, and yet if they were genuine and uncorrupted, they say nothing, but what we profess: "Although the holy Lamb, truly sacrificed, and his flesh eaten by the people, doth nevertheless persevere whole and alive;" for

[s] Lib. ii. Euch. c. 25. Sect. Hic verò.
[t] De Hær. lib. viii. v. Indulgentia.
[u] Sum. lib. viii. c. 23.
[x] De. Euch. lib. iii. c. 23. Sect. Unum tamen.
[y] Discourse modest. p. 13.
[z] Lib. iv. Sent. dist. 11. lit. a.
[a] In 3. Tho. to. 3. disput. 183. c. 1. n. 1.
[b] Lib. iii. de Euch. c. 1.
[c] S. Andreæ Annal. to. 1. A. Ep. 44. num. 4.

no man, that I know of, pretends that Christ is so eaten in the sacrament that he dies for it; for his flesh is eaten spiritually and by faith, and that is the most true manducation of Christ's body, the flesh of the holy Lamb: and this manducation "breaks not a bone of him:" but then how he can be torn by the teeth of the communicants, and yet "remain whole," is a harder matter to tell: and therefore these words are very far from their sense; they are nearer to an objection: but I shall not be troubled with this any more; save that I shall observe that one White,[d] of the Roman persuasion, quoting part of these words which Bellarmine, and from him the under-writers object: "Ego omnipotenti Deo omni die immaculatum agnum sacrifico,"—of these words in particular affirms, that, without all controversy, they are apocryphal.

18. Next to him is St. Ignatius, who is cited to have said something of this question, in his epistle "ad Smyrnenses;" speaking of certain heretics, "They do not admit of eucharists, and oblations, because they do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour, which flesh suffered for us:" They that do not confess it, let them be anathema: for sure it is, as sure as Christ is true: but "quomodo" is the question, and of this St. Ignatius says nothing. But the understanding of these words perfectly, depends upon the story of that time. Concerning which, we learn out of Tertullian and Irenæus, that the Marcosians, the Valentinians, and Marcionites, who denied the incarnation of the Son of God, did nevertheless use the eucharistical symbols; though, I say, they denied Christ to have a body. Now because this usage of theirs did confute their grand heresy, (for to what purpose should they celebrate the sacrament of Christ's body, if he had none?) therefore it is that St. Ignatius might say: "They did not admit the eucharist, because they did not confess it to be the flesh of Christ:" for though in practice they did admit it, yet, in theory, they denied it, because it could be nothing, as they handled the matter. For how could it be Christ's flesh sacramentally, if he had no flesh really? And, therefore, they did not admit the eucharist, as the church did, for, in no sense would they grant it to be the flesh of Christ; not the figure, not the sacrament of it; lest, admitting the figure, they should also confess the substance. But besides, if these words had been against us, it had signified nothing; because these words are not in St. Ignatius; they are in no Greek copy of him; but they are reported by Theodoret. But in these there is nothing else material, than what I have accounted: for I only took them in by the by, because they are great names, and are objected sometimes.

But I shall descend to more material testimonies, and consider those objections that are incident to the mention of the several fathers; supposing that the others are invalid, upon the account of the premises; or, if they were not, yet they can but pass for single opinions, against which themselves, and others, are opposed at other times.

[d] Diacosion Mart. fol. 3.

19. Tertullian is affirmative in that sense of the article which we teach. "Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suis, Christus corpus suum meum fecit, dicendo, 'Hoc est corpus,' i. e. figura corporis mei."[e] He proves, against the Marcionites, that Christ had a true real body in his incarnation by this argument: because "in the sacrament he gave bread, as the figure of his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body." Fisher, in his answer to the ninth question propounded by King James, and he from Cardinal Perron, says it is an ὑπέρβατον, and answers to this place, that "Figura corporis mei," refers, after Tertullian's odd manner of speaking, to "Hoc," not to "corpus meum," which are the words immediately preceding, and so most proper for the relation: and that the sense is,—"This figure of my body is my body:" that is, "this which was a figure in the Old Testament, is now a substance."—To this I reply, 1. It must mean, "this which is present, is my body,—not this figure of my body, which was in the Old Testament; but this, which we mean in the words of consecration;" and then it is no hyperbaton, which is to be supplied with "quod erat," "This which was;"—for the nature of a hyperbaton is, to make all right by a mere transposition of the words; as, "Christus mortuus est," that is, "unctus;" place "unctus" before "mortuus," and the sentence is perfect; but it is not so here: without the addition of two words, it cannot be; and if two words may be added, we may make what sense we please. But, 2. Suppose that "figura corporis" does refer to "hoc,"—yet it is to be remembered that "hoc," in that place, is one of the words of the institution, or consecration; and then it can have no sense to evacuate the pressure of his words. 3. Suppose this reference of the words to be intended, then the sense will be; "This figure of my body is my body;" the consequent of which, is that which we contend for: that the same which is called "his body, is the figure of his body:" the one is the subject; the other, the predicate: and then it affirms all that is pleaded for: as if we say, "Hæc effigies est homo," we mean, "it is the effigies of a man;" and so in this, "This figure of my body is my body," by the rule of denominatives, signifies, "This is the figure of my body."—4. In the preceding words, Tertullian says, "the pascha was the type of his passion:" this pascha he desired to eat; this pascha was not the lamb;—for he was betrayed the night before it was to be eaten: "professus se concupiscentiâ concupisse edere pascha ut suum, (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus,") "he would eat the passover of his own,"—"figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat," "he desired to fulfil the figure," that is, to produce the last of all the figures of his healing blood: now this was by eating the paschal lamb, that is, himself; for the other was not to be eaten that night. Now then, if the eating, or delivering himself to be eaten that night, was "implere figuram sanguinis sui," he then did "fulfil the figure of his blood;" therefore, "figura corporis mei," in the following

[e] Tertullian adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 40.

words, must relate to what he did that night; that therefore was the figure, but the more excellent, because the nearest to the substance, which was given really the next day: this therefore, as St. Gregory Nazianzen affirms, was the most excellent figure, the paschal lamb itself being "figura figuræ," "the figure of a figure," as I have quoted him in the sequel. And it is not disagreeing from the expression of Scripture, saying that the law had *σκίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων*, "a shadow, but not the very image:"[f] that was in the ceremonies of the law,—this, in the sacraments of the gospel: Christ himself was the *τὸ πρᾶγμα*, "the thing itself;" but the image was more than the shadow, though less than the substance: *ἀντίτυπον* was the word by which the fathers expressed this nearer configuration. 5. Whereas it is added, it had not been a figure, "nisi veritatis esset corpus,"—to my sense clears the question; for therefore Christ's body, which he was clothed withal, was a true body, else this could not be a figure of it; but therefore this, which was also a figure, could not be the true body, of which it was a figure. 6. That which Fisher adds, that Tertullian's drift was to show, that whereas in the Old Testament, bread was the figure of the body of Christ, (as appears by the words of the prophet, "Mittamus lignum in panem ejus;" that is, crucem in corpus ejus,) Christ in the New Testament made this figure really to be his body; this I conceive to make very much against Tertullian's design. For he proves that therefore Christ might well call bread his body; that was no new thing, for it was so also in the old figure; and therefore may be so now: but that this was no more than a figure, he adds, "If therefore he made bread to be his body, because he wanted a true body, then bread was delivered for us, and it would advance the vanity of Marcion, that bread was crucified."—No, this could not be; but therefore he must mean, that, as of old, in the prophet and in the passover, so now in the last supper, he gave the same figure, and therefore that which was figured was real, viz. his crucified body. Now suppose we should frame this argument out of Tertullian's medium, and suppose it to be made by Marcion: "The body of Christ was delivered for the sins of the world,"—&c. "you catholics say that bread is the body of Christ, therefore you say that bread was delivered for the sins of the whole world, and that bread was crucified for you, and that bread is the Son of God;"—what answer could be made to this out of Tertullian, but by expounding the minor proposition figuratively? We catholics say, that the eucharistical bread is the body of Christ in a figurative sense, it is "completio" or "consummatio figurarum," "the last and most excellent of all figures." But if he should have said, according to the Roman fancy, that it is the natural body of Christ, it would have made rare triumphs in the schools of Marcion. But that there may be no doubt in this particular, hear himself summing up his own discourses in this question: "Proinde panis et calicis sacramento jam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis Dominici veritatem adversùs phantasma Marcionis:" "Against the phantasm of Marcion we have proved the verity of Christ's body and blood by the sacrament of bread and wine."[g] 7. This very answer I find to be Tertullian's[h] own explication of this affair; for speaking of the same figurative speech of the prophet Jeremy, and why bread should be called his body; he gives this account: "Hoc lignum et Jeremias tibi insinuat dicturis prædicans Judæis, 'Venite mittamus lignum in panem ejus,' utique in corpus; sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem 'corpus suum' appellans, ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cujus retro corpus in panem prophetis figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo:" "For so God revealed in your gospel, calling bread his body, that hence thou mayest understand that he gave to bread the figure of his body, whose body anciently the prophet figured by bread, afterwards the Lord himself expounding the sacrament."—Nothing needs to be plainer. By the way, let me observe this, that the words, cited by Tertullian out of Jeremy, are expounded, and recited too, but by allusion. For there are no such words in the Hebrew text: which is thus to be rendered, "Corrumpamus veneno cibum ejus," and so cannot be referred to the sacrament; unless you will suppose, that he fore-signified the poisoning the emperor by a consecrated wafer. But as to the figure, this is often said by him; for in the first book against Marcion, he hath these words again.—"Nec reprobavit panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris:" "He refused not bread, by which he represents his own body, wanting or using in the sacraments the meanest things of the Creator." For it is not to be imagined, that Tertullian should attempt to persuade Marcion, that the bread was really and properly Christ's body; but that he really delivered his body on the cross, that both in the Old Testament, and here, himself gave a figure of it in bread and wine, for that was it which the Marcionites denied; saying, "on the cross no real humanity did suffer;"—and he confutes them by saying, these are figures, and therefore denote a truth. 8. However, these men are resolved, that this new answer shall please them, and serve their turn; yet some of their fellows, great clerks as themselves, did shrink under the pressure of it, as not being able to be pleased with so laboured and improbable an answer. For Harding against Juel[i] hath these words, speaking of this place, which interpretation is not according to the true sense of Christ's words, although his meaning swerve not from the truth; and B. Rhenanus, the author of the admonition to the reader, "De quibusdam Tertulliani Dogmatis," seems to confess this to be Tertullian's error: "Error putantium corpus Christi in eucharistiâ tantùm esse sub figurâ, jam olim condemnatus," "The error of them that think the body of Christ is in the eucharist, only in a figure,—is now long since condemned."—But Garetius,[k] Bellar-

[f] Heb. i. v. 1.
[g] Lib. v. cont. Marcion. c. 8.
[h] Lib. iii. c. 19.
[i] Art. 12. s. 9.
[k] De verâ Præs. class. 1. p. 19.

mine,[l] Justinian,[m] Coton,[n] Fevardentius,[o] Valentia,[p] and Vasquez,[q] in the recitation of this passage of Tertullian, very fairly leave out the words that pinch them, and which clears the article; and bring the former words for themselves, without the interpretation of "id est, figura corporis mei." I may therefore, without scruple, reckon Tertullian on our side, against whose plain words no real exception can lie, himself expounding his own meaning in the pursuance of the figurative sense of this mystery.

20. Concerning Origen I have already given an account in the ninth paragraph, and other places casually, and made it appear that he is a direct opposite to the doctrine of transubstantiation. And the same also of Justin Martyr, paragraph the fifth, number 9. where also I have enumerated divers others, who speak upon parts of this question, on which the whole depends, whither I refer the reader. Only concerning Justin Martyr, I shall recite these words of his against Tryphon: "Figura fuit panis eucharistiæ, quem in recordationem passionis—facere præcipit:" "The bread of the eucharist was a figure, which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion."

21. Clemens Alexandrinus saith,[r] Διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα Κυρίου, &c. "The blood of Christ is twofold; the one is carnal, by which we are redeemed from death; the other spiritual, viz. by which we are anointed. And this is to drink the blood of Jesus, to be partakers of the incorruption of our Lord. But the power of the word is the Spirit, as blood is of the flesh. Therefore, in a moderated proposition, and convenience, wine is mingled with water, as the Spirit with a man. And he receives in the feast [viz. eucharistical] tempered wine unto faith. But the Spirit leadeth to incorruption, but the mixture of both, viz. of drink and the word, is called the eucharist, which is praised, and is a good gift or grace, of which they who are partakers by faith, are sanctified in body and soul." Here plainly he calls that which is in the eucharist, "spiritual blood;" and without repeating, the whole discourse is easy and clear. And that you may be certain of St. Clement's meaning, he disputes in the same chapter against the Encratites, who thought it not lawful to drink wine. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβε οἴνου καὶ αὐτὸς, &c. "For be ye sure, he also did drink wine, for he also was a man, and he blessed wine when he said, Take drink, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου, This is my blood, the blood of the vine; for that word [that was shed for many for the remission of sins] it signifies allegorically a holy stream of gladness; ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθὲν, but that 'the thing which had been blessed was wine,' he showed again, saying to his disciples, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."—Now St. Clement, proving by Christ's sumption of the eucharist, that he did drink wine, must mean the sacramental symbol to be truly wine, and "Christ's blood allegorically, that holy stream of gladness;" or else he had not concluded, by that argument, against the Encratites. Upon which account these words are much to be valued, because by our doctrine in this article, he only could confute the Encratites; as by the same doctrine explicated, as we explicate it, Tertullian confuted the Marcionites, and Theodoret and Gelasius confuted the Nestorians and Eutychians; if the doctrine of transubstantiation had been true, these four heresies had by them, as to their particular arguments relating to this matter, been unconfuted.

22. St. Cyprian, in his tractate "de Unctione," which Canisius, Harding, Bellarmine, and Lindan cite, hath these words, "Dedit itaque Dominus noster," &c. "Therefore our Lord, in his table in which he did partake his last banquet with his disciples, with his own hands gave bread and wine; but on the cross he gave to the soldiers his body to be wounded, that, in the apostles, the sincere truth and the true sincerity being more secretly imprinted, he might expound to the gentiles, how wine and bread should be his flesh and blood, and by what reasons causes might agree with effects, and divers names and kinds (viz. bread and wine) might be reduced to one essence, and the signifying and the signified might be reckoned by the same words:"—and in his third epistle he hath these words, "Vinum quo Christi sanguis ostenditur," "wine by which Christ's blood is shown or declared:" Here I might cry out, as Bellarmine upon a much slighter ground, "Quid clariùs dici potuit?" But I forbear; being content to enjoy the real benefits of these words without a triumph. But I will use it thus far, that it shall outweigh the words cited out of the tract "de Cœnâ Domini," by Bellarmine, by the Rhemists, by the Roman catechism, by Perron, and by Gregory de Valentiâ. The words are these, "Panis iste, quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed naturâ mutatus omnipotentiâ verbi factus est caro, et sicut in personâ Christi," &c. "The bread, which the Lord gave to his disciples, is changed, not in shape, but in nature, being made flesh by the omnipotency of the word;" and as in "the person of Christ the humanity was seen, and the divinity lay hid, so in the visible sacrament, the Divine essence, after an ineffable manner, pours itself forth, that devotion about the sacraments might be religion, and that a more sincere entrance may be opened to the truth, whereof the body and the blood are sacraments, even unto the participation of the Spirit, not unto the consubstantiality of Christ." This testimony, as Bellarmine says, admits of no answer. But, by his favour, it admits of many: 1. Bellarmine cites but half of those words, and leaves out that which gives him answer. 2. The words affirm, that that body and blood are but a sacrament of a reality and truth; but if it were, really and naturally, Christ's body, then it were itself, "veritas et corpus," and not only a sacrament. 3. The truth [of which these are sacramental] is "the participation of the Spirit;" that is, a spiritual communication. 4. This does not arrive "ad consubstantialitatem Christi," "to a participation or communion of

[l] Lib. iii. Euch. c. 20.
[m] In 1 Cor. xi.
[n] Du Sacr. de la Mes. c. 17.
[o] In Irenæ. lib iv. c. 34.
[p] De Transub. lib. ii. c. 3.
[q] T. 3. in 3. disp. 180. n. 21.
[r] Pæd. lib. c. 2.

the substance of Christ;" which it must needs do, if bread were so changed in nature, as that it were substantially the body of Christ. 5. These sermons of St. Cyprian's title and name are under the name also of Arnoldus, abbot of Bonavilla, in the time of St. Bernard, as appears in a manuscript in the library of All Souls College, of which I had the honour some time to be a fellow. However, it is confessed on all sides, that this tractate is not St. Cyprian's; and who is the father of it, if Arnoldus be not, cannot be known; neither his age nor reputation. His style sounds like the eloquence of the monastery, being direct friar's Latin, as appears by his "honorificare, amaricare, injuriare, demembrare, sequestrare, attitulare, spiritalitas, te supplico," and some false Latin besides; and therefore he ought to pass for nothing; which, I confess, I am sorry for, as to this question; because, to my sense, he gives us great advantage in it. But I am content to lose what our cause needs not. I am certain they can get nothing by him. For if the authority were not incompetent, the words were impertinent to their purpose, but very much against them: only let me add out of the same sermon these words: "Panis iste communis, in carnem et sanguinem mutatus, procurat vitam et incrementum corporibus, ideòque ex consueto effectu fidei nostra adjuta infirmitas, sensibili argumento edocta et visibilibus sacramentis inesse vitæ æternæ effectum, et non tam corporali quàm spirituali transitione nos cum Christo uniri:" "That common bread, being changed into flesh and blood, procures life and increment to our bodies; therefore our infirmity, being helped with the usual effect of faith, is taught by a sensible argument, that the effect of eternal life is in visible sacraments, and that we are united to Christ, not so much by a corporal, as by a spiritual change." If both these discourses be put together, let the authority of the writer be what it will, the greater the better.

23. In the dialogues against the Marcionites, collected out of Maximus in the time of Commodus or Severus,[s] or thereabouts, Origen is brought in speaking thus: Εἰδ' ὡς οὗτοί φασιν, ἄσαρκος, καὶ ἄναιμος ἦν, ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ τίνος σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτόν τε καὶ ποτήριον ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι; "If, as the Marcionites say, Christ had neither flesh nor blood, of what flesh or of what blood did he, giving bread and the chalice as images, command his disciples, that by these a remembrance of him should be made?"

24. To the same purpose are the words of Eusebius:[t] Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παραδίδου μαθηταῖς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος. "He gave to his disciples the symbols of Divine economy, commanding the image or type of his own body to be made:" and again, τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐντελεῖν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦτε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες. "They received a command, according to the constitution of the New Testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table, by the symbols of his body and healthful blood."

25. St. Ephrem[u] the Syrian, patriarch of Antioch, is dogmatical and decretory in this question, τὸ παρα τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσιας οὐκ ἐξίσταται φύσεως, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος, "The body of Christ, received by the faithful, departs not from his sensible substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace." He adds the similitude and parity of baptism to this mystery; "for even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the same and proper of the sensible substance, I mean of water, saves,—and that which is born, doth not perish." I will not descant upon these or any other words of the fathers I allege; for if of their own natural intent they do not teach our doctrine, I am content they should pass for nothing.

26. St. Epiphanius,[x] affirming a man to be like God, πάντες τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, "in some image or similitude, not according to nature," illustrates it by the similitude of the blessed sacrament: "We see that our Saviour took into his hands, as the evangelist hath it, that he arose from supper, and took those things; and when he had given thanks, he said, 'This is mine, and this;' we see it is not equal, it is not like, not to the image in the flesh, not to the invisible Deity, not to the proportion of members; for this is a round form, καὶ ἀναίσθητον ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν, and cannot perceive any thing, or is 'insensible according to power' or faculty, and he would by grace say, 'This is mine, and this;' and every man believes the word that is spoken; for he that believeth not him to be true, is fallen from grace and salvation." —Now the force of Epiphanius's argument, consisting in this, that we are like to God after his image, but yet not according to nature, as the sacramental bread is like the body of Christ,—it is plain, that the sacramental species are the body of Christ, and his blood, κατ' εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, "according to the image or representment, not according to nature," but according to grace.

25. Macarius's words are plain enough:[y] Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μέταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι· "In the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and of his blood; and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ."

26. St. Gregory Nazianzen,[z] speaking of the pascha, saith, "Jam potestatis participes erimus," &c. "Now we shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law. For the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure."

St. Ambrose is of the same persuasion. "Fac

[s] A. D. 190.
[t] Lib. viii. de Monst. Evang. c. 1. lib. 1. c. ult.
[u] S. Ephrem. de sacris Antioch. Legibus apud Phot. lib. i. co. 229. Scotus Jesuita exponit ἐξίσταται "cognoscitur," contra sensum loci.
[x] In Ancorato. [y] Homil. 27. [z] Orat. 2. in Pasc.

nobis hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi:"[a] "Make this ascribed oblation reasonable and acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."—And again, "Mira potentia," &c. "It is a wonderful power of God, which makes that the bread should remain what it is, and yet be changed into another thing."—And again,[b] "How much more operative is the word of Christ, that the things be what they were, and yet be changed into another! and so that which was bread before consecration, now is the body of Christ."—"Hoc tamen impossibile est, ut panis sit corpus Christi; sed hæc verba ad sanum intellectum sunt intelligenda, ita solvit Hugo," saith the gloss in Gratian:[c] which is an open defiance of the doctrine of St. Ambrose, affirming it to be impossible. But because these words pinch severely, they have retrenched the decisive words, and leave out "et sint," and make them to run thus, "that the things be—changed into another;" which corruption is discovered by the citation of these words in Paschasius, Guitmond, Bertram, Algerus, Ivo Carnotensis, Gratian, and Lombard. But in another place he calls the mystical chalice "the type of the blood;"[d] and that "Christ is offered here, 'in imagine,' in type, image, or representation; 'in cœlo, in veritate,' the truth, the substance is in heaven."—And again, "This, therefore, truly is the sacrament of his flesh. Our Lord Jesus himself says, this is my body. Before the blessing by the words it was named another species (or kind); after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified."[e]

27. St. Chrysostom is brought on both sides, and his rhetoric hath cast him on the Roman side, but it also bears him beyond it; and his divinity and sober opinions have fixed him on ours. How to answer the expressions hyperbolical, which he often uses, is easy, by the use of rhetoric and customs of the words: but I know not how any man can sensibly answer these words, "For as before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread, but the Divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it."[f] To the same purpose are those words on the twenty-second Psalm, published amongst his works; though, possibly, they were of some other of that time, or before, or after; it matters not to us, but much to them: for if he be later, and yet esteemed a catholic, (as it is certain he was, and the man awhile supposed to be St. Chrysostom,) it is the great evidence, that it was long before the church received their doctrine. The words are these: "That table he hath prepared to his servants and his maidens in their sight; that he might, every day, show us in the sacrament, according to the order of Melchizedeck, bread and wine to the likeness of the body and blood of Christ."[g] To the same purpose is that saying in the homilies of whoever is the author of that "opus imperfectum" upon St. Matthew: "Si igitur hæc vasa," &c. "If, therefore, these vessels being sanctified, it be so dangerous to transfer them to private uses, in which the body of Christ is not, but the mystery of his body is contained; how much more concerning the vessels of our bodies," &c. Now against these testimonies, they make an outcry that they are not St. Chrysostom's works,—and for this last, the book is corrupted, and, they think, in this place by some one of Berengarius's scholars; for they cannot tell. Fain they would believe it; but this kind of talk is a resolution not to yield, but to proceed against all evidence; for that this place is not corrupted, but was originally the sense of the author of the homilies, is highly credible by the faith of all the old manuscripts; and there is in the public library of Oxford an excellent manuscript, very ancient, that makes faith in this particular; but that some one of their scholars might have left these words out of some of their copies, were no great wonder, though I do not find they did, but that they foisted in a marginal note, affirming that these words are not in all old copies; an affirmation very confident, but as the case stands, to very little purpose. But, upon this account, nothing can be proved from sayings of fathers. For either they are not their own works, but made by another; or, 2. they are capable of another sense; or, 3. the places are corrupted by heretics; or, 4. it is not in some old copies; which pretences I am content to let alone, if they, upon this account, will but transact the question wholly by Scripture and common sense. 5. It matters not at all what he is, so he was not esteemed a heretic; and that he was not it is certain, since, by themselves, these books are put among the works of St. Chrysostom, and themselves can quote them when they seem to do them service. All that I infer from hence is this, that whensoever these books were written, some man, esteemed a good catholic, was not of the Roman persuasion in the matter of the sacrament; therefore, their opinion is not catholic. But that St. Chrysostom may not be drawn from his right of giving testimony and interpretation of his words in other places; in his twenty-third homily upon the first of the Corinthians, which are undoubtedly his own: he saith, "As thou eatest the body of the Lord, so they (viz. the faithful in the Old Testament) did eat manna: as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift, and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith."

28. The next I produce for evidence in this case is St. Austin, concerning whom it is so evident that he is a protestant in this article, that, truly, it is a

[a] De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 5. [b] Ibid. c. 4.
[c] De Consec. dist. 2. Panis est. [d] In 1 Cor. xi.
[e] De Offic. lib. 1. c. 48. Lib. de Initiat. c. 9.

[f] Ep. ad Cæsar. cont. Hæres. Apollinarii citat. per Damascen. et per collect. sent. patrum contrà Severianos edit. per Turrian.
[g] Hom. 11. in St. Matt.

strange boldness to deny it; and upon equal terms, no man's mind in the world can be known; for if all that he says in this question shall be reconciled to transubstantiation, I know no reason but it may be possible, but a witty man may pretend, when I am dead, that in this discourse I have pleaded for the doctrine of the Roman church. I will set his words down nakedly, without any gloss upon them, and let them do by themselves as much as they can. "Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem," [h] &c. "For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, they were no sacraments at all. But from this similitude, for the most part, they receive the things themselves. As therefore, according to a certain manner, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is." Now suppose a stranger to the tricks of the Roman doctors, a wise and a discerning man, should read these words in St. Austin, and weigh them diligently, and compare them with all the adjacent words and circumstances of the place, I would desire reasonably to be answered, on which side he would conclude St. Austin to be? if, in any other place, he speaks words contrary, that is his fault or forgetfulness; but if the contrary had been the doctrine of the church, he could never have so forgotten his religion and communion, as so openly to have declared a contrary sense to the same article. "Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis," [i] &c. "You are not to eat this body which you see," so he brings in Christ speaking to his disciples, "or to drink that blood, which my crucifiers shall pour forth: I have commended to you a sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you;"— and "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the figure of his body and blood:" [k]—"For he did not doubt to say,[l] This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body."— "Quod ab omnibus sacrificium appellatur," [m] &c. "That which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ after his assumption, is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrances." But concerning St. Austin's doctrine, I shall refer him that desires to be further satisfied, to no other record than their own canon law. [n] Which, not only from St. Austin, but from divers others, produces testimonies so many, so pertinent, so full for our doctrine, and against the dream of transubstantiation, that it is to me a wonder, why it is not clapped into the "Indices Expurgatorii,"— for it speaks very many truths beyond the cure of their glosses; which they have changed and altered several times. But that this matter concerning St. Austin may be yet clearer, his own third book, "De Doctrinâ Christianâ," is so plain for us in this question, that when Frudegardus, in the time of Charles the Bald, had, upon occasion of the dispute, which then began to be hot and interested in this question, read this book of St. Austin, he was changed to the opinion of a spiritual and mysterious presence; and upon occasion of that his being persuaded by St. Austin, Paschasius Ratherdus wrote to him, as of a question then doubted of by many persons, as is to be seen in his epistle to Frudegardus. I end this of St. Austin with those words of his, which he intends by way of rule for expounding these and the like words of Scripture taken out of this book "of christian doctrine;" "Locutio preceptiva," [o] &c. "A preceptive speech, forbidding a crime or commanding something good or profitable, is not figurative; but if it seems to command a crime, or forbid a good, then it is figurative: 'unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,' &c. seems to command a wickedness, it is therefore a figure commanding us to communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay it up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us." I shall not need to urge that this holy sacrament is called "Eucharistia carnis et sanguinis," "The eucharist of the body and blood," by Irenæus;—"Corpus symbolicum et typicum," by Origen;—"In typo sanguis;" by St. Jerome;—"similitudo, figura, typus, *ἀντίτυπον*, images, enigmas, representations, expressions, exemplars," of the passion, by divers others: that which I shall note here is this, that in the council of Constantinople [p] it was publicly professed, that the sacrament is not the body of Christ *φύσει*, but *θέσει*, "not by nature, but by representment;" for so it is expounded. Τὸ *θέσει ἤτοι ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἁγία*, "the holy image of it," and Τῆς *εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον ὡς ἀψευδῆ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς*, "the eucharistical bread is the true image of the natural flesh," and *ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, and *ἀψευδῆς αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐν σάρκι οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ*· "A figure or image delivered by God, of his flesh; and a true image of the incarnate dispensation of Christ." [q] These things are found in the third tome of the sixth action of the second Nicene council, where a pert deacon, ignorant and confident, had boldly said, that none of the apostles or fathers had ever called the sacrament the "image" of Christ's body: that they were called *ἀντίτυπα*, "antitypes," before consecration, he grants; but after consecration they are called, and are, and are believed to be, the body and blood of Christ properly; which, I suppose, he might have learned of Damascene, who, in opposition to the Iconoclasts, would not endure the word "type," or "image," to be used concerning the holy sacrament; for they would admit no other image but that: he, in defiance of them who had excommunicated him for a worshipper of images, and a half Saracen, would admit any image but that; but denied that to be an image or type of Christ. [r] For Christ said not, This is the type of my body, but it is it. But, however, this new question began to brangle the words of type and antitype, and the manner of speaking began to be changed, yet the article, as yet, was not changed. For the

[h] Ep. ad Bonifac.
[i] In Psal. xcviii.
[k] In Psal. iii.
[l] Cont. Adimant. c. 12.
[m] Contr. Faustum Manich. lib. x. c. 2.
[n] De Consecrat. d. 2.
[o] Lib. iii. c. 15, 16.
[p] A. D. 754. of 338. B. B.
[q] Vide Concil. General. tom. iii. p. 599. edit. Rom.
[r] De Fide, lib. iv. c. 14.

fathers used the words of type, and antitype, and image, &c. to exclude the natural sense of the sacramental body; and Damascene, and Anastasius Sinaita, and some others of that age, began to refuse those words, lest the sacrament be thought to be nothing of reality, nothing but an image. And that this really was the sense of Damascene, appears by his words recited in the acts of the second council of Nice, affirming, that the Divine bread is made Christ's body by assumption and inhabitation of the Spirit of Christ, in the same manner as water is made the laver of regeneration. But, however they were pleased to speak in the Nicene assembly, yet, in the Roman edition of the councils, the publishers and collectors were wiser, and put on this marginal note: *ἀντίτυπα μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι πολλάκις εὕρεται καλούμενα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα*· "The holy gifts are oftentimes called types and figures even after consecration;"—particularly by Gregory Nazianzen,[s] and St. Cyril of Jerusalem.[t] I remember only one thing objected to this testimony of so many bishops, that they were iconoclasts or breakers of images, and therefore not to be trusted in any other article. So Bellarmine, as I remember. But this is just as if I should say, that I ought to refuse the Lateran council, because they were worshippers of images, or defenders of purgatory. Surely if I should, I had much more reason to refuse their sentence, than there is that the Greeks should be rejected upon so slight a pretence; nay, for doing that which, for aught appears, was, in all their circumstances, their duty in a high measure; so that, in effect, they are refused for being good christians. But after this, it happened again, that the words of "type" and "image" were disliked in the question of the holy sacrament, by the emperor Charles the Great, his tutor Alcuinus, and the assembly at Frankfort; but it was in opposition to the council of Constantinople, that called it the true image of Christ's body, and of the Nicene council, who decreed the worship of images; for if the sacrament were an image, as they of Constantinople said, then it might be lawful to give reverence and worship to some images: for although these two synods were enemies to each other, yet the proposition of one might serve the design of the other: but therefore the western doctors of that age, speaking against the decree of this, did also mislike the expression of that; meaning, that the sacrament is not a type or image, as a type is taken for a prefiguration, a shadow of things to come, like the legal ceremonies, but in opposition to that is a body and a truth; yet still it is a sacrament of the body, a mystery which is the same in effect with that which the fathers taught in their so frequent using these words of type, &c. for seven hundred and fifty years together. And concerning this, I only note the words of Charles the emperor, "Ep. ad Alcuinum" after the synod: "Our Lord hath given the bread and the chalice 'in figurâ corporis sui et sui sanguinis,' 'in the figure of his body and blood.'" But setting the authority aside, for if these men of Constantinople be not allowed, yet the others are, and it is notorious that the Greek fathers did frequently call the bread and wine *ἀντίτυπα, σύμβολα, μυστήρια, εἰκόνας*, and the Latin fathers call them "signs, similitudes, figures, types, images," therefore there must be something pretended to stop this great outcry and insupportable prejudice of so great, so clear authority. After many trials, as that by "antitypes" they mean "exemplars,"—that it is only before consecration, not after,—and such other little devices, of which they themselves quickly grew weary; at last, the craftiest of them came to this, that the body of Christ, under the species, might well be said to be the sign of the same body and blood, as it was on the cross; so Bellarmine;[u] that is the answer; and that they are hard put to it, you may guess by the meanness of the answer. For besides that "nothing can be like itself," "idem non est simile;"[x] the body, as it is under the species, is glorified, immortal, invisible, impassible, indivisible, insensible; and this is it which he affirms to be "the sign," that is, which is appointed to signify and represent a body that was humbled, tormented, visible, mortal, sensible, torn, bleeding, and dying; so that here is a sign nothing like the thing signified, and an invisible sign of a visible body, which is the greatest absurdity in nature, and in the use of things, which is imaginable; but besides this, this answer, if it were a proper and sensible account of any thing, yet it is beside the mark; for that the fathers in these allegations affirm, that the species are the signs, that is, that bread and wine, or the whole sacrament, is a sign of that body, which is exhibited in effect and spiritual power: they dreamt not this dream; it was long before themselves did dream it: they that were but the day before them, having, as I noted before, other fancies. I deny not but the sacramental body is the sign of the true body crucified; but that the body glorified should be but a sign of the true body crucified, is a device fit for themselves to fancy. To this sense are those words cited by Lombard and Gratian, out of St. Austin, in the sentences of Prosper: "Caro ejus est quam formâ panis opertam in sacramento accipimus, sanguis quem sub specie vini potamus: caro, viz. carnis, et sanguis sacramentum est sanguinis, carne et sanguine utroque invisibili et intelligibili et spirituali significatur corpus Christi visibile plenum gratiæ et Divinæ majestatis;" that is, "It is his flesh which, under the form of bread, we receive in the sacrament, and, under the form of wine, we drink his blood." Now that you may understand his meaning, he tells you this is true in the "sacramental or spiritual sense only;" for he adds, "flesh is the sacrament of flesh, and blood of blood; by both flesh and blood, which are invisible, intelligible, and spiritual, is signified the visible body of Christ, full of grace and Divine majesty." In which words here is a plain confutation of their main article, and of this whimsey of theirs. For as to the particular, whereas Bellarmine says,[y] that Christ's

[s] In Apolog. et Orat. Funebr. pro Gorg.
[t] Mystag. Catech. 5.
[u] De Euch. lib. ii. c. 15.
[x] Nemo est sui ipsius imago. St. Hilar. lib. de Synod. Quod simile est non est illud cui est simile. St. Athanas contr. Hypocr. Meleti.
[y] Ubi supra.

body real and natural, is the type of the body as it was crucified, St. Austin says, that the natural body is a type of that body which is glorified, not the glorified body of the crucified. 2. That which is a type, is flesh in a spiritual sense, not in a natural; and, therefore, it can mean nothing but this, that the sacramental body is a figure and type of the real: ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι. And this thing is noted by the gloss of Gratian;[z] "Caro, *i. e.* species carnis, sub quâ latet corpus Christi," &c. "The flesh, that is, the species of it under which it lies, are the sacrament of the flesh:"—so that the being of a sacrament of Christ's body is wholly relative to the symbols, not to the body; as if the body were his own sign and his own sacrament.

30. Next to this heap of testimonies, I must repeat the words of Theodoret and Gelasius, which though known in this whole question, yet being plain, certain, and unanswerable, relying upon a great article of the religion, even the union of the two natures of Christ into one person, without the change of substances, must be as sacred and untouched by any trifling answer, as the article itself ought to be preserved. The case was this: the Eutychian heretics denied the natures of Christ to be united in one person, that is, they denied him to be both God and man, saying, his humanity was taken into his Divinity after his ascension. The fathers disputing against them, say, the substances remain entire, though joined in the person. The Eutychians said this was impossible.[a] But as, in the sacrament, the bread was changed into Christ's body, so, in the ascension, was the humanity turned into the Divinity. To this, Theodoret answers in a dialogue between the Eutychians, under the name of Eranistes, and himself the Orthodox:[b] "Christ honoured the symbols and signs, which are seen, with the title of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace." The words are not capable of an answer, if we observe that he says, there is no change made, but only grace superadded; in all things else, the things are the same. And again: "For neither do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched: so the humanity of Christ,"[c] &c.; and a little after: "So that body of Christ hath the ancient form, figure, superscription, and (to speak the sum of all) the substance of the body, although after the resurrection it be immortal and free from all corruption:" now these words spoken upon this occasion, to this purpose, in direct opposition to a contradicting person, but casting his article wholly upon supposition of a substantial change, and opposing to him a ground contrary to his upon which only he builds his answer, cannot be eluded by any little pretence. Bellarmine and the lesser people from him, answer, that "by nature" he understands the exterior qualities of nature, such as colour, taste, weight, smell, &c. 1. I suppose this, but does he mean so by "substantia" too? οὐσία. Does he by "substance" mean "accidents?" but suppose that a while, yet, 2. If he had answered thus, how had Theodoret confuted the Eutychians? For thus says Eranistes; "As the bread is changed in substance into the body of Christ, so is the humanity into the Divinity:" yea, but says Theodoret, according to Bellarmine, "The substances of bread are not changed; for the colour, the shape, the bigness, and the smell remain:" or thus, "the accidents remain, which I call substance; for there are two sorts of substances; substances and accidents;" and this latter sort of substances remain; but not the former; and so you are confuted, Eranistes.—But what if Eranistes should reply; "If you say all of bread is changed excepting the accidents, then my argument holds: for I only contend that the substance of the humanity is changed, as you say the substance of bread is:" to this nothing can be said, unless Theodoret may have leave to answer as otherwise men must. But now Theodoret answered, "that the substance of bread is not changed, but remains still, and by substance he did mean substance, and not the accidents;" for if he had, he had not spoken sense. Either, therefore, the testimony of Theodoret remaineth unsatisfied by our adversaries, or the argument of the Eutychians is unanswered by Theodoret. 3. Theodoret, in these places, opposes nature to grace, and says, all remains without any change but of grace. 4. He also explicates nature by substance, so that it is a substantial nature he must mean. 5. He distinguishes substance from form and figure, and therefore, by substance cannot mean form and figure, as Bellarmine dreams. 6. He affirms concerning the body of Christ, that in the resurrection it is changed in accidents, being made incorruptible and immortal, but affirms that the substance remains; therefore, by substance, he must mean, as he speaks, without any prodigious sense affixed to the word. 7. Let me observe this by the way, that the doctrine of the substantial change of bread into the body of Christ, was the persuasion of the heretic, the Eutychian Eranistes, but denied by the catholic Theodoret; so that, if they will pretend to antiquity in this doctrine, their plea is made ready and framed by the Eutychian, from whom they may, if they please, derive the original of their doctrine, —or, if they please, from the elder Marcosites; but it will be but vain to think, the Eutychian did argue from thence, as if it had been a catholic ground; reason we might have had to suppose it, if the catholic had not denied it. But the case is plain: as the Sadducees disputed with Christ about the article of no spirits, no resurrection, though, in the church of the Jews, the contrary was the more prevailing opinion; so did the Eutychians upon a pretence of a substantial conversion in the sacrament, which was then their fancy, and devised to illustrate their other opinion; but it was disavowed by the catholics.

31. Gelasius[d] was engaged against the same persons in the same cause, and therefore it will be needful to say nothing, but to describe his words.

[z] De Consecrat. d. 2. c. Hoc est quod.
[a] Alphons. à Castro de Hæres. Eutych. [b] Dial i. c. 8.
[c] Dial. 2. c. 21.
[d] Gelasius de duabus Naturis cont. Eutychetem et Nestor.

For they must have the same efficacy with the former, and prevail equally. "Certè sacramenta," &c. "Truly the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are a Divine thing; for that by them we are made partakers of the Divine nature; and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ, are celebrated in the action of the mysteries." These are his words; concerning which this only is to be considered, beyond what I suggested concerning Theodoret: that although the word *οὐσία* in the Greek, which we render "substantia," might be apt to receive divers interpretations, though in his discourse he confined it to his proper meaning, (as appears above,)—yet, in Gelasius, who was a Latin author, the word "substantia" is not capable of it; and I think there is no example, where "substantia" is taken for an accidental nature. It may, as all other words can, suffer alterations by tropes and figures, but never signify grammatically any thing but itself, and his usual significations: and if there be among us any use of lexicons or vocabularies, if there be any notices conveyed to men by forms of speech, then we are sure in these things: and there is no reason we should suffer ourselves to be out-faced out of the use of our senses, and our reason, and our language. It is usually here replied, that Gelasius was an obscurer person, bishop of Cæsarea, and not pope of Rome, as is supposed. I answer, 1. That he was bishop of Rome that wrote the book, out of which these words are taken, is affirmed in the Bibliotheca Patrum, approved by the theological faculty in Paris, 1576: and Massonius "de episcopis urbis Romæ," in the life of Pope Gelasius, saith, that Pope John cited the book "de duabus Naturis," —and by Fulgentius it is so too. 2. But suppose he was not pope, that he was a catholic bishop is not denied; and that he lived above a thousand years ago; which is all I require in this business. For any other bishop may speak truth as well as the bishop of Rome; and his truth shall be of equal interest and persuasion. But so strange a resolution men have taken to defend their own opinions, that they will, in despite of all sense and reason, say something to every thing, and that shall be an answer whether it can or no.

32. After all this, it is needless to cite authorities from the later ages: it were indeed easy to heap up many, and those not obscure either in their name or in their testimony. Such as Facundus, bishop of Hermian, in Africa, in the year 552, in his ninth book and last chapter written in defence of Theod. Mopsuest. &c., hath these words, "The sacrament of his body and blood, we call his body and blood: not that bread is properly his body, or the cup his blood; but that they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood."—Isidore,[e] bishop of Sevil, says, "Panis, quem frangimus," &c. "The bread which we break, is the body of Christ, who saith, 'I am the living bread.' But the wine is his blood, and that is it which is written, 'I am the true vine.' But bread, because it strengthens our body, therefore it is called the body of Christ; but wine, because it makes blood in our flesh, therefore it is reduced or referred to the blood of Christ. But these visible things, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, pass into the sacrament of the Divine body." Suidas in the word Ἐκκλησία· *σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς· καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἱερατεύει ὡς ἄνθρωπος· δέχεται δὲ τὰ προσφερόμενα ὡς Θεός· προσφέρει δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος σύμβολα, πᾶν τὸ φύραμα διὰ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἁγιάζουσα,* "Christ calls the church his body; and by her, as a man, he ministers: but as he is God, he receives what is offered. But the church offers the symbols of his body and blood, sanctifying the whole mass by the first fruits." "Symbola," i. e. "signa," says the Latin version. The bread and wine are "the signs" of his body and his blood. Σύμβολα, *σημεῖα*, so Suidas. Hesychius[f] speaking of this mystery, affirms, "Quòd simul panis et caro est;" "It is both bread and flesh too."—Fulgentius saith, "Hic calix est Novum Testamentum," i. e. "Hic calix, quem vobis trado, Novum Testamentum significat:" "This cup is the New Testament, that is, it signifies it." *Παρέδωκε γὰρ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς,* said Procopius[g] of Gaza: "He gave to his disciples the image of his own body;" *σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια,* said the scholiast upon Dionysius, the Areopagite; "These things are symbols, and not the truth, or verity:"—and he said it upon occasion of the same doctrine, which his author[h] (whom he explicates) taught in that chapter; *ἐπιτεθέντων τῷ Θείῳ Θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων, δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ μετέχεται,* &c. "The Divine symbols being placed upon the altar, by which Christ is signified and participated."—But this only I shall remark, that transubstantiation is so far from having been the primitive doctrine, that it was among catholics fiercely disputed in the time of Charles the Bald, about the year 880. Paschasius wrote for the substantial conversion: Rabanus maintained the contrary in his answer to Heribaldus, and in his writing to Abbot Egilo. There lived in the same time, in the court of Charles the emperor,[i] a countryman of ours, John Scot, called by some Johannes Erigena, who wrote a book against the substantial change in the sacrament; he lived also sometimes in England with King Alfred, and was surnamed "the wise,"[k] and was a martyr, saith Possevinus,—and was in the Roman calendar; his day was the fourth of the ides of November, as is to be seen in the martyrology published at Antwerp, 1586. But when the controversy grew public and noted, Charles the Bald commanded Bertram or Ratran to write upon the question, being of the monastery of Corbey: he did so, and defended our doctrine against Paschasius: the book is extant, and may be read by him that desires it; but it is so entire and dogmatical against the substantial change, which was the new doctrine of Paschasius, that

[e] Isidorus Hisp. lib. i. de offic. c. 18.
[f] Lib. xx. in Levit. c. 8.
[g] In Gen. xlix.
[h] In Eccles. hier. c. 3. Dionys. Eccles. hier. c. 3.
[i] A. D. 880.
[k] Apparat. tit. Johannes cognomento Sapiens

Turrian[l] gives this account of it, to cite Bertram, what is it else but to say that Calvin's heresy is not new? "And the Belgic expurgatory Index[m] professeth to use it with the same equity, which it useth to other catholic writers, in whom they tolerate many errors and extenuate or excuse them, and sometimes by inventing some device they do deny it, and put some fit sense to them when they are opposed in disputation; and this they do, lest the heretics should talk that they forbid and burn books that make against them." You see the honesty of the men; and the justness of their proceedings; but the Spanish expurgatory Index forbids the book wholly, with a "penitus auferatur."

I shall only add this, that, in the church of England, Bertram's doctrine prevailed longer; and till Lanfranck's time, it was permitted to follow Bertram or Paschasius. And when Osbern wrote the lives of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan, and Elphege, by the command of Lanfranck,—he says, that in Odo's time, some clergymen affirmed in the sacrament bread and wine to remain in substance, and to be Christ's body only in figure; and tells how the archbishop prayed, and blood dropped out of the host over the chalice, and so his clerks, which then assisted at mass, and were of another opinion, were convinced, This though he writes to please Lanfranck, (who first gave authority to this opinion in England,) and according to the opinion which then prevailed, yet it is an irrefragable testimony, that it was but a disputed article in Odo's time; no catholic doctrine, no article of faith, nor of a good while after; for however these clerks were fabulously reported to be changed at Odo's miracle, who could not convince them by the law and the prophets, by the gospels and epistles; yet his successor, he that was the fourth after him, I mean Ælfrick, abbot of St. Albans,[n] and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in his Saxon Homily, written above 600 years since, disputes the question, and determines in the words of Bertram only for a spiritual presence, not natural, or substantial. The book was printed at London by John Day, and with it a letter of Ælfrick to Wulfin, bishop of Schirburn, to the same purpose. His words are these: "That housel (that is, the blessed sacrament) is Christ's body, not bodily, but spiritually, not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housel the night before his suffering, and said by the blessed bread, 'This is my body.'" And in a writing to the archbishop of York, he said, "The Lord halloweth daily, by the hand of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in."—I end this with the words of the gloss upon the canon law;[o] "Cœleste sacramentum, quod verè repræsentat Christi carnem, dicitur corpus Christi, sed impropriè; unde dicitur suo modo, scilicet, non rei veritate, sed significati mysterio; ut sit sensus, vocatur Christi corpus, *i. e.* significatur;" "The heavenly sacrament, which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ; but improperly; therefore, it is said (meaning in the canon taken out of St. Austin) after the manner, to wit, not in the truth of the thing, but in the mystery of that which is signified; so that the meaning is, it is called Christ body, that is, Christ's body is signified;" which the church of Rome well expresses in an ancient hymn:

Sub duabus speciebus
Signis tantùm et non rebus
Latent res eximiæ.

"Excellent things lie under the two species of bread and wine, which are only signs, not the things whereof they are signs."—But the Lateran council struck all dead; before which, "Transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei," said Scotus, "it was no article of faith;"—and how it can be afterwards, since Christ is only the author and finisher of our faith, and therefore, all faith was delivered from the beginning, is a matter of highest danger and consideration. But yet this also I shall interpose, if it may do any service in the question, or help to remove a prejudice from our adversaries, who are borne up by the authority of that council; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not determined by the great Lateran council. The word was first invented by Stephen, bishop of Augustodunum, about the year 1100, or a little after, in his book "De Sacramento Altaris;" and the word did so please Pope Innocentius III., that he inserted it into one of the 70 canons, which he proposed to the Lateran council, A. D. 1215: which canons they heard read, but determined nothing concerning them, as Matthew Paris, Platina, and Nauclerus, witness. But they got reputation by being inserted by Gregory IX. into his "Decretals," which yet he did not in the name of the council, but of Innocentius to the council. But the first that ever published these canons under the name of the Lateran council, was Johannes Cochlæus, A. D. 1538. But the article was determined at Rome, 36 years after that council, by a general council of 54 prelates, and no more. And this was the first authority or countenance it had; Stephen christened the article, and gave the name, and this congregation confirmed it.

SECTION XIII.

Of Adoration of the Sacrament.

WHEN a proposition goes no further than the head and the tongue, it can carry nothing with it but his own appendages, viz. to be right or to be wrong, and the man to be deceived or not deceived in his judgment: but when it hath influence upon practice, it puts on a new investiture, and is tolerable

[l] 1599. [m] A. D. 1571. Antwerp.

[n] Capgrave calls him Abbot of St. Albans. Malmesb. saith, he was of Malmesbury, A. D. 996.

[o] De Consecrat. d. 2. Hoc est. Lugduni. 1518.

or intolerable, according as it leads to actions good or bad. Now, in all the questions of christendom, nothing is of greater effect or more material event, than this. For since by the decree of the council of Trent,[a] they are bound to exhibit to the sacrament the same worship, which they give to the true God, either this sacrament is Jesus Christ, or else they are very idolaters; I mean materially such, even while, in their purposes, they decline it. I will not quarrel with the words of the decree commanding to give Divine worship to the sacrament;[b] which by the definition of their own schools, is "an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace," and so they worship the sign and the grace with the worship due to God: but that which I insist upon, is this; that if they be deceived in this difficult question, against which there lie such infinite presumptions and evidence of sense, and invincible reason, and grounds of Scripture,—and in which they are condemned by the primitive church, and by the common principles of all philosophy, and the nature of things,—and the analogy of the sacrament,—for which they had no warrant ever, till they made one of their own,—which themselves so little understand, that they know not how to explicate it,—nor agree in their own meaning, nor cannot tell well what they mean;—if, I say, they be deceived in their own strict article, besides the strict sense of which there are so many ways of verifying the words of Christ, upon which all sides do rely; then it is certain they commit an act of idolatry in giving Divine honour to a mere creature, which is the image, the sacrament, and representment of the body of Christ: and at least, it is not certain that they are right; there are certainly very great probabilities against them, which ought to abate their confidence in the article; and though I am persuaded, that the arguments against them are unanswerable;—for if I did not think so, then I shall be able to answer them, and if I were not able to answer, I would not seek to persuade others by that which does not persuade me;—yet all indifferent persons, that is, all those who will suffer themselves to be determined by something besides interest and education, must needs say they cannot be certain they are right, against whom there are so many arguments, that they are in the wrong: the commandment to worship God alone is so express,—the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast,—the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable,—that it is infinitely to be presumed, that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the holy sacrament, the holy Scripture would have called it "God," or "Jesus Christ,"—or have bidden us, in express terms, to have adored it; that either by the first, as by a reason indicative,—or by the second, as by a reason imperative,—we might have had sufficient warrant direct or consequent, to have paid a divine worship. Now that there is no implicit warrant in the sacramental words of "This is my body," I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be sacramental and figurative. Add to this; that supposing Christ present in their senses, yet as they have ordered the business, they have made it superstitious and idololatrical; for they declare that the Divine worship does belong also to the symbols of bread and wine, as being "one with Christ;" they are the words of Bellarmine;[c]—that even the species also with Christ are to be adored; so Suarez:—which doctrine might, upon the supposal of their grounds, be excused; if, as Claudius de Sainctes dreamed, they and the body of Christ had but one existence; but this themselves admit not of, but he is confuted by Suarez. But then let it be considered, that since those species or accidents are not inherent in the holy body, nor have their existence from it, but wholly subsist by themselves, (as they dream,) since, between them and the holy body there is no substantial, no personal union, it is not imaginable how they can pass Divine worship to those accidents which are not in the body, nor the same with the body, but by an impossible supposition subsist of themselves, and were proper to bread, and now not communicable to Christ, and yet not commit idolatry: especially since the Nestorians were by the fathers called *ἀνθρωπολάτραι*, or "worshippers of a man;" because they worshipped the humanity of Christ, which they supposed, not to be personally, but habitually united to the Divinity.

2. But secondly: suppose that the article were true in "thesi," and, that the bread in consecration was changed, as they suppose; yet it is to be considered, that that which is practicable in this article, is yet made as uncertain and dangerous as before. For, by many defects, secret and insensible, by many notorious and evident, the change may be hindered, and the symbols still remain as very bread and wine as ever, and rob God of his honour. For, if the priest errs in reciting the words of consecration, by addition, or diminution, or alteration, or longer interruption; if he do but say, "Hoc est corpus meum," for "corpus meum"—or "meum corpus" for "corpus meum;" or, if he do but as the priest that Agrippa[d] tells of, that said, "Hæc sunt corpora mea," lest, consecrating many hosts, he should speak false Latin: if either the priest be timorous, surprised, or intemperate,—in all these cases, the priest and the people too, worship nothing but bread. And some of these are the more considerable, I mean, those defectibilities in pronunciation; because, the priest always speaking[e] the words of consecration in a secret voice, not to be heard; none of the people can have any notice whether he speaks the words so sufficiently as to secure them from worshipping a piece of bread. If none of all these happen, yet, if he do not intend to consecrate all, but some, and yet know not which to omit; if he do intend but to mock; if he be a secret atheist, a Moor,

[a] Sess. 13. c. 5.

[b] Tantum ergo sacramentum adoremus cernui.—Hymn. in Miss.

[c] Lib. iv. de Euch. c. 29. tom. 2. in 3. Thom. disp. 65. sect. 1.

[d] De Vanit. Scien. c. 3.

[e] Concil. Trid. Sess. 22. can. 9. Ledesmo ait Sacerdotem isto Canone prohiberi clarâ voce eloqui verba consecrationis descriptor: quâvis linguâ non legendis——

or a Jew; if he be an impious person, and laugh at the sacrament; if he do not intend to do as the church does; that is, if his intention be neither actual, nor real; then, in all these cases, the people give Divine worship to that which is nothing but bread: but if none of all this happen, yet, if he be not a priest, "quod sæpe accidit," saith Pope Adrianus VI., "in quæst. quodlib. q. 3." it often happens, that the priest feigns himself to celebrate, and does not celebrate; or feigns himself to celebrate, and is no priest; if he be not baptized rightly; if there was in his person, as by being simoniack, or irregular, a bastard, or bigamus, or any other impediment, which he can, or cannot know of; if there was any defect in his baptism, or ordinations, or in the baptism and ordination of him that ordained him, or in all the succession from the head of the διαδοχή, from the apostles that first began the series;—in all these cases, it cannot but be acknowledged by their own doctrine, that the consecration is invalid and ineffective, the product is nothing, but a piece of bread is made the object of the Divine worship. Well! suppose that none of all this happens, yet there are many defects in respect of the matter also: as if the bread be corrupted; or the wine be vinegar; if it be mingled with any other substance but water; or if the water be the prevailing ingredient; or if the bread be not wheat; or the wine be of sour, or be of unripe grapes; in all these cases nothing is changed, but bread remains still, λιτὸς ἄρτος, "mere bread," and "mere wine;" and yet they are worshipped by Divine adoration.

3. Thirdly: When certain of the society of Jesuits were to die by the laws of England, in the beginning of King James's reign; it was asked them, whether, if they might have leave to say mass, they would to the people standing by, for the confirmation of their doubt, and to convert them, say these words: "Unless this whole species you see in the chalice, be the same blood, which did flow out of the side of the crucifix, or of Christ hanging on the cross,—let there be no part for me in the blood of Christ, or in Christ himself to eternal ages:" and so, with these words in their mouths, yield to death; they all denied it, none of them would take such a sacrament upon them. And when Garnet, that unhappy man, was tempted to the same sense; he answered, "that a man might well doubt of the particular." No man was bound to believe that any one priest in particular, now, or at any one certain time, does consecrate effectively;[f] but that the bread is transubstantiated some where or other, at some time or other, by some priest or other. This I receive from the relation of a wise prelate,[g] a great and a good man, whose memory is precious, and is had in honour. But the effect of this is, that transubstantiation, supposing the doctrine true, (as it is most false,) yet in practice is uncertain; but the giving it Divine worship is certain; the change is believed only in general, but it is worshipped in particular; concerning which, whether it be any thing more than bread, it is impossible, without a revelation, they should know. These, then, are very ill, and deeply to be considered; for certain it is, "God is a jealous God," and, therefore, will be impatient of every encroachment upon his peculiar. And then for us, as we must pray with faith, and without doubting, so it is fit we should worship; and yet in this case, and upon these premises, no man can choose but doubt; and, therefore, he cannot, he ought not, to worship; "Quod dubitas, ne feceris."

4. I will not censure, concerning the men that do it, or consider concerning the action, whether it be formal idolatry or no. God is their judge and mine, and I beg he would be pleased to have mercy upon us all; but yet they that are interested for their own particulars, ought to fear and consider these things. 1. That no man, without his own fault, can mistake a creature so far, as to suppose him to be a God. 2. That when the heathens worshipped the sun and moon, they did it upon their confidence that they were gods; and would not have given to them Divine honours, if they had thought otherwise. 3. That the distinction of material and formal idolatry, though it have a place in philosophy, because the understanding can consider an act with his error, and yet separate the parts of the consideration; yet hath no place in divinity; because, in things of so great concernment, it cannot but be supposed highly agreeable to the goodness and justice of God, that every man be sufficiently instructed in his duty and convenient notices. 4. That no man in the world, upon these grounds, except he that is malicious and spiteful, can be an idolater; for, if he have an ignorance great enough to excuse him, he can be no idolater; if he have not, he is spiteful and malicious; and then all the heathens are also excused as well as they. 5. That if good intent and ignorance, in such cases, can take off the crime, then the persecutors that killed the apostles, thinking they did God good service, and Saul, in blaspheming the religion, and persecuting the servants of Jesus, and the Jews themselves, in crucifying the Lord of life, "who did it ignorantly, as did also their rulers," have met with their excuse upon the same account. And, therefore, it is not safe, for the men of the Roman communion to take anodyne medicines and narcotics, to make them insensible of the pain; for it will not cure their disease. Their doing it upon the stock of error and ignorance, I hope, will dispose them to receive a pardon: but yet that also supposes them criminal; and though I would not for all the world be their accuser, or the aggravator of the crime; yet I am not unwilling to be their remembrancer, that themselves may avoid the danger. For though Jacob was innocent in lying with Leah instead of Rachel, because he had no cause to suspect the deception: yet, if Penelope, who had not seen Ulysses in twenty years, should see one come to her, nothing like Ulysses, but saying he were her husband, she should give but an ill account of her chastity, if she should actually admit him to her bed, only saying, "if you be Ulysses, or upon supposition that you are Ulysses, I admit you." For, if she certainly admits him, of whom she is uncertain if he be her

[f] Vide Bonavent. in 3. dist. 24. a. 1. q. 1.

[g] Bishop Andrew's Resp. ad apolog. Bellarm. p. 7.

husband, she certainly is an adulteress; because she, having reason to doubt, ought first to be satisfied of her question. Since therefore, besides the insuperable doubts of the main article itself, in the practice and the particulars, there are acknowledged so many ways of deception, and confessed that the actual failings are frequent, (as I showed before out of Pope Adrian,) it will be but a weak excuse to say, "I worship thee if thou be the Son of God, but I do not worship thee if thou beest not consecrated;" and, in the mean time, the Divine worship is actually exhibited to what is set before us. At the best we may say to these men, as our blessed Saviour to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship ye know not what; but we know what we worship." For, concerning the action of adoration, this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a "sursum corda," with "our hearts lift up" to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father, for "nemo dignè manducat, nisi priùs adoraverit," said St. Austin; "no man eats Christ's body worthily, but he that first adores Christ." But to terminate the Divine worship to the sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable and unnatural,[h] and withal, so scandalous, that Averroes, observing it to be used among the christians, with whom he had the ill fortune to converse, said these words: "Quandoquidem christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis:"[i] "Since christians worship what they eat, let my soul be with the philosophers." If the man had conversed with those who better understood the article, and were more religious and wise in their worshippings, possibly he might have been invited by the excellency of the institution to become a christian. But they that give scandal to Jews by their images, and leaving out the second commandment from their catechisms, give offence to the Turks by worshipping the sacrament, and to all reasonable men by striving against two or three sciences, and the notices of all mankind. "We worship the flesh of Christ in the mysteries, (saith St. Ambrose,) as the apostles did worship it in our Saviour."[k]—For we receive the mysteries as representing and exhibiting to our souls the flesh and blood of Christ; so that we worship it in the sumption, and venerable usages of the signs of his body. But we give no Divine honour to the signs: we do not call the sacrament our God. And let it be considered, whether, if the primitive church had ever done, or taught, that the Divine worship ought to be given to the sacrament, it had not been certain, that the heathen would have retorted most of the arguments upon their heads, by which the christians reproved their worshipping of images. The christians upbraided them with worshipping the works of their hands; to which themselves gave what figure they pleased, and then, by certain forms, consecrated them, and made, by invocation, (as they supposed,) a divinity to dwell there. They objected to them, that they worshipped that which could neither see, nor hear, nor smell, nor taste, nor move, nor understand; that which could grow old, and perish,—that could be broken and burned,—that was subject to the injury of rats and mice, of worms, and creeping things,—that can be taken by enemies, and carried away,—that is kept under lock and key, for fear of thieves and sacrilegious persons. Now, if the church of those ages had thought and practised, as they have done at Rome, in these last ages, might not they have said, "Why may not we as well as you? Do not you worship that with Divine honours, and call it your God, which can be burnt and broken, which yourselves form into a round or square figure, which the oven first hardens, and then your priests consecrate, and, by invocation, make to be your God,—which can see no more, nor hear, nor smell, than the silver and gold upon our images? Do not you adore that which rats and mice eat, which can grow mouldy and sour, which you keep under locks and bars, for fear your God be stolen? Did not Lewis IX. pawn your God to the soldan of Egypt, insomuch that to this day the Egyptian escutcheons, by way of triumph, bear upon them a pix with a wafer in it: true it is, that if we are beaten from our cities, we carry our gods with us; but, did not the Jesuits carry your host (which you call God) about their necks from Venice, in the time of the interdict? And now, why do you reprove that in us which you do in yourselves?" What could have been answered to them, if the doctrine and accidents of their time had furnished them with these or the like instances? In vain it would have been to have replied; "Yea, but ours is the true God, and yours are false gods."—For they would easily have made a rejoinder; and said, that this is to be proved by some other argument; in the mean time, all your objections against our worshipping of images, return violently upon you. Upon this account, since none of the witty and subtle adversaries of christianity ever did or could make this defence by way of recrimination, it is certain, there was no occasion given; and therefore those trifling pretences made out of some sayings of the fathers, pretending the practice of worshipping the sacrament, must needs be sophistry, and illusion, and can need no particular consideration. But if any man can think them at all considerable, I refer him to be satisfied by Michael le Faucheur, in his voluminous confutation of Cardinal Perron.[l] I, for my part, am weary of the infinite variety of argument in this question; and, therefore, shall only observe this, that antiquity does frequently use the words προσκύνητος, σεβασμιώτατος, θεῖος, προσκυνούμενος, "venerable," "adorable," "worshipful," to every thing that ought to be received with great reverence, and used with regard: to princes, to laws, to baptism, to bishops, to priests, to the ears of priests, the cross, the chalice, the temples, the words of Scripture, the feast of Easter; and upon the same account, by which it is pretend-

[h] Vide Theodoret quæst. 55. in Genes. et q. 11. in Levit.

[i] Ἀβελτερίας ἐσχάτης τὸ ἐσθιόμενον προσκυνεῖν.—Theodoret q. in Gen. q. 55.

[k] De Spir. S. l. 3. c. 12.

[l] Lib. 4. c. 3. de la Cêne du Seigneur.

ed that some of the fathers taught the adoration of the eucharist, we may also infer the adoration of all the other instances. But that which proves too much, proves nothing at all.

These are the grounds by which I am myself established, and by which I persuade or confirm others in this article.

I end with the words of the fathers in the council[m] of Constantinople, *ἄρτου οὐσίαν προσέταξε προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σκηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ.* "Christ commanded the substance of bread to be offered, not in the shape of a man, lest idolatry should be introduced."

[m] A. D. 745.

Gloria Deo in excelsis:
In terris pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

A

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PART I.

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

When a Roman gentleman had, to please himself, written a book in Greek, and presented it to Cato; he desired him to pardon the faults of his expressions, since he wrote in Greek, which was a tongue in which he was not perfect master. Cato told him, he had better then to have let it alone, and written in Latin: by how much it is better not to commit a fault than to make apologies. For if the thing be good, it needs not to be excused: if it be not good, a crude apology will do nothing but confess the fault, but never make amends. I, therefore, make this address to all, who will concern themselves in reading this book, not to ask their pardon for my fault in doing of it; I know of none; for if I had known them, I would have mended them before the publication; and yet, though I know not any, I do not question but much fault will be found by too many; I wish I have given them no cause for their so doing. But I do not only mean it in the particular periods, where every man that is not a son of the church of England or Ireland, will at least do as Apollonius did to the apparition that affrighted his company on the mountain Caucasus;—he will revile and persecute me with evil words; but I mean it in the whole design, and men will reasonably or capriciously ask, Why any more controversies? Why this over again? Why against the papists, against whom so very many are already exasperated, that they cry out fiercely of persecution? And why can they not be suffered to enjoy their share of peace, which hath returned in the hands of his sacred Majesty, at his blessed restauration? For as much of this as concerns myself I make no excuse, but give my reasons, and hope to justify this procedure with that modesty which David used to his angry brother, saying, "What have I now done? is there not a cause?" The cause is this:

The reverend fathers, my lords the bishops of Ireland, in their circumspection and watchfulness over their flocks, having espied grievous wolves to have entered in, some with sheep's clothing, and some without, some secret enemies, and some open, at first endeavoured to give check to those enemies, which had put fire into the bed-straw; and though God hath very much prospered their labours, yet they have work enough to do, and will have, till God shall call them home to the land of peace and unity. But it was soon remembered, that when King James, of blessed memory, had discerned the spirits of the English nonconformists, and found them peevish and factious, unreasonable and imperious, not only unable to govern, but as inconsistent with the government, as greedy to snatch at it for themselves; resolved to take off their disguise, and put a difference between conscience and faction, and to bring them to the measures and rules of laws; and to this the council and all wise men were consenting, because by the king's great wisdom, and the conduct of the whole conference and inquiry, men saw there was reason on the king's side, and necessity on all sides. But the gunpowder treason breaking out, a new zeal was enkindled against the papists; and it shined so greatly, that the nonconformists escaped by the light of it, and quickly grew warm by the heat of that flame, to which they added no small increase by their declamations and other acts of insinuation: insomuch that they, being neglected, multiplied until they got power enough to do all those mischiefs which we have seen and felt. This being remembered and spoken of, it was soon observed that the tables only were now turned, and that now the public zeal and watchful-

ness against those men and those persuasions, which so lately have afflicted us, might give to the emissaries of the church of Rome leisure and opportunity to grow into numbers and strength, to debauch many souls, and to unhinge the safety and peace of the kingdom. In Ireland we saw too much of it done, and found the mischief growing too fast, and the most intolerable inconveniencies but too justly apprehended, as near and imminent. We had reason at least to cry fire when it flamed through our very roofs, and to interpose with all care and diligence, when religion and the eternal interest of souls was at stake, as knowing we should be greatly unfit to appear and account to the great Bishop and Shepherd of souls, if we had suffered the enemies to sow tares in our fields, we standing and looking on. It was therefore considered, how we might best serve God, and rescue our charges from their danger: and it was concluded presently to run to arms, I mean, to the weapons of our warfare, to the armour of the Spirit, to the works of our calling, and to tell the people of their peril, to warn them of the enemy, and to lead them in the ways of truth, and peace, and holiness: that if they would be admonished, they might be safe; if they would not, they should be without excuse, because they could not say but the prophets have been amongst them.

But then it was next inquired, Who should minister in this affair, and put in order all those things which they had to give in charge: it was easy to choose many, but hard to choose one; there were many fit to succeed in the vacant apostleship; and though Barsabas the Just was, by all the church, named as a fit and worthy man, yet the lot fell upon Matthias; and that was my case; it fell to me to be their amanuensis, when persons most worthy were more readily excused; and in this my lords the bishops had reason, that (according to St. Paul's[a] rule) "If there be judgments or controversies amongst us, they should be employed who are least esteemed in the church;" and upon this account I had nothing left me but obedience; though I confess that I found regret in the nature of the employment, for I love not to be (as St. Paul calls it) one of the συζήτηταὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, "Disputers of this world." For I suppose skill in controversies (as they are now used) to be the worst part of learning, and time is the worst spent in them, and men the least benefited by them; that is, when the questions are curious and impertinent, intricate and inexplicable, not to make men better, but to make a sect. But when the propositions disputed are of the foundation of faith, or lead to good life, or naturally do good to single persons or public societies, then they are part of the depositum of christianity, of the analogy of faith; and for this we are, by the apostle, commanded to contend earnestly; and, therefore, controversies may become necessary: but because they are not often so, but oftentimes useless, and always troublesome; and as an ill diet makes an ill habit of body, so does the frequent use of controversies baffle the understanding, and makes it crafty to deceive others, itself remaining instructed in nothing but useless notions and words of contingent signification, and distinctions without difference, which minister to pride and contention, and teach men to be pertinacious, troublesome, and uncharitable; therefore, I love them not.

But because, by the apostolical rule,[b] I am tied "to do all things without murmurings," as well as without "disputings," I considered it over again, and found myself relieved by the subject matter, and the grand consequent of the present questions. For, in the present affair, the case is not so as in the others; here the questions are such, that the church of Rome declares them to reach as far as eternity, and damns all that are not of their opinions; and the protestants have much more reason to fear concerning the papists, such who are not excused by ignorance, that their condition is very sad and deplorable, and that it is charity to snatch them as a brand from the fire; and, indeed, the church of Rome maintains propositions, which, if the ancient doctors of the church may be believed, are apt to separate from God. I instance, in their superaddition of articles and propositions, derived only from a pretended tradition, and not contained in Scripture. Now, the doing of this is a great sin, and a great danger. "Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem; si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud adjicientibus et detrahentibus, destinatum," said Tertullian:[c] "I adore the fulness of Scripture; and if it be not written, let Hermogenes fear the woe that is destined to them that detract from or add to it."

S. Basil says,[d] "Without doubt, it is a most manifest argument of infidelity, and a most certain sign of pride, to introduce any thing that is not written (in the Scriptures); our blessed Saviour having said, "My sheep hear my voice, and the voice of strangers they will not hear;" and to detract from Scriptures, or add any thing to the faith that is not there, is most vehemently forbidden by the apostle, saying, if it be but a man's testament, "nemo superordinat," "no man adds to it."—And says also, "This was the will of the testator."—And Theophilus Alexandrinus says plainly,[e] "Is it the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing to be Divine, that is not in the authority of the Holy Scriptures;"—and therefore St. Athanasius affirms,[f] that "the catholics will neither speak nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to Scripture;" it being "immodestiæ vecordia," "an evil heart of immodesty," to speak those things which are not written. Now let any man judge, whether it be not our duty, and a necessary work of charity, and the proper office of our ministry, to persuade our charges from the "immodesty of an evil heart," from having "a devilish spirit," from doing that "which is vehemently forbidden by the apostle," from "infidelity and pride," and lastly, from that "eternal woe which is denounced" against them that add other words and doctrines than what is contained in the Scriptures, and say, "Dominus dixit," "The Lord hath said it," and he hath not said it. If we had put these severe

[a] 1 Cor. vi. 4. [b] Phil. ii. 14. [c] Contra Hermogen. [d] De vera Fide et Moral. reg. 72. c. 1. et reg. 80. c. 22. [e] Epist. Pasch. 2. [f] De Incarn. Christi.

censures upon the popish doctrine of tradition, we should have been thought uncharitable ; but because the holy fathers do so, we ought to be charitable, and snatch our charges from the ambient flame.

And thus it is in the question of images : "Dubium non est, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est," said Lactantius ;[g] "without all peradventure, wherever an image is, (meaning for worship,) there is no religion :" and that "we ought rather to die than pollute our faith with such impieties," said Origen.[h] "It is against the law of nature, it being expressly forbidden by the second commandment," as Irenæus affirms, Tertullian, Cyprian, and St. Austin ; and therefore is it not great reason we should contend for that faith which forbids all worship of images, and oppose the superstition of such guides who do teach their people to give them veneration, to prevaricate the moral law, and the very law of nature, and do that which whosoever does has no religion. We know idolatry is a damnable sin, and we also know, that the Roman church, with all the artifices she could use, never can justify herself, or acquit the common practices from idolatry; and yet, if it were but suspicious that it is idolatry, it were enough to awaken us : for God is a jealous God, and will not endure any such causes of suspicion and motives of jealousy. I instance but once more.

The primitive church did excommunicate them that did not receive the holy sacrament in both kinds,[i] and St. Ambrose says, that "he who receives the mystery other ways than Christ appointed, (that is, but in one kind, when he hath appointed it in two,) is unworthy of the Lord, and he cannot have devotion." Now this thing we ought not to suffer, that our people, by so doing, should remain unworthy of the Lord, and for ever be indevout, or cozened with a false show of devotion, or fall by following evil guides into the sentence of excommunication. These matters are not trifling, and when we see these errors frequently taught and owned as the only true religion, and yet are such evils, which the fathers say are the way of damnation ; we have reason to hope that all wise and good men, lovers of souls, will confess that we are within the circles of our duty, when we teach our people to decline the crooked ways, and to walk in the ways of scripture and christianity.

But we have observed, amongst the generality of the Irish, such a declension of christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacy, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God ; such intolerable ignorance, such fond oaths and manners of swearing, thinking themselves more obliged by swearing on the mass-book than the four gospels, and St. Patrick's mass-book more than any new one ; swearing by their father's soul, by their gossip's hand, by other things which are the product of those many tales are told them ; their not knowing upon what account they refuse to come to church, but only now they are old and never did, or their countrymen do not, or their fathers or grandfathers never did, or that their ancestors were priests, and they will not alter from their religion ; and after all, can give no account of their religion, what it is : only, they believe as their priest bids them, and go to mass, which they understand not, and reckon their beads, to tell the number and the tale of their prayers, and abstain from eggs and flesh in Lent, and visit St. Patrick's well, and leave pins and ribands, yarn or thread, in their holy wells, and pray to God, St. Mary and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus and St. Bridget, and desire to be buried with St. Francis's cord about them, and to fast on Saturdays in honour of our Lady. These and so many other things of like nature we see daily, that we, being conscious of the infinite distance which these things have from the spirit of christianity, know that no charity can be greater than to persuade the people to come to our churches, where they shall be taught all the ways of godly wisdom, of peace and safety to their souls : whereas now there are many of them that know not how to say their prayers, but mutter like pies and parrots words which they are taught, but they do not pretend to understand.

But I shall give one particular instance of their miserable superstition and blindness.

I was lately, within a few months, very much troubled with petitions and earnest requests for the restoring a bell, which a person of quality had in his hands in the time of, and ever since, the late rebellion. I could not guess at the reasons of their so great and violent importunity, but told the petitioners, if they could prove that bell to be theirs, the gentleman was willing to pay the full value of it ; though he had no obligation to do so, that I know of, but charity : but this was so far from satisfying them, that still the importunity increased, which made me diligently to inquire into the secret of it. The first cause I found was, that a dying person in the parish desired to have it rung before him to church, and pretended he could not die in peace if it were denied him ; and that the keeping of that bell did anciently belong to that family, from father to son : but because this seemed nothing but a fond and an unreasonable superstition, I inquired further, and at last found, that they believed this bell came from heaven, and that it used to be carried from place to place, and to end controversies by oath, which the worst men durst not violate if they swore upon that bell, and the best men amongst them durst not but believe him ; that if this bell was rung before the corpse to the grave, it would help him out of purgatory ; and that, therefore, when any one died, the friends of the deceased did, whilst the bell was in their possession, hire it for the behoof of their dead, and that, by this means, that family was in part maintained. I was troubled to see under what spirit of delusion those poor souls do lie, how infinitely their credulity is abused, how certainly they believe in trifles, and perfectly rely on vanity, and how little they regard the truths of God,

[g] Lib. 2. cap. de Origen. Error. [h] Lib. 7. contra Celsum.
[i] Can. Competimus de Consecr. dist. 2. in 1 Cor. xi.

and how not at all they drink of the waters of salvation. For the numerous companies of priests and friars amongst them take care they shall know nothing of religion, but what they design for them; they use all means to keep them to the use of the Irish tongue, lest, if they learn English, they might be supplied with persons fitter to instruct them; the people are taught to make that also their excuse for not coming to our churches, to hear our advices, or converse with us in religious intercourses, because they understand us not, and they will not understand us, neither will they learn that they may understand and live. And this and many other evils are made greater and more irremediable by the affrightment which their priests put upon them by the issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by which (they now exercising it too publicly) they give them laws, not only for religion, but even for temporal things, and turn their proselytes from the mass, if they become farmers of the tithes from the minister or proprietary, without their leave. I speak that which I know to be true, by their own confession, and unconstrained and uninvited narratives; so that as it is certain that the Roman religion, as it stands in distinction and separation from us, is a body of strange propositions, having but little relish of true primitive and pure christianity; (as will be made manifest, if the importunity of our adversaries extort it;) so it is here amongst us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living, a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be "populus unius labii," "a people of one language," and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such a one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandise of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood.

Having given this sad account, why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish: there is nothing remaining, but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labour of love, and that, by some admirable ways of his providence, he will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people, but that which hinders will hinder, until it be taken away: however, we believe and hope in God for remedy.

For although Edom would not let his brother Israel pass into his country, and the Philistines would stop the patriarch's wells, and the wicked shepherds of Midian would drive their neighbours' flocks from the watering-troughs, and the emissaries of Rome use all arts to keep the people from the use of Scriptures, the wells of salvation, and from entertaining the notices of such things which, from the Scriptures, we teach; yet as God found out a remedy for those of old, so he will also for the poor misled people of Ireland; and will take away the evil minds, or the opportunities of the adversaries hindering the people from instruction, and make way that the truths we have here taught, may approach to their ears, and sink into their hearts, and make them wise unto salvation. Amen.

THE INTRODUCTION.

The questions of difference between our churches and the church of Rome, have been so often disputed, and the evidences on both sides so often produced, that to those who are strangers to the present constitution of affairs, it may seem very unnecessary to say them over again: and yet it will seem almost impossible to produce any new matter; or if we could, it will not be probable, that what can be newly alleged can prevail more than all that which already hath been so often urged in these questions. But we are not deterred from doing our duty by any such considerations; as knowing, that the same medicaments are, with success, applied to a returning or an abiding ulcer; and the preachers of God's word must for ever be ready to put the people in mind of such things, which they already have heard, and, by the same Scriptures, and the same reasons, endeavour to destroy their sin, or prevent their danger; and, by the same word of God, to extirpate those errors, which have had opportunity, in the time of our late disorders, to spring up and grow stronger, not when the keepers of the field slept, but when they were wounded, and their hands cut off, and their mouths stopped, lest they should continue or proceed to do the work of God thoroughly.

A little warm sun, and some indulgent showers of a softer rain, have made many weeds of erroneous doctrine to take root greatly, and to spread themselves widely: and the bigots of the Roman church, by their late importune boldness and indiscreet forwardness in making proselytes, have but too manifestly declared to all the world, that if they were "rerum potiti," masters of our affairs," they would suffer nothing to grow but their own colocynths and gourds. And although the natural remedy for this were to take away that impunity, upon the account

of which alone they do increase; yet because we shall never be authors of such counsels, but confidently rely upon God, the Holy Scriptures, right reason, and the most venerable and prime antiquity, which are the proper defensatives of truth for its support and maintenance; yet we must not conceal from the people committed to our charges, the great evils to which they are tempted by the Roman emissaries, that while the king and the parliament take care to secure all the public interests by instruments of their own, we also may, by the word of our proper ministry, endeavour to stop the progression of such errors, which we know to be destructive of christian religion, and, consequently, dangerous to the interest of souls.

In this procedure, although we shall say some things, which have not been always placed before their eyes, and others we shall represent with a fitness to their present necessities, and all with charity too, and zeal for their souls, yet if we were to say nothing, but what hath been often said already, we are still doing the work of God, and repeating his voice, and by the same remedies curing the same diseases, and we only wait for the blessing of God prospering that importunity which is our duty: according to the advice of Solomon, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good."[n]

CHAPTER I.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, IN THE CONTROVERTED ARTICLES, IS NEITHER CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC, NOR PRIMITIVE.

SECTION I.

IT was the challenge of St. Austin to the Donatists,[a] who (as the church of Rome does at this day) enclosed the catholic church within their own circuits: "Ye say that Christ is heir of no lands, but where Donatus is coheir. Read this to us out of the law and the prophets, out of the Psalms, out of the gospel itself, or out of the letters of the apostles; read it thence and we believe it:"—plainly directing us to the fountains of our faith, the Old and New Testament, the words of Christ and the words of the apostles. For nothing else can be the foundation of our faith: whatsoever came in after these, "foris est," it belongs not unto Christ.[b]

To these we also add, not as authors or finishers, but as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical, the sentiments and catholic doctrine of the church of God, in the ages next after the apostles. Not that we think them or ourselves bound to every private opinion, even of a primitive bishop and martyr; but that we all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to the after-ages the whole faith, τύπον ὑγιαχῆς, "the form of doctrine, and sound words, which was at first delivered to the saints," and was defective in nothing that belonged unto salvation; and we believe that those ages sent millions of saints to the bosom of Christ, and sealed the true faith with their lives and with their deaths, and by both gave testimony unto Jesus, and had from him the testimony of his Spirit.

And this method of procedure we now choose, not only because to them that know well how to use it, to the sober and moderate, the peaceable and the wise, it is the best, the most certain, visible, and tangible, most humble and satisfactory; but also because the church of Rome does, with greatest noises, pretend her conformity to antiquity. Indeed the present Roman doctrines, which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity, and with how ill success their quotations are out of the fathers of the first three ages, every inquiring man may easily discern. But the noises, therefore, which they make, are from the writings of the succeeding ages, where secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions, and such variety of sayings, that both sides, eternally and inconfutably, shall bring sayings for themselves respectively. Now although things being thus, it will be impossible for them to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers, that their doctrine, which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the church; because any number that is less than all, does not prove a catholic consent: yet the clear sayings of one or two of these fathers, truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics as the other do deny, was not then matter of faith, or a doctrine of the church; for if it had, these had been accounted heretics, and not have remained in the communion of the church. But although for the reasonableness of the thing, we have thought fit to take notice of

[n] Eccles. xi. 6.

[a] De Unit. Eccles. c. 6.

[b] Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis Scripturis ostendenda est; quæque ex illis ostendi non potest, ecclesia non est.—S. AUG. de Unit. Eccles. c. 4. et c. 3. Ibi quæramus ecclesiam, ibi decernamus causam nostram.

it; yet we shall have no need to make use of it, since not only in the prime and purest antiquity, we are indubitably more than conquerors, but even in the succeeding ages, we have the advantage both "numero, pondere, et mensurâ," "in number, weight, and measure.

We do easily acknowledge, that to dispute these questions from the sayings of the fathers, is not the readiest way to make an end of them; but therefore, we do wholly rely upon Scriptures, as the foundation and final resort of all our persuasions, and from thence can never be confuted; but we also admit the fathers as admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures, and as good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation: and, therefore, if we find any doctrine now taught, which was not placed in their way of salvation, we reject it as being no part of the christian faith, and which ought not to be imposed upon consciences. They were "wise unto salvation," and "fully instructed to every good work;" and, therefore, the faith, which they professed and derived from Scripture, we profess also; and in the same faith we hope to be saved, even as they. But for the new doctors, we understand them not, we know them not; our faith is the same from the beginning, and cannot become new.

But because we shall make it to appear, that they do greatly innovate in all their points of controversy with us, and show nothing but shadows instead of substances, and little images of things instead of solid arguments; we shall take from them their armour in which they trusted, and choose this sword of Goliah to combat their errors; for "non est alter talis;" it is not easy to find a better than the word of God, expounded by the prime and best antiquity.

The first thing, therefore, we are to advertise is, that the emissaries of the Roman church endeavour to persuade the good people of our dioceses, from a religion that is truly primitive and apostolic, and divert them to propositions of their own, new and unheard of in the first stages of the christian church.

For the religion of our church is, therefore, certainly primitive and apostolic, because it teaches us to believe the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and nothing else, as matter of faith; and, therefore, unless there can be new Scriptures, we can have no new matters of belief, no new articles of faith. Whatsoever we cannot prove from thence, we disclaim it, as not deriving from the fountains of our Saviour. We also do believe the apostles' creed, the Nicene, with the additions of Constantinople, and that which is commonly called the symbol of St. Athanasius: and the four first general councils are so entirely admitted by us, that they, together with the plain words of Scripture, are made the rule and measure of judging heresies amongst us; and in pursuance of these, it is commanded by our church, that the clergy shall never teach any thing as matter of "faith, religiously to be observed, but that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament, and collected out of the same doctrine, by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church."[c] This was, undoubtedly, the faith of the primitive church; they admitted all into their communion that were of this faith; they condemned no man, that did not condemn these; they gave letters communicatory by no other cognizance, and all were brethren who spake this voice. "Hanc legem sequentes, christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti; reliquos verò dementes, vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere;" said the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, in their proclamation to the people of Constantinople.[d] All that believed this doctrine, were christians and catholics, viz. all they who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one Divinity of equal Majesty in the Holy Trinity; which, indeed, was the sum of what was decreed in explication of the apostles' creed in the four first general councils.

And what faith can be the foundation of a more solid peace, the surer ligaments of catholic communion, or the firmer basis of a holy life, and of the hopes of heaven hereafter, than the measures which the holy primitive church did hold, and we after them? That which we rely upon, is the same that the primitive church did acknowledge to be the adequate foundation of their hopes in the matters of belief: the way which they thought sufficient to go to heaven in, is the way which we walk: what they did not teach, we do not publish and impose; into this faith entirely, and into no other, as they did theirs, so we baptize our catechumens: the discriminations of heresy from catholic doctrine which they used, we use also, and we use no other; and in short, we believe all that doctrine which the church of Rome believes, except those things, which they have superinduced upon the old religion, and in which we shall prove that they have innovated. So that by their confession, all the doctrine which we teach the people as matter of faith, must be confessed to be ancient, primitive, and apostolic, or else theirs is not so; for ours is the same, and we both have received this faith from the fountains of Scripture and universal tradition; not they from us, or we from them, but both of us from Christ and his apostles. And, therefore, there can be no question, whether the faith of the church of England be apostolic or primitive; it is so, confessedly; but the question is concerning many other particulars, which were unknown to the holy doctors of the first ages, which were no part of their faith, which were never put into their creeds, which were not determined in any of the four first general councils, revered in all christendom, and entertained every where with great religion and veneration, even next to the four Gospels and the apostolical writings.

Of this sort, because the church of Rome hath introduced many, and hath adopted them into their late creed, and imposes them upon the people, not only without, but against the Scriptures and the

[c] Lib. Canon. discip. Eccles. Angl. et injunct. Regin. Elis. A. D. 1571. Can. de Concionatoribus.

[d] Dat. 3. Calen. Mart. Thessalonicæ.

catholic doctrine of the church of God, laying heavy burdens on men's consciences, and making the narrow way to heaven yet narrower by their own inventions; arrogating to themselves a dominion over our faith, and prescribing a method of salvation, which Christ and his apostles never taught; corrupting the faith of the church of God, and "teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men;" and lastly, having derogated from the prerogative of Christ, who alone is the author and finisher of our faith, and hath perfected it in the revelations consigned in the Holy Scriptures; therefore it is, that we esteem ourselves obliged to warn the people of their danger, and to depart from it, and call upon them to stand upon the ways, and ask after the "old paths," and "walk in them;" lest they partake of that curse which is threatened by God to them, "who remove the ancient land-marks, which our fathers in Christ have set for us."

Now that the church of Rome cannot pretend that all which she imposes is primitive and apostolic, appears in this; that in the church of Rome there is pretence made to a power, not only of declaring new articles of faith, but of making new symbols or creeds, and imposing them as of necessity to salvation. Which thing is evident in the bull of Pope Leo X. against Martin Luther, in which, amongst other things, he is condemned for saying, "It is certain, that it is not in the power of the church or pope to constitute articles of faith." We need not add that this power is attributed to the bishops of Rome by Turrecremata,[e] Augustinus Triumphus de Ancona,[f] Petrus de Ancorano,[g] and the famous abbot of Panormo,[h] that the pope cannot only make new creeds, but new articles of faith; that he can make that of necessity to be believed, which before never was necessary; that he is the measure and rule, and the very notice of all credibilities; that the canon law is the Divine law; and whatever law the pope promulges, God, whose vicar he is, is understood to be the promulger. That the souls of men are in the hands of the pope; and that in his arbitration religion doth consist; which are the very words of Hostiensis[i] and Ferdinandus ab Inciso,[k] who were casuists and doctors of law, of great authority amongst them and renown. The thing itself is not of dubious disputation amongst them, but actually practised in the greatest instances, as is to be seen in the bull of Pius IV. at the end of the council of Trent; by which all ecclesiastics are not only bound to swear to all the articles of the council of Trent, for the present and for the future, but they are put into a new symbol or creed, and they are corroborated by the same decretory clauses that are used in the creed of Athanasius: That "this is the true catholic faith;" and that "without this no man can be saved."

Now since it cannot be imagined, that this power, to which they pretend, should never have been reduced to act; and that it is not credible they should publish so invidious and ill-sounding doctrine to no purpose, and to serve no end; it may, without further evidence, be believed by all discerning persons, that they have need of this doctrine, or it would not have been taught; and that consequently without more ado, it may be concluded that some of their articles are parts of this new faith; and that they can, therefore, in no sense be apostolical, unless their being Roman makes them so.

To this may be added another consideration, not much less material, that besides what Eckius told the elector of Bavaria, that the doctrines of Luther might be overthrown by the fathers, though not by Scripture; they have also many gripes of conscience concerning the fathers themselves, that they are not right on their side; and of this, they have given but too much demonstration by their expurgatory indices. The serpent, by being so curious a defender of his head, shows where his danger is, and by what he can most readily be destroyed. But besides their innumerable corruptings of the fathers' writings; their thrusting in that which was spurious, and like Pharaoh, killing the legitimate sons of Israel;[l] though in this they have done very much of their work, and made the testimonies of the fathers to be a record infinitely worse than of themselves uncorrupted they would have been (of which divers learned persons have made public complaint and demonstration); they have at last fallen to a new trade, which has caused more disreputation to them than they have gained advantage, and they have virtually confessed, that, in many things, the fathers are against them.

For first, the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors; but with this clause, "Iique ipsi privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt:" "that they should keep the expurgatory index privately, neither imparting that index, nor giving a copy of it to any."—But it happened, by the Divine providence so ordering it, that about thirteen years after, a copy of it was gotten and published by Johannes Pappus, and Franciscus Junius; and since it came abroad against their wills, they find it necessary now to own it, and they have printed it themselves. Now by these expurgatory tables, what they have done is known to all learned men. In St. Chrysostom's works printed at Basil, these words, "The church is not built upon the man, but upon the faith," are commanded to be

[e] Quod sit metrum et regula, ac scientia credendorum.—Summæ de Ecclesiâ, lib. ii. c. 203.

[f] Novum Symbolum condere solum ad papam spectat, quia est caput fidei christianæ, cujus auctoritate omnia, quæ ad fidem spectant, firmantur et roborantur. q. 59. a. 1. et art. 2. sicut potest novum symbolum condere, ita potest novos articulos supra alios multiplicare.

[g] Papa potest facere novos articulos fidei, id est, quod modo credi oporteat, cum sic prius non oporteret.—In cap. cum Christus de hæret. n. 2.

[h] Papa potest inducere novum articulum fidei.—In idem.

[i] Super. 2. Decret. de jurejur. c. nimis. n. 1.

[k] Apud Petrum Ciezum, t. 2. institut. per cap. 69.

[l] Johannes Clemens aliquot folia Theodoreti laceravit, et abjecit in focum, in quibus contra transubstantiationem præclare disseruit. Et cum non ita pridem Origenem excuderent, totum illud caput sextum Johannis et quod commentabatur Origenes omiserunt, et mutilum ediderunt librum propter eandem causam.

blotted out: and these, "There is no merit, but what is given us by Christ;" and yet these words are in his sermon upon Pentecost, and the former words are in his first homily upon that of St. John, "Ye are my friends," &c. The like they have done to him in many other places, and to St. Ambrose, and to St. Austin, and to them all;[m] insomuch that Ludovicus Saurius, the corrector of the press at Lyons, showed and complained of it to Junius, that he was forced to cancellate or blot out many sayings of St. Ambrose, in that edition of his works which was printed at Lyons, 1559. So that what they say on occasion of Bertram's book, "—In the old catholic writers we suffer very many errors, and extenuate and excuse them; and finding out some commentary, we feign some convenient sense when they are opposed in disputations"—they do indeed practise, but esteem it not sufficient; for the words which make against them, they wholly leave out of their editions. Nay, they correct the very tables or indices made by the printers or correctors; insomuch, that out of one of Froben's indices they have commanded these words to be blotted, "The use of images forbidden:"—"The eucharist no sacrifice, but the memory of a sacrifice:"—"Works, although they do not justify, yet are necessary to salvation"—"Marriage is granted to all that cannot contain"—"Venial sins damn"—"The dead saints, after this life, cannot help us:" nay, out of the index of St. Austin's works by Claudius Chevallonius at Paris, 1531, there is a very strange deleatur; Dele, "Solus Deus adorandus," "that God alone is to be worshipped," is commanded to be blotted out, as being a dangerous doctrine.[n] These instances may serve instead of multitudes, which might be brought, of their corrupting the witnesses, and razing the records of antiquity, that the errors and novelties of the church of Rome might not be so easily reproved. Now if the fathers were not against them, what need these arts? Why should they use them thus? Their own expurgatory indices are infinite testimony against them, both that they do so and that they need it.

But besides these things, we have thought it fit to represent, in one aspect, some of their chief doctrines of difference from the church of England, and make it evident, that they are indeed new, and brought into the church, first by way of opinion, and afterwards by power, and at last, by their own authority, decreed into laws and articles.

SECTION II.

FIRST, we allege that this very power of making new articles is a novelty, and expressly against the doctrine of the primitive church; and we prove it, first by the words of the apostle, saying, "If we, or an angel from heaven, shall preach unto you any other gospel" (viz. in whole or in part, for there is the same reason of them both) "than that which we have preached, let him be anathema:"[a] and secondly, by the sentence of the fathers[b] in the third general council, that at Ephesus: "That it should not be lawful for any man to publish or compose another faith or creed than that which was defined by the Nicene council: and that whosoever shall dare to compose or offer any such to any persons willing to be converted from paganism, Judaism, or heresy, if they were bishops or clerks, they should be deposed; if laymen, they should be accursed." And yet in the church of Rome, faith and christianity increase like the moon; Bromyard complained of it long since, and the mischief increases daily. They have now a new article of faith, ready for the stamp, which may very shortly become necessary to salvation; we mean that of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary. Whether the pope be above a council or no; we are not sure, whether it be an article of faith amongst them or not: it is very near one if it be not. Bellarmine would fain have us believe, that the council of Constance approving the bull of Pope Martin V. declared for the pope's supremacy. But John Gerson, who was at the council,[c] says, that the council did abate those heights to which flattery had advanced the pope; and that before that council, they spoke such great things of the pope, which afterwards moderate men durst not speak; but yet some others spake them so confidently before it, that he that should then have spoken to the contrary, would hardly have escaped the note of heresy; and that these men continued the same pretensions even after the council. But the council of Basil decreed for the council against the pope; and the council of Lateran under Leo X. decreed for the pope against the council. So that it is cross and pile; and whether for a penny, when it can be done; it is now a known case, it shall become an article of faith. But for the present it is a probationary article, and according to Bellarmine's[d] expression is "ferè de fide," "it is almost an article of faith;" they want a little age, and then they may go alone. But the council of Trent[e] hath produced a strange new article; but it is "sine controversiâ credendum," it must be believed, and must not be controverted: that "although the ancient fathers did give the communion to infants, yet they did not believe it necessary to salvation." Now this being a matter of fact, whether they did or did not believe it, every man that reads their writings can be able to inform himself: and besides that it is strange that this should be determined by a council, and determined against evident truth; (it being notorious, that divers of the fathers did say it is necessary to salvation;) the decree itself is beyond all bounds of modesty, and a strange pretension of empire over the christian belief. But we proceed to other instances.

[m] Sixtus Senensis epist. dedicat. ad Pium. Quin. laudat Pontificem in hæc verba: expurgari et emaculari curasti omnium Catholicorum Scriptorum, ac præcipue veterum patrum, scripta.

[n] Index expurgator. Madrii. 1612, in indice libror. expurgator. p. 39.

[a] Gal. i. 8. [b] Part ii. act. 6. c. 7.

[c] De Potest. Eccles. Concil. 12.

[d] De Concil. Author. lib. ii. c. 17. sect. 1. [e] Sess. 21. c. 4.

SECTION III.

THE Roman doctrine of indulgences was the first occasion of the great change and reformation of the western churches, began by the preachings of Martin Luther and others; and besides that it grew to that intolerable abuse, that it became a shame to itself, and a reproach to christendom, it was also so very an innovation, that their great Antoninus[a] confesses, that "concerning them we have nothing expressly, either in the Scriptures, or in the sayings of the ancient doctors:" and the same is affirmed by Sylvester Prierias.[b] Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, says, that, in the beginning of the church, there was no use of indulgences; and that they began after the people were awhile affrighted with the torments of purgatory; and many of the schoolmen confess, that the use of indulgences began in the time of Pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth century: but Agrippa imputes the beginning of them to Boniface VIII. who lived in the reign of King Edward I. of England; one thousand three hundred years after Christ. But that in his time the first jubilee was kept, we are assured by Crantzius. This pope[c] lived and died with great infamy, and therefore was not likely from himself to transfer much honour and reputation to the new institution. But that about this time indulgences began, is more than probable; much before, it is certain they were not. For, in the whole canon law written by Gratian, and in the Sentences of Peter Lombard, there is nothing spoken of indulgences. Now because they lived in the time of Pope Alexander III., if he had introduced them, and much rather if they had been as ancient as St. Gregory, (as some vainly and weakly pretend, from no greater authority than their own legends,) it is probable that these great men, writing bodies of divinity and law, would have made mention of so considerable a point, and so great a part of the Roman religion, as things are now ordered. If they had been doctrines of the church then, as they are now, it is certain they must have come under their cognizance and discourses.

Now lest the Roman emissaries should deceive any of the good sons of the church, we think it fit to acquaint them, that, in the primitive church,[d] when the bishops imposed severe penances, and that they were almost quite performed, and a great cause of pity intervened, or danger of death, or an excellent repentance, or that the martyrs interceded, the bishop did sometimes indulge the penitent, and relax some of the remaining parts of his penance; and according to the example of St. Paul, in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, gave them ease, lest they should be swallowed up with too much sorrow. But the Roman doctrine of indulgences is wholly another thing; nothing of it but the abused name remains. For in the church of Rome they now pretend, that there is an infinite of degrees of Christ's merits and satisfaction beyond what is necessary for the salvation of his servants: and (for fear Christ should not have enough) the saints have a surplusage of merits,[e] or at least of satisfactions,—more than they can spend, or themselves do need; and out of these the church hath made her a treasure, a kind of poor man's box; and out of this, a power to take as much as they list, to apply to the poor souls in purgatory; who,—because they did not satisfy for their venial sins, or perform all their penances which were imposed, or which might have been imposed, and which were due to be paid to God, for the temporal pains reserved upon them, after he had forgiven them the guilt of their deadly sins,—are forced sadly to roar in pains not inferior to the pains of hell, excepting only that they are not eternal. That this is the true state of their article of indulgences, we appeal to Bellarmine.[f]

Now, concerning their new foundation of indulgences, the first stone of it was laid by Pope Clement VI. in his extravagant "Unigenitus, de pœnitentiis et remissionibus," A. D. 1350. This constitution was published fifty years after the first jubilee, and was a new device to bring in customers to Rome at the second jubilee, which was kept in Rome in this pope's time. What ends of profit and interest it served, we are not much concerned to inquire: but this we know, that it had not yet passed into a catholic doctrine, for it was disputed against by Franciscus de Mayronis,[g] and Durandus,[h] not long before this extravagant; and that it was not rightly formed to their purposes till the stirs in Germany, raised upon the occasion of indulgences, made Leo X. set his clerks on work to study the point, and make something of it.

But as to the thing itself: it is so wholly new, so merely devised and forged by themselves, so newly created out of nothing, from great mistakes of Scripture, and dreams of shadows from antiquity; that we are to admonish our charges, that they cannot reasonably expect many sayings of the primitive doctors against them, any more than against the new fancies of the quakers, which were born but yesterday. That which is not, cannot be numbered; and that which was not, could not be confuted. But the perfect silence of antiquity in this whole matter, is an abundant demonstration that this new nothing was[i] made in the later laboratories of Rome. For, as Durandus said, the holy fathers, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Austin, speak nothing of indulgences. And whereas it is said, that St. Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, gave indulgences at Rome in the stations; Magister Angularis, who lived about two hundred since, says, "he never read of any such any where;" and it is certain there is no such thing in the writings of St. Gregory, nor in any history of

[a] Part i. Sum. tit. 10. c. 3. [b] In art. 18. Luther.
[c] "Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, moriebatur ut canis," de eo sæpius dictum.
[d] Tertul. i. ad Martyr. c. 1: S. Cyprian. lib. iii. ep. 15. apud Pamelium 11. Concil. Nicen. 1. can. 12. Concil. Ancir. c. 5. Concil. Laod. c. 2. S. Basil. in Ep. canonicis habentur in Nomocanone Photii, can. 73.
[e] Communis opinio doctorum, tam Theologorum, quam Canonicorum, quod sunt ex abundantiâ meritorum, quæ ultra mensuram demeritorum suorum sancti sustinuerunt, et Christi, Sum. Angel. v. Induig. 9.
[f] Lib. i. de Indulgent. c. 2. et 3.
[g] In 4. lib. sen. dis. 19. q. 2.
[h] Ibid. dist. 20. q. 3. [i] Ubi supra.

that age nor any other that is authentic; and we could never see any history pretended for it by the Roman writers, but a legend of Ledgerus brought to us the other day by Surius: which is so ridiculous and weak, that even their own parties dare not avow it as true story; and therefore they are fain to make use of Thomas Aquinas upon the Sentences, and Altisiodorensis, for story and record. And it were strange that if this power of giving indulgences to take off the punishment, reserved by God after the sin is pardoned, were given by Christ to his church, that no one of the ancient doctors should tell any thing of it: insomuch that there is no one writer of authority and credit, not the more ancient doctors we have named, nor those who were much later, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Anselm, or St. Bernard, ever took notice of it; but it was a doctrine wholly unknown to the church for about one thousand two hundred years after Christ: and Cardinal Cajetan told Pope Adrian VI. that to him that readeth the decretals it plainly appears, that "an indulgence is nothing else but an absolution from that penance, which the confessor hath imposed;" and therefore can be nothing of that which is now-a-days pretended.

True it is, that the canonical penances were about the time of Burchard, lessened and altered by commutations; and the ancient discipline of the church, in imposing penances, was made so loose, that the indulgence was more than the imposition, and began not to be an act of mercy but remissness, and absolution without amends: it became a trumpet, and a levy for the holy war, in Pope Urban II.'s time, for he gave a plenary indulgence and remission of all sins to them, that should go and fight against the Saracens: and yet no man could tell how much they were the better for these indulgences: for concerning the value of indulgences, the complaint is both old and doubtful, said Pope Adrian;[k] and he cites a famous gloss which tells of four opinions all catholic, and yet vastly differing in this particular: but the "Summa Angelica"[l] reckons seven opinions concerning what that penalty is which is taken off by indulgences: no man could then tell; and the point was but in the infancy; and since that, they have made it what they please: but it is at last turned into a doctrine, and they have devised new propositions, as well as they can, to make sense of it; and yet it is a very strange thing; a solution, not an absolution (it is the distinction of Bellarmine); that is, the sinner is let to go free without punishment in this world or in the world to come; and in the end, it grew to be that which christendom could not suffer: a heap of doctrines without grounds of Scripture, or catholic tradition; and not only so, but they have introduced a way of remitting sins, that Christ and his apostles taught not; a way destructive to the repentance and remission of sins, which was preached in the name of Jesus: it brought into the church false and fantastic hopes, "a hope that will make men ashamed;" a hope that does not glorify the merits and perfect satisfaction of Christ; a doctrine expressly dishonourable to the full and free pardon given us by God through Jesus Christ; a practice that supposes a new bunch of keys given to the church, besides that which the apostles received, to open and shut the kingdom of heaven; a doctrine that introduces pride among the saints, and advances the opinion of their works beyond the measures of Christ,[m] who taught us, "That when we have done all that is commanded, we are unprofitable servants," and, therefore, certainly cannot supererogate, or do more than what is infinitely recompensed by the kingdom of glory, to which all our doings and all our sufferings are not worthy to be compared, especially since the greatest saint cannot but say with David, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight no flesh living can be justified:" it is a practice that hath turned penances into a fair, and the court of conscience into a lombard, and the labours of love into the labours of pilgrimages, superstitious and useless wanderings from place to place; and religion into vanity, and our hope in God to a confidence in man, and our fears of hell to be a mere scarecrow to rich and confident sinners: and at last, it was frugally employed, by a great pope, to raise a portion for a lady, the wife of Franceschet to Cibo, bastard son of Pope Innocent VIII.; and the merchandise itself became the stakes of gamesters at dice and cards, and men did vile actions that they might win indulgences; by gaming, making their way to heaven easier.

Now although the holy fathers of the church could not be supposed, in direct terms, to speak against this new doctrine of indulgences, because, in their days, it was not: yet they have said many things, which do perfectly destroy this new doctrine and these unchristian practices. For besides that they teach repentance wholly reducing us to a good life; a faith that entirely relies upon Christ's merits and satisfactions; a hope wholly depending upon the plain promises of the gospel, a service perfectly consisting in the works of a good conscience, a labour of love, a religion of justice, and piety and moral virtues; they do also expressly teach, that pilgrimages to holy places, and such like inventions, which are now the earnings and price of indulgencies, are not required of us, and are not the way of salvation, as is to be seen in an oration made by St. Gregory Nyssen, wholly against pilgrimages to Jerusalem; in St. Chrysostom,[n] St. Austin,[o] and St. Bernard.[p] The sense of these fathers is this, in the words of St. Austin: "God said not, Go to the east, and seek righteousness; sail to the west, that you may receive indulgence. But indulge thy brother, and it shall be indulged to thee; you have need to inquire for no other indulgence to thy sins; if thou wilt retire into the closet of thy heart, there thou shalt find it." That is, all our hope of indulgence is from God through Jesus Christ, and is wholly to be obtained by faith in Christ, and per-

[k] In lib. iv. sent.
[l] Verb. Indulgentiæ.
[m] Ut quid non prævides tibi in die judicii, quando nemo poterit per alium excusari, vel defendi; sed unusquisque sufficiens onus erit sibi ipsi: Th. à Kempis, lib. i. de Imit. c. 24.
[n] Homil. 1. in Ep. ad Philem.
[o] Serm. de Martyr. ib.
[p] Serm. 1. de Advent.

severance in good works, and entire mortification of all our sins.

To conclude this particular: Though the gains, which the church of Rome makes of indulgencies, be a heap almost as great as the abuses themselves, yet the greatest patrons of this new doctrine could never give any certainty or reasonable comfort to the conscience of any person that could inquire into it. They never durst determine, whether they were absolutions or compensations; whether they only take off the penances actually imposed by the confessor, or potentially, and all that which might have been imposed; whether all that may be paid in the court of men, or all that can or will be required by the laws and severity of God. Neither can they speak rationally to the great question,—Whether the treasure of the church consists of the satisfactions of Christ only, or of the saints?—For if of saints, it will by all men be acknowledged to be a defeasible estate, and being finite and limited, will be spent sooner than the needs of the church can be served; and if, therefore, it be necessary to add the merits and satisfaction of Christ, since they are an ocean of infinity, and can supply more than all our needs, to what purpose is it to add the little minutes and droppings of the saints? They cannot tell whether they may be given, if the receiver do nothing or give nothing for them: and though this last particular could better be resolved by the court of Rome than by the church of Rome, yet all the doctrines which built up the new fabric of indulgences, were so dangerous to determine, so improbable, so unreasonable, or at best, so uncertain and invidious, that according to the advice of the bishop of Modena, the council of Trent left all the doctrines and all the cases of conscience quite alone, and slubbered the whole matter both in the question of indulgences and purgatory, in general and recommendatory terms; affirming, that the power of giving indulgence is in the church, and that the use is wholesome; and that all hard and subtle questions, viz. concerning purgatory, which although (if it be at all) it is a fire, yet it is the fuel of indulgences, and maintains them wholly; all that is suspected to be false, and all that is uncertain; and whatsoever is curious and superstitious, scandalous, or for filthy lucre, be laid aside. And in the mean time, they tell us not what is, and what is not, superstitious, nor what is scandalous, nor what they mean by the general term of "indulgence;" and they establish no doctrine, neither curious nor incurious, nor durst they decree the very foundation of this whole matter, the church's treasure; neither durst they meddle with it, but left it as they found it, and continued in the abuses, and proceeded in the practice, and set their doctors, as well as they can, to defend all the new, and curious, and scandalous questions, and to uphold the gainful trade. But however it be with them, the doctrine itself is proved to be a direct innovation in the matter of christian religion; and that was it which we have undertaken to demonstrate.

[a] Ezek. xviii. 22.

[b] Neque ab iis quos sanas, lente languor abscedit; sed illico, quem restituis, ex integro convalescit; quia consummatum est quod facis, et perfectum quod largiris. St. Cyprian. de Cœnâ Domini: vel potius Arnoldus—P. Gelasius d. vincul. anathem. negat pœnam deberi culpæ, si culpa corrigatur.

[c] Delet gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsâ dissolutione corporis et animæ. Hoc ab antiquis dictum est.—Albert. Mag. in Compend. Theolog. Verit. lib. iii. c. 13.

SECTION IV.

THE doctrine of purgatory is the mother of indulgences, and the fear of that hath introduced these: for the world happened to be abused like the countryman in the fable, who, being told he was likely to fall into a delirium in his feet, was advised, for remedy, to take the juice of cotton: he feared a disease that was not, and looked for a cure as ridiculous. But if the patent of indulgences be not from Christ and his apostles; if, upon this ground, the primitive church never built, the superstructures of Rome must fall; they can be no stronger than their supporter. Now then, in order to the proving the doctrine of purgatory to be an innovation;—

1. We consider that the doctrines upon which it is pretended reasonable, are all dubious and disputable at the very best. Such are,

1. Their distinction of sins mortal and venial in their own nature.

2. That the taking away the guilt of sins, does not suppose the taking away the obligation to punishment: that is, that when a man's sin is pardoned, he may be punished without the guilt of that sin as justly as with it; as if the guilt could be any thing else but an obligation to punishment for having sinned; which is a proposition, of which no wise man can make sense; but it is certain that it is expressly against the word of God, who promises, upon our repentance, so to take away our sins that "he will remember them no more:"[a] and so did Christ to all those to whom he gave pardon; for he did not take our faults and guilt on him any other way, but by curing our evil hearts, and taking away the punishment.[b] And this was so perfectly believed by the primitive church, that they always made the penances and satisfaction to be undergone, before they gave absolution; and after absolution, they never imposed or obliged to punishment, unless it were to sick persons, of whose recovery they despaired not: of them, indeed, in case they had not finished their canonical punishments, they expected they should perform what was enjoined them formerly. But because all sin is a blot to a man's soul, and a foul stain to his reputation, we demand, in what does this stain consist? In the guilt, or in the punishment? If it be said that it consists in the punishment, then what does the guilt signify, when the removing of it does neither remove the stain nor the punishment, which both remain and abide together? But if the stain and the guilt be all one, or always together, then when the guilt is taken away, there can no stain remain; and if so, what need is there any more of purgatory?[c] For since this is pretended to be ne-

cessary, only lest any stained or unclean thing should enter into heaven, if the guilt and the pain be removed, what uncleanness can there be left behind? Indeed Simon Magus (as Epiphanius reports, Hæres. 20.) did teach, that, after the death of the body, there remained ψυχῶν καθάρσις, "a purgation of souls:" but whether the church of Rome will own him for an authentic doctor themselves can best tell.

3. It relies upon this also, that God requires of us a full exchange of penance and satisfactions, which must regularly be paid here or hereafter, even by them who are pardoned here; which if it were true, we were all undone.

4. That the death of Christ, his merits and satisfaction, do not procure for us a full remission before we die, nor, as it may happen, of a long time after. All which being propositions new and uncertain, invented by the school-divines, and brought, "ex post facto," to dress this opinion, and make it to seem reasonable; and being the products of ignorance concerning remission of sins by grace, of the righteousness of faith, and the infinite value of Christ's death, must needs lay a great prejudice of novelty upon the doctrine itself, which, but by these, cannot be supported. But to put it past suspicion and conjectures: Roffensis[d] and Polydore Virgil[e] affirm, that whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek fathers, shall find that none, or very rarely any one of them, ever makes mention of purgatory; and that the Latin fathers did not all believe it, but by degrees came to entertain opinions of it: but for the catholic church, it was but lately known to her.

But before we say any more in this question, we are to premonish, that there are two great causes of their mistaken pretensions in this article from antiquity.

The first is, that the ancient churches in their offices, and the fathers in their writings, did teach and practise respectively, prayer for the dead. Now because the church of Rome does so too, and, more than so, relates her prayers to the doctrine of purgatory, and for the souls there detained; her doctors vainly suppose, that whenever the holy fathers speak of prayer for the dead, that they conclude for purgatory; which vain conjecture is as false as it is unreasonable: for it is true, the fathers did pray for the dead; but how? "That God should show them mercy, and hasten the resurrection, and give a blessed sentence in the great day." But then it is also to be remembered, that they made prayers, and offered for those, who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory, even for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and evangelists, for martyrs and confessors, and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary: so we find it in Epiphanius,[f] St. Cyril,[g] and in the canon of the Greeks, and so it is acknowledged by their own Durandus;[h] and in their mass-book anciently they prayed for the soul of St. Leo: of which because by their latter doctrines they grew ashamed, they have changed the prayer for him into a prayer to God, by the intercession of St. Leo, in behalf of themselves; so by their new doctrine, making him an intercessor for us, who, by their old doctrine, was supposed to need our prayers to intercede for him; of which Pope Innocent, being asked a reason, makes a most pitiful excuse.[i]

Upon what accounts the fathers did pray for the saints departed, and indeed generally for all, it is not now seasonable to discourse; but to say this only, that such general prayers for the dead as those above reckoned, the church of England never did condemn by any express article, but left it in the middle;[k] and by her practice declares her faith of the resurrection of the dead, and her interest in the communion of saints, and that the saints departed are a portion of the catholic church, parts and members of the body of Christ; but expressly condemns the doctrine of purgatory, and, consequently, all prayers for the dead relating to it: and how vainly the church of Rome, from prayer for the dead, infers the belief of purgatory, every man may satisfy himself, by seeing the writings of the fathers, where they cannot meet with one collect or clause for praying for the delivery of souls out of that imaginary place. Which thing is so certain, that in the very Roman offices, we mean the vigils said for the dead, which are psalms and lessons taken from the Scripture, speaking of the miseries of this world, repentance and reconciliation with God, the bliss after this life of them that die in Christ, and the resurrection of the dead; and in the anthems, versicles, and responses, there are prayers made, recommending to God the soul of the newly defunct, praying, "he may be freed from hell and eternal death," that "in the day of judgment he be not judged and condemned according to his sins, but that he may appear among the elect in the glory of the resurrection;" but not one word of purgatory, or its pains.

The other cause of their mistake is, that the fathers often speak of a fire of purgation after this life; but such a one that is not to be kindled until the day of judgment, and it is such a fire that destroys the doctrine of the intermedial purgatory. We suppose that Origen was the first that spoke plainly of it; and so St. Ambrose follows him in the opinion; (for it was no more;) so does St. Basil, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and Lactantius, as their words plainly prove, as they are cited by Sixtus Senensis, affirming, that "all men, Christ only excepted, shall be burned with the fire of the world's conflagration at the day of judgment;" even the blessed Virgin herself is to pass through this fire. There was also another doctrine very generally received by the fathers, which greatly destroys the Roman purgatory. Sixtus Senensis says, and he says very true, that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Victorinus Martyr, Prudentius, St. Chrysostom, Arethas, Euthimius, and St. Bernard,[l] did all affirm, that before the day of judgment, the souls of men are kept in secret re-

[d] Art. 18. cont. Luther. [e] Invent. Rerum, lib. viii. c. 1.
[f] Hæres. 75. [g] Cateches. Mystag. 5.
[h] De Ritibus, lib. ii. c. 35.
[i] Innocent. P. de Cœleb. Missar. cap. Cum Martha.

[k] Apologia confessionis Augustanæ expressè approbat clausulam illam εὐκτικὴν, "Deus det ei pacatam quietem, ad vitæ resurrectionem."
[l] Liv. vi. Bibl. Sanct. Annot. 345. Bernardum excusandum

ceptacles, reserved unto the sentence of the great day; and that before then, no man receives according to his works done in this life. We do not interpose in this opinion to say that it is true or false, probable or improbable; for these fathers intended it not as a matter of faith, or necessary belief, so far as we find. But we observe from hence, that if their opinion be true, then the doctrine of purgatory is false: if it be not true, yet the Roman doctrine of purgatory, which is inconsistent with this so generally received opinion of the fathers, is, at least, new, no catholic doctrine, not believed in the primitive church; and, therefore, the Roman writers are much troubled to excuse the fathers in this article, and to reconcile them to some seeming concord with their new doctrine.

But, besides these things, it is certain, that the doctrine of purgatory, before the day of judgment, in St. Austin's time,[m] was not the doctrine of the church; it was not the catholic doctrine; for himself did doubt of it: "whether it be so or not, it may be inquired; and, possibly, it may be found so, and possibly it may never:" so St. Austin. In his time, therefore, it was no doctrine of the church, and it continued much longer in uncertainty; for, in the time of Otho Frisingensis,[n] who lived in the year 1146, it was gotten no further than to a "Quidam asserunt:" "some do affirm," that there is a place of purgatory after death. And, although it is not to be denied, but that many of the ancient doctors had strange opinions concerning purgations, and fires, and intermedial states, and common receptacles, and liberations of souls and spirits after this life; yet we can truly affirm it, and can never be convinced to err in this affirmation, that there is not any one of the ancients within five hundred years, whose opinion in this article throughout the church of Rome at this day follows.

But the people of the Roman communion have been principally led into a belief of purgatory by their fear and by their credulity; they have been softened and enticed into this belief, by perpetual tales and legends, by which they loved to be abused. To this purpose, their priests and friars have made great use of the apparition of St. Jerome, after death, to Eusebius, commanding him to lay his sack upon the corpse of three dead men, that they, arising from death, might confess purgatory, which formerly they had denied. The story is written in an epistle imputed to St. Cyril; but the ill luck of it was, that St. Jerome out-lived St. Cyril, and wrote his life, and so confuted that story; but all is one for that, they believe it nevertheless: but there are enough to help it out; and if they be not firmly true,[o] yet if they be firmly believed, all is well enough. In the "speculum exemplorum" it is said, that a certain priest, in an ecstasy, saw the soul of Constantinus Turritanus in the eaves of his house, tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after, they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. But Bishop Theobald, standing upon a piece of ice to cool his feet, was nearer purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it, when he heard a poor soul telling him, that under that ice he was tormented: and that he should be delivered, if for thirty days continual he would say for him thirty masses: and some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udalric in a pool of water:[p] for the place of purgatory was not yet resolved on, till St. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him; which when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there, as ever Virgil dreamed of in his purgatory, or Cicero, in his dream of Scipio, or Plato, in his Gorgias; or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove purgatory. But because to preach false stories was forbidden by the council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of St. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain (and he had great reason surely) that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands, by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of St. Damianus being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother, that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in purgatory.

We do not think, that the wise men in the church of Rome believe these narratives; for if they did, they were not wise; but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it; and having served their turn of them, the master-builders used them as false arches and centries, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority. But even the better sort of them do believe them: or else they do worse, for they urge and cite the dialogues of St. Gregory, the oration of St. John Damascen "de Defunctis," the sermons of St. Austin upon the feast of the commemoration of All-souls (which nevertheless was instituted after St. Austin's death); and divers other citations, which the Greeks in their apology call *Διαφθορὰς καὶ παρεμβολὰς αἱρετιζόντων*, "the holds and the castles, the corruptions and insinuations of heretical persons." But in this they are the less to be blamed, because better arguments than they have no men are tied to make use of.

But against this way of proceeding, we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the Scriptures expressly forbid us to inquire of the dead for truth;[q] the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, St. Athanasius, St Chrysos-

arbitror ob ingentem numerum illustrium ecclesiæ patrum, qui ante ipsum huic dogmati auctoritatem suo testimonio visi sunt præbuisse; præter citatos, enumerat, S. Jacobum Apostolum, Irenæum, Clementem Romanum, Augustinum, Theodoretum, Œcumenium, Theophylactum, et Johannem, 22. pontif. Rom.: quam sententiam non modo docuit, et declaravit, sed ab omnibus teneri mandavit, ut ait Adrianus P. in lib. iv. sent. in fine Quæst. de Sacram. Confirmationis.

[m] Enchirid. c. 69. lib. xxi. de Civit. Dei, cap. 26.

[n] Lib. 8. Chron. cap. 26.

[o] Hæc descripsimus, ut tamen in iis nulla velut canonica constituatur auctoritas. lib. de 8. quæst. Dulcitii. c. 1. Dist. 3. exem. 4. Exempl. 60. Histor. Lomb.

[p] Legend. 185.

[q] Deut. xviii. 11, &c. Isa. viii. 19. Vide Maldonat. in xvi. cap. S. Lucæ.

tom, Isidor, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear; and bring many reasons to prove, that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors; and the devils under that pretence might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own: and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially, to "hear that Prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up" amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to his church.

But, because we are now representing the novelty of this doctrine, and proving, that anciently it was not the doctrine of the church, nor at all esteemed a matter of faith, whether there was or was not any such place or state, we add this, that the Greek church did always dissent from the Latins in this particular, since they had forged this new doctrine in the laboratories of Rome; and in the council of Basil, published an apology, directly disapproving the Roman doctrine of purgatory. How, afterwards, they were pressed in the council of Florence, by Pope Eugenius, and by their necessity; how unwillingly they consented; how ambiguously they answered; how they protested against having that half-consent put into the instrument of union; how they were yet constrained to it by their chiefs, being obnoxious to the pope; how awhile after they dissolved that union, and to this day refuse to own this doctrine;—are things so notoriously known, that they need no further declaration.

We add this only, to make the conviction more manifest: we have thought fit to annex some few, but very clear, testimonies of antiquity, expressly destroying the new doctrine of purgatory. St. Cyprian saith,[r] "Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam locus pœnitentiæ est, nullus satisfactionis effectus:" "When we are gone from hence, there is no place left for repentance, and no effect of satisfaction." St. Dionysius[s] calls the extremity of death, τέλος ἱερῶν ἀγώνων, "The end of all our agonies;" and affirms, "That the holy men of God rest in joy, and in never-failing hopes, and are come to the end of their holy combats."—St. Justin Martyr affirms,[t] "That when the soul is departed from the body, εὐθὺς γίνεται, 'presently there is' a separation made of the just and unjust: the unjust are, by angels, borne into places which they have deserved; but the souls of the just into paradise, where they have the conversation of angels and archangels."—St. Ambrose saith,[u] "That death is a haven of rest, and makes not our condition worse; but, according as it finds every man, so it reserves him to the judgment that is to come." The same is affirmed by St. Hilary,[x] St. Macarius,[y] and divers others; they speak but of two states after death, of the just and the unjust: these are placed in horrible regions, reserved to the judgment of the great day; the other have their souls carried by choirs of angels into places of rest. St. Gregory Nazianzen expressly affirms,[z] "That after this life there is no purgation."—"For after Christ's ascension into heaven, the souls of all saints are with Christ," saith Gennadius;[a] and going from the body, they go to Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body, with it to pass into the perfection of perpetual bliss; and this he delivers as the doctrine of the catholic church:—"In what place soever a man is taken at his death, of light or darkness, of wickedness or virtue, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει, "in the same order, and in the same degree;" either in light with the just, and with Christ, the great King; or in darkness with the unjust, and with the prince of darkness," said Olympiodorus. And, lastly, we recite the words of St. Leo,[b] one of the popes of Rome, speaking of the penitents who had not performed all their penances; "But if any one of them, for whom we pray unto the Lord, being interrupted by any obstacles, falls from the gift of the present indulgence, (viz. of *ecclesiastical absolution,)* and, before he arrive at the appointed remedies, (that is, *before he hath performed his penances or satisfactions,)* ends his temporal life, that which remaining in the body he hath not received, when he is divested of his body he cannot obtain." He knew not of the new devices of paying in purgatory, what they paid not here; and of being cleansed there, who were not clean here; and how these words, or any of the precedent, are reconcilable with the doctrines of purgatory, hath not yet entered into our imagination.

To conclude this particular, we complain greatly, that this doctrine, which, in all the parts of it, is uncertain, and in the late additions to it in Rome is certainly false, is yet, with all the faults of it, passed into an article of faith by the council of Trent. But, besides what hath been said, it will be more than sufficient to oppose against it these clearest words of Scripture, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; even so saith the Spirit; that they may rest from their labours."[c] If all the dead that die in Christ be at rest, and are in no more affliction or labours; then the doctrine of the horrible pains of purgatory is as false as it is uncomfortable. To these words we add the saying of Christ, and we rely upon it; "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but passeth from death unto life."[d] If so, then not into the judgment of purgatory; if the servant of Christ passeth from death to life, then not from death to the terminable pains of a part of hell. They that have eternal life, suffer no intermedial punishment, judgment, or condemnation after death; for death and life are the whole progression, according to the doctrine of Christ; and Him we choose to follow.

[r] Ad Demetrian. sect. 16. [s] Eccles. Hier. c. 7.
[t] Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthod. qu. 5. Justino imputat.
[u] De bono mortis, c. 4. [x] In Psal. 2. [y] Homil. 22.

[z] Orat. 5. in Plagam grandinis et orat. 42. in Pascha. de Eccles. dogmat. c. 79.
[a] In Eccles. c. 11. [b] Epist. 59.
[c] Rev. xiv. 13. [d] John v. 24.

SECTION V.

The doctrine of transubstantiation is so far from being primitive and apostolic, that we know the very time it began to be owned publicly for an opinion, and the very council in which it was said to be passed into a public doctrine, and by what arts it was promoted, and by what persons it was introduced.

For all the world knows, that by their own parties, by Scotus,[a] Ocham,[b] Briel,[c] Fisher, bishop of Rochester,[d] and divers others, whom Bellarmine calls "most learned and most acute men,"[e] it was declared, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the Bible; that in the Scriptures there is no place so express, as (without the church's declaration) to compel us to admit of transubstantiation, and, therefore, at least, it is to be suspected of novelty. But further, we know it was but a disputable question in the ninth and tenth ages after Christ; that it was not pretended to be an article of faith, till the Lateran council in the time of Pope Innocent III. one thousand two hundred years, and more, after Christ; that since that pretended determination,[f] divers of the chiefest teachers of their own side have been no more satisfied of the ground of it, than they were before; but still have publicly affirmed, that the article is not expressed in Scripture; particularly, Johannes de Bassolis, Cardinal Cajetan[g] and Melchior Canus,[h] besides those above reckoned; and, therefore, if it was not expressed in Scripture, it will be too clear, that they made their articles of their own heads: for they could not declare it to be there, if it was not; and if it was there but obscurely, then it ought to be taught accordingly; and, at most, it could be but a probable doctrine, and not certain as an article of faith. But that we may put it past argument and probability, it is certain, that as the doctrine was not taught in Scripture expressly; so it was not at all taught as a catholic doctrine, or an article of the faith, by the primitive ages of the church.

Now for this, we need no proof but the confession and acknowledgment of the greatest doctors of the church of Rome. Scotus says, that before the Lateran council, transubstantiation was not an article of faith, as Bellarmine[i] confesses; and Henriquez affirms, that Scotus says, it was not ancient; insomuch that Bellarmine accuses him of ignorance, saying, he talked at that rate, because he had not read the Roman council, under Pope Gregory the Seventh, nor that consent of fathers which (to so little purpose) he had heaped together. "Rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem," said some of the English Jesuits in prison:[k] "The fathers have not so much as touched or meddled with the matter of transubstantiation:" and in Peter Lombard's time, it was so far from being an article of faith, or a catholic doctrine, that they did not know whether it were true or no; and after he had collected the sentences of the fathers in that article, he confessed, he could not tell whether there was any substantial change or no. His words[l] are these: "If it be inquired what kind of conversion it is, whether it be formal or substantial, or of another kind? I am not able to define it: only I know that it is not formal, because the same accidents remain, the same colour and taste. To some it seems to be substantial, saying, that so the substance is changed into the substance, that it is done essentially. To which the former authorities seem to consent. But to this sentence others oppose these things; if the substance of bread and wine be substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ, then every day some substance is made the body or blood of Christ, which before was not the body; and to-day something is Christ's body, which yesterday was not; and every day Christ's body is increased, and is made of such matter of which it was not made in the conception:" these are his words, which we have remarked, not only for the argument's sake, (though it be unanswerable,) but to give a plain demonstration that in his time this doctrine was new, not the doctrine of the church; and this was written but about fifty[m] years before it was said to be decreed in the Lateran[n] council, and therefore it made haste, in so short time, to pass from a disputable opinion to an article of faith. But even after the council, Durandus,[o] as good a catholic and as famous a doctor as any was in the church of Rome, publicly maintained, that even after consecration the very matter of bread remained:[p] and although he says, that by reason of the authority of the church, it is not to be held: yet it is not only possible it should be so, but it implies no contradiction that it should be Christ's body, and yet the matter of bread remain: and if this might be admitted, it would salve many difficulties, which arise from saying that the substance of bread does not remain. But here, his reason was overcome by authority, and he durst not affirm that of which alone he was able to give (as he thought) a reasonable account. But by this it appears, that the opinion was but then in the forge, and by all their understanding they could never accord it; but still the questions were uncertain, according to that old distich;

> Corpore de Christi lis est, de sanguine lis est,
> Deque modo lis est, non habitura modum.

And the opinion was not determined in the Lateran, as it is now held at Rome; but it is also plain, that it is a stranger to antiquity. "De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi rara est in

[a] In 4 lib. sent. d. 11. q. 3. [b] Ibid. q. 6.
[c] Lect. 40. in can. missæ.
[d] Cap. 1. contr. Captiv. Babyl.
[e] De Euchar. lib. iii. cap. 23. sect. Secundo dicit.
[f] Venêre tum quidem multi in consultationem, nec decerni tamen quicquam apertè potuit.—Platina in vitâ Innocen. III.
[g] Apud Suar. Tom. 3 disp. 46. sect. 3.
[h] Loc. com. lib. ii. c. com. fund. 2.
[i] Lib. iii. de Euch. c. 23. sect. Unum tamen. Sum. lib. viii. c. 20.
[k] Discurs. modest. p. 13. [l] Lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. lit. a.
[m] A. D. 1160. [n] A. D. 1215.
[o] A. D. 1270. secund. Buchol. sed secundum Volaterranum 1335.
[p] In lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. qu. 1. sect. Propter tertium.

antiquis scriptoribus mentio," said Alphonsus à Castro:[q] "There is seldom mention made in the ancient writers, of transubstantiating the bread into Christ's body."—We know the modesty and interest of the man; he would not have said it had been "seldom," if he could have found it in any reasonable degree warranted; he might have said and justified it, "There was no mention at all" of this article in the primitive church: and, that it was a mere stranger to antiquity, will not be denied by any sober person, who considers, that it was with so much uneasiness entertained, even in the corruptest and most degenerous times, and argued and unsettled almost 1300 years after Christ.

And that it was so, will but too evidently appear by that stating and resolution of this question, which we find in the canon law. For Berengarius[r] was, by Pope Nicolas, commanded to recant his error in these words, and to affirm, "Verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi sensualiter, non solùm in sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri:" "That the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensually, not only in sacrament, but in truth, is handled by the priest's hands, and broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful."—Now although this was publicly read at Rome, before a hundred and fourteen bishops, and by the pope sent up and down the churches of Italy, France, and Germany, yet at this day it is renounced by the church of Rome, and "unless it be well expounded," says the gloss, "will lead into a heresy, greater than what Berengarius was commanded to renounce;" and no interpretation can make it tolerable, but such an one, as is in another place of the canon law, "Statuimus," *i. e.* "Abrogamus;" nothing but a plain denying it in the sense of Pope Nicolas. But however this may be, it is plain they understood it not as it is now decreed. But as it happened to the Pelagians in the beginning of their heresy, they spake rudely, ignorantly, and easily to be reproved; but being ashamed and disputed into a more sober understanding of their hypothesis, spake more warily, but yet differently from what they said at first; so it was and is in this question: at first they understood it not; it was too unreasonable in any tolerable sense, to make any thing of it; but experience and necessity hath brought it to what it is.

But that this doctrine was not the doctrine of the first and best ages of the church, these following testimonies do make evident. The words of Tertullian[s] are these; "The bread being taken and distributed to his disciples, Christ made it his body, saying, this is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

The same is affirmed by Justin Martyr;[t] the bread of the eucharist was "a figure, which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion."—Origen[u] calls the bread and the chalice, "The images of the body and blood of Christ:" and again, "That bread which is sanctified by the word of God, so far as belongs to the matter or substance of it, goes into the belly, and is cast away in the secession" or separation; which to affirm of the natural or glorified body of Christ, were greatly blasphemous; and, therefore, the body of Christ which the communicants receive, is not the body in a natural sense, but in a spiritual, which is not capable of any such accident, as the elements are.

Eusebius[x] says, That "Christ gave to his disciples the symbols of Divine economy, commanding the image and type of his own body to be made:"—And[y] that "the apostle received a command according to the constitution of the New Testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of his body and healthful blood."

St. Macarius[z] says, That "in the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and of his blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ." By which words the sense of the above-cited fathers is explicated. For when they affirm, that in this sacrament is offered the figure, the image, the antitype of Christ's body and blood, although they speak perfectly against transubstantiation, yet they do not deny the real and spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood; which we all believe as certainly, as that it is not transubstantiated or present in a natural and carnal manner.

The same thing is also fully explicated by the good St. Ephrem:[a] "The body of Christ, received by the faithful, departs not from his sensible substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace. For even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the same, and proper, of the sensible substance, I mean, of water, saves, and that which is born, doth not perish."

St. Gregory Nazianzen[b] spake so expressly in this question, as if he had undertaken on purpose to confute the article of Trent. "Now we shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law. For the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure."

St. Chrysostom[c] affirms dogmatically, "That before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but the Divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it." And again: "As thou eatest the body of the Lord; so they *(the faithful in the Old Testament)* did eat manna: as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made, be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift; and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith."[d]

[q] De Hæres. lib. viii. Verbo Indulgentia.
[r] Cap. Ego Berengarius de Consecrat. dist. 2.
[s] Adver. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 40. [t] Contr. Tryph. Jud.
[u] In dialog. cont. Marcion. collectis ex Maximo, tempore Commodi et Severi Imp. in Ma. 1.
[x] Demonst. Evang. lib. i. c. 1. [y] Et cap. ult.
[z] Homil. 27.
[a] De sacris Antioch. legibus apud Photium, lib. i. c. 229.
[b] Orat. 2. in Pasch.
[c] Ep. ad Cæs. cont. hæres. Apollinarii, cit. per Damascen. et per collect. senten. Patrum cont. Severianos, edit. per Turrianum. [d] Homil. 23. in 1 Cor.

To these very many more might be added; but instead of them, the words of St. Austin may suffice, as being an evident conviction what was the doctrine of the primitive church in this question. This great doctor[e] brings in Christ thus speaking as to his disciples: "You are not to eat this body which you see, or to drink that blood which my crucifiers shall pour forth: I have commended to you a sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, shall quicken you:" and again;[f] "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which he commended to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. For he did not doubt to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body:" and,[g] "That which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ, after his assumption, is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrances."

But, in this particular, the canon law[h] itself, and the Master of the Sentences, are the best witnesses; in both which collections there are divers testimonies brought, especially from St. Ambrose and St. Austin, which whosoever can reconcile with the doctrine of transubstantiation, may easily put the hyena and a dog, a pigeon and a kite, into couples, and make fire and water enter into natural and eternal friendships.

Theodoret and Pope Gelasius speak more emphatically, even to the nature of things, and the very philosophy of this question. "Christ honoured the symbols and the signs," saith Theodoret,[i] "which are seen, with the title of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace." "For neither[k] do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched," &c. And for a testimony that shall be esteemed infallible, we allege the words of Pope Gelasius;[l] "Truly the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are a Divine thing; for that by them we are made partakers of the Divine nature; and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries."[m]

Now, from these premises we are not desirous to infer any odious consequences in reproof of the Roman church, but we think it our duty to give our own people caution and admonition; 1. That they be not abused by the rhetorical words and high expressions, alleged out of the fathers, calling the sacrament, "The body or the flesh of Christ." For we all believe it is so, and rejoice in it. But the question is,—After what manner it is so; whether after the manner of the flesh, or after the manner of spiritual grace, and sacramental consequence? We, with the Holy Scriptures and the primitive fathers, affirm the latter. The church of Rome, against the words of Scripture, and the explication of Christ,[n] and the doctrine of the primitive church, affirm the former. 2. That they be careful not to admit such doctrines under a pretence of being ancient; since, although the Roman error hath been too long admitted, and is ancient in respect of our days, yet it is an innovation in christianity, and brought in by ignorance, power, and superstition, very many ages after Christ. 3. We exhort them,[o] that they remember the words of Christ, when he explicates the doctrine of "giving us his flesh for meat, and his blood for drink," that he tells us, "The flesh profiteth nothing, but the words which he speaks, are spirit, and they are life."

4. That if those ancient and primitive doctors, above cited, say true, and that the symbols still remain the same in their natural substance and properties, even after they are blessed, and when they are received, and that Christ's body and blood are only present to faith and to the spirit, that then whoever tempts them to give Divine honour to these symbols or elements, (as the church of Rome does,) tempts them to give to a creature the due and incommunicable propriety of God; and that then this evil passes further than an error in the understanding; for it carries them to a dangerous practice, which cannot reasonably be excused from the crime of idolatry. To conclude:—

This matter, of itself, is an error so prodigiously great and dangerous, that we need not tell of the horrid and blasphemous questions, which are sometimes handled by them concerning this Divine mystery. As if a priest going by a baker's shop, and saying with intention, "Hoc est corpus meum," whether all the baker's bread be turned into the body of Christ? Whether a church-mouse does eat her Maker? Whether a man, by eating the consecrated symbols, does break his fast? For if it be not bread and wine, he does not: and if it be Christ's body and blood naturally and properly, it is not bread and wine. Whether it may be said, the priest is, in some sense, the creator of God himself? Whether his power be greater than the power of angels and archangels? For that it is so, is expressly affirmed by Cassenæus.[p] Whether (as a Bohemian priest said) that a "priest before he say his first mass, be the son of God, but afterward he is the father of God and the creator of his body?" But against this blasphemy, a book was written by John Huss, about the time of the council of Constance. But these things are too bad, and therefore we love not to rake in so filthy channels, but give only a general warning to all our charges, to take heed of such persons, who, from the proper consequences of their articles, grow too bold and extravagant; and, of such doctrines from whence these and many other evil propositions, ὁμιλίαι κακαὶ, frequently do issue. As the tree is, such must be the fruit. But we hope it may be sufficient to

[e] In Psal. xcviii. [f] Cont. Adimantium, c. 12.
[g] Lib. x. Cont. Faust. Manich.
[h] De Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Qui manducant: et cap. Prima quidem: et cap. Non hoc corpus; et cap. Ut quid paras. Sentent. lib. iv. dist. 11.
[i] Dialog. i. c. 8. [k] Dial. ii. c. 24.
[l] De duabus Naturis contra Eutych. et Nestor.
[m] Videatur Pichorellus in Dissert. de Missâ et Expositione verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini.
[n] John vi. 63. [o] Ubi supra. [p] Gloria Mundi, 4. n. 6.

say, 1. That what the church of Rome teaches of transubstantiation, is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many; to the belief of which no faith can oblige us, and no reason can endure. For Christ's body being in heaven, glorious, spiritual, and impassible, cannot be broken. And since by the Roman doctrine nothing is broken but that which cannot be broken, that is, the colour, the taste, and other accidents of the elements: yet if they could be broken, since the accidents of bread and wine are not the substance of Christ's body and blood; it is certain that, on the altar, Christ's body naturally and properly cannot be broken. And, 2. Since they say, that every consecrated wafer is Christ's whole body, and yet this wafer is not that wafer; therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two bodies, for there are two wafers. But, 3. when Christ instituted the sacrament, and said, "This is my body, which is broken;" because, at that time, Christ's body was not broken naturally and properly, the very words of institution do force us to understand the sacrament in a sense not natural, but spiritual, that is, truly sacramental. 4. And all this is besides the plain demonstrations of sense, which tells us, it is bread and it is wine naturally as much after as before consecration. And after all, 5. the natural sense is such as our blessed Saviour reproved in the men of Capernaum, and called them to spiritual understanding; the natural sense being not only unreasonable and impossible, but also to no purpose of the spirit, or any ways perfective of the soul; as hath been clearly demonstrated by many learned men, against the fond hypothesis of the church of Rome in this article.

SECTION VI.

OUR next instance of the novelty of the Roman religion, in their articles of division from us, is that of the half-communion. For they deprive the people of the chalice, and dismember the institution of Christ, and prevaricate his express law in this particular, and recede from the practice of the apostles: and though they confess it was the practice of the primitive church, yet they lay it aside, and curse all them that say they do amiss in it; that is, they curse them who follow Christ, and his apostles, and his church, while themselves deny to follow them.

Now for this we need no other testimony but their own words in the council of Constance:[a] "Whereas, in certain parts of the world, some temerariously presume to affirm, that the christian people ought to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, under both kinds of bread and wine, and do every where communicate the laity not only in bread but in wine also;"——Hence it is that the council decrees and defines against this error, "that although Christ instituted after supper and administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine, yet this notwithstanding, &c.——And although in the primitive church, this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds, &c."—Here is the acknowledgment, both of Christ's institution in both kinds, and Christ's ministering it in both kinds, and the practice of the primitive church to give it in both kinds: yet the conclusion from these premises is; "We command, under the pain of excommunication, that no priest communicate the people under both kinds of bread and wine." The opposition is plain: "Christ's testament ordains it; the church of Rome forbids it; it was the primitive custom to obey Christ in this; a later custom is by the church of Rome introduced to the contrary." To say that the first practice and institution is necessary to be followed, is called heretical: to refuse the later subintroduced custom incurs the sentence of excommunication: and this they have passed not only into a law, but into an article of faith; and if this be not "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," and worshipping God in vain with men's traditions; then there is, and there was, and there can be, no such thing in the world.

So that now the question is not, Whether this doctrine and practice be an innovation, but whether it be not better it should be so? Whether it be not better to drink new wine than old? Whether it be not better to obey man than Christ, "who is God blessed for ever?" Whether a late custom be not to be preferred before the ancient? A custom dissonant from the institution of Christ, before that which is wholly consonant to what Christ did and taught? This is such a bold affirmative of the church of Rome, that nothing can suffice to rescue us from an amazement in the consideration of it: especially since, although the institution itself, being the only warranty and authority for what we do, is, of itself, our rule and precept (according to that of the lawyer,[b] "Institutiones sunt præceptiones quibus instituuntur et docentur homines"); yet besides this, Christ added preceptive words, "Drink ye all of this;"[c] he spake it to all that received, who then also represented all them who for ever after were to remember Christ's death.

But concerning the doctrine of antiquity in this point, although the council of Constance confess the question, yet since that time they have "taken on them a new confidence, and affirm, that the half-communion was always, more or less, the practice of the most ancient times."—We therefore think it fit to produce testimonies concurrent with the saying of the council of Constance, such as are irrefragable, and of persons beyond exception. Cassander[d] affirms, "That, in the Latin church, for above a thousand years, the body of Christ and the blood of Christ were separately given, the body apart and the blood apart, after the consecration of the mysteries."—So Aquinas[e] also affirms; "According to ancient custom of the church, all men as they communicated in the body, so they communicated in the blood; which also, to this day, is kept in some churches."—And therefore Paschasius Rathbertus[f] resolves it dogmatically, "That neither the flesh

[a] Concil. Constant. sess. 13.
[b] Accursius, Præf. super Instit. Justin. [c] Matt. xxvi. 27.
[d] Consult sect. 22. [e] Commen. in 6. Joh. lect. 7.
[f] De corp. et sang. Domini. c. 9.

without the blood, nor the blood without the flesh, is rightly communicated; because the apostles all of them did drink of the chalice." And Salmeron[g] being forced by the evidence of the thing, ingenuously and openly confesses, "That it was a general custom to communicate the laity under both kinds."

It was so, and it was more: there was anciently a law for it, "Aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur," said Pope Gelasius.[h] Either all or none; "let them receive in both kinds, or in neither;" and he gives this reason; "Quia divisio unius et ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire:" "The mystery is but one and the same, and therefore it cannot be divided without great sacrilege." The reason concludes as much of the receiver as the consecrator, and speaks of all indefinitely.

Thus it is acknowledged to have been in the Latin church,[i] and thus we see it ought to have been: and for the Greek church there is no question; for even to this day they communicate the people in the chalice. But this case is so plain, and there are such clear testimonies out of the fathers recorded in their own canon law, that nothing can obscure it, but to use too many words about it. We therefore do exhort our people to take care, that they suffer not themselves to be robbed of their portion of Christ, as he is pleased sacramentally and graciously to communicate himself unto us.

SECTION VII.

As the church of Rome does great injury to christendom, in taking from the people what Christ gave them in the matter of the sacrament; so she also deprives them of very much of the benefit, which they might receive by their holy prayers, if they were suffered to pray in public in a language they understand. But this is denied to the common people, to their very great prejudice and injury.

Concerning which, although it is as possible to reconcile adultery with the seventh commandment, as service in a language not understood to the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; and that therefore if we can suppose, that the apostolical age did follow the apostolical rule, it must be concluded, that the practice of the church of Rome is contrary to the practice of the primitive church: yet besides this, we have thought fit to declare the plain sense and practice of the succeeding ages, in a few testimonies, but so pregnant as not to be avoided.

Origen[a] affirms that "the Grecians, in their prayers, use the Greek,—and the Romans, the Roman language; and so every one, according to his tongue, prayeth unto God, and praiseth him as he is able." St. Chrysostom, urging the precept of the apostle for prayers in a language understood by the hearer, affirms that which is but reasonable, saying, "If a man speaks in the Persian tongue, and understands not what himself says, to himself he is a barbarian, and therefore so he is to him that understands no more than he does." And what profit can he receive, who hears a sound, and discerns it not? It were as good he were absent as present; for if he be the better to be there, because he sees what is done, and guesses at something in general, and consents[b] to him that ministers: it is true, this may be, but this therefore is so because he understands something; but he is only so far benefited as he understands; and therefore all that which is not understood, does him no more benefit that is present, than to him that is absent, and consents to the prayers in general, and to what is done for all faithful people. But "if indeed ye meet for the edification of the church, those things ought to be spoken which the hearers understand," saith St. Ambrose:—and so it was in the primitive church; "blessings, and all other things in the church, were done in the vulgar tongue, saith Lyra;"[c] nay, not only the public prayers, but the whole Bible, was anciently, by many translations, made fit for the people's use. St. Jerome[d] affirms, that himself translated the Bible into the Dalmatian tongue; and Ulphilas,[e] a bishop among the Goths, translated it into the Gothic tongue; and that it was translated into all languages we are told by St. Chrysostom,[f] St. Austin,[g] and Theodoret.[h]

But although what twenty fathers say can make a thing no more certain than if St. Paul had alone said it, yet both St. Paul and the fathers are frequent to tell us, that a service or prayers in an unknown tongue, do not edify: so St. Basil,[i] St. Chrysostom,[k] St. Ambrose,[l] and St. Austin;[m] and this is consented to by Aquinas,[n] Lyra,[o] and Cassander:[p] and besides that these doctors affirm, that in the primitive church the priest and people joined in their prayers, and understood each other, and prayed in their mother tongue: we find a story (how true it is, let them look to it, but it is) told by Æneas Sylvius,[q] who was afterwards Pope Pius II. that when Cyrillus, bishop of the Moravians, and Methodius, had converted the Slavonians, Cyril being at Rome, desired leave to use the language of that nation in their Divine offices. Concerning which, when they were disputing, a voice was heard, as if from heaven, "Let every spirit praise the Lord, and every tongue confess unto him:" upon which it was granted according to the bishop's desire. But now they are not so kind at Rome:

[g] Tract. 35.
[h] Apud Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Comperimus.
[i] Vide Ochagav. de Sacr. Tract. 2. de Euchar. q. 18. de Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Si non sunt, et cap. Quia passus, et cap. Prima quidem, et cap. Tunc eis, et cap. Accesserunt.
[a] Lib. viii. contra Celsum.
[b] Affectus consequitur intellectum; ubi autem nullus earum rerum, quæ petuntur vel dicuntur, habetur intellectus, aut generaliter tantum; ibi exiguus assurgit affectus.—AZOR. Inst. moral. tom. i. lib. ix. c. 34. q. 8.
[c] In 1 Cor. xiv.
[d] Epist. ad Sophron.
[e] Sozom. lib. vi. hist. c. 37.
[f] Hom. 1. in 8. Joan.
[g] De Doctr. Christ. c. 5.
[h] Serm. 5. de Græcar. affect. curat.
[i] Lib. Qui ex var. Script. locis. q. 278.
[k] In 1 Cor. hom. 35.
[l] Super 1 Cor. xiv.
[m] Super Psal. xviii. con. 2.
[n] In 1 Cor. xiv.
[o] In 1 Cor. xiv.
[p] Liturg. c. 18.
[q] Histor. Bohem. c. 13.

and although the fathers at Trent confessed in their decree, that the mass contains in it great matter of erudition and edification of the people, yet they did not think it fit, that it should be said in the vulgar tongue: so that it is very good food, but it must be locked up; it is an excellent candle, but it must be put under a bushel: and now the question is, Whether it be fit that the people pray so as to be edified by it? or, Is it better that they be at the prayers when they shall not be edified? Whether it be not as good to have a dumb priest to do mass, as one that hath a tongue to say it? For he that hath no tongue, and he that hath none to be understood, is alike insignificant to me. "Quid prodest locutionum integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? cum loquendi nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant, loquimur," said St. Austin:[r] "What does it avail, that man speaks all, if the hearers understand none? and there is no cause why a man should speak at all, if they, for whose understanding you do speak, understand it not." God understands the priest's thoughts, when he speaks not, as well as when he speaks: he hears the prayer of the heart, and sees the word of the mind, and a dumb priest can do all the ceremonies, and make the signs; and he that speaks aloud to them that understand him not, does no more. Now, since there is no use of vocal prayer in public, but that all together may signify their desires, and stir up one another, and join in the expression of them to God by this device,—a man who understands not what is said, can only pray with his lips: for the heart cannot pray but by desiring, and it cannot desire what it understands not. So that, in this case, prayer cannot be an act of the soul; there is neither affection nor understanding, notice or desire; the heart says nothing, and asks for nothing, and therefore receives nothing. Solomon calls that "the sacrifice of fools," when men consider not; and they who understand not what is said, cannot take it into consideration. But there needs no more to be said in so plain a case. We end this with the words of the civil and canon law. Justinian, the emperor, made a law in these words, "We will and command, that all bishops and priests celebrate the sacred oblation, and the prayers thereunto added in holy baptism; not in a low voice, but with a loud and clear voice, which may be *heard* by the faithful people;" that is, be *understood*; for so it follows,[s] "that thereby the minds of the hearers may be raised up, with greater devotion, to set forth the praises of the Lord God; for so the apostle teacheth in the first to the Corinthians." It is true that this law was razed out of the Latin versions of Justinian. The fraud and design was too palpable, but it prevailed nothing; for it is acknowledged by Cassander and Bellarmine, and is in the Greek copies of Holoander.[t]

The canon law is also most express, from an authority of no less than a pope and a general council, as themselves esteem; Innocent III. in the great council of Lateran,[u] above one thousand two hundred years after Christ, in these words: "Because, in most parts, within the same city and diocess, the people of divers tongues are mixed together, having, under one and the same faith, divers ceremonies and rites, we straitly charge and command, that the bishops of such cities and diocesses provide men fit, who may celebrate Divine service according to the diversity of ceremonies and languages, and administer the sacraments of the church, instructing them, both by word and by example."

Now if the words of the apostle, and the practice of the primitive church, the sayings of the fathers, and the confessions of wise men amongst themselves; if the consent of nations, and the piety of our forefathers; if right reason and the necessity of the thing; if the needs of the ignorant, and the very inseparable conditions of holy prayers; if the laws of princes, and the laws of the church, which do require all our prayers to be said by them that understand what they say; if all these cannot prevail with the church of Rome to do so much good to the people's souls, as to consent they should understand what in particular they are to ask of God; certainly there is a great pertinacy of opinion, and but a little charity to those precious souls, for whom Christ died, and for whom they must give account.

Indeed the old Tuscan rites, and the soothsayings of the Salian priests, "Vix sacerdotibus suis intellecta, sed quæ mutari vetat religio," were scarce understood by their priests themselves, but their religion forbad to change them.[x] Thus anciently did the Osseni,[y]—heretics, of whom Epiphanius tells,—and the Heracleonitæ, of whom St. Austin gives account; they taught to pray with obscure words: and some others, in Clemens Alexandrinus, supposed, that words spoken in a barbarous or unknown tongue, δυνατωτέρας, "are more powerful." The Jews also, in their synagogues at this day, read Hebrew, which the people but rarely understand: and the Turks, in their mosques, read Arabick, of which the people know nothing. But christians never did so, till they of Rome resolved to refuse to do benefit to the souls of the people in this instance, or to bring them from intolerable ignorance.

SECTION VIII.

The church of Rome hath, to very bad purposes, introduced and imposed upon christendom the worship and veneration of images, kissing them, pulling off their hats, kneeling, falling down and praying before them, which they call "Giving them due honour and veneration." What external honour and veneration that is, which they call "due," is expressed by the instances now reckoned, which the council of Trent, in their decree, enumerate and establish. What "the inward honour and worship" is, which they intend to them, is intimated in the same decree. By the images they worship Christ and his saints; and, therefore, by these images, they pass that honour to Christ and his

[r] De Doct. Christ. lib. iv. c. 10.
[s] Novel. 123.
[t] De Missa. lib. ii. c. 13. sect. ad Novellam.
[u] Cap. 9.
[x] Quintil. lib. i.
[y] Verb. Osseni. c. 6. ad Quod vult Deum.

saints which is their due; that is, as their doctors explain it, "latria," or "Divine worship," to God and Christ; "hyperdulia," or "more than service," to the blessed Virgin Mary; and "service," or "doulia," to other canonized persons. So that upon the whole, the case is this: Whatever worship they give to God, and Christ, and his saints, they give it first to the image, and from the image they pass it unto Christ and Christ's servants. And, therefore, we need not to inquire what actions they suppose to be fit or due. For whatsoever is due to God, to Christ, or his saints, that worship they give to their respective images; all the same in external semblance and ministry; as appears in all their great churches, and public actions, and processions, and temples, and festivals, and endowments, and censings, and pilgrimages, and prayers, and vows made to them.

Now, besides that these things are so like idolatry, that they can no way be reasonably excused (of which we shall, in the next chapter,[a] give some account); besides that they are too like the religion of the heathens, and so plainly and frequently forbidden in the Old Testament, and are so infinitely unlike the simple and wise, the natural and holy, the pure and the spiritual religion of the gospel; besides that they are so infinite a scandal to the Jews and Turks, and reproach christianity itself amongst all strangers that live in their communion and observe their rites; besides that they cannot pretend to be lawful, but with the laborious artifices of many metaphysical notions and distinctions, which the people who most need them do least understand; and that, therefore, the people worship them without these distinctions, and directly put confidence in them; and that it is impossible that ignorant persons, who, in all christian countries, make up the biggest number, should do otherwise, when otherwise they cannot understand it; and besides, that the thing itself, with or without distinctions, is a superstitious and forbidden, an unlawful and unnatural worship of God, who will not be worshipped by an image: we say, that, besides all this, this whole doctrine and practice is an innovation in the christian church, not practised, not endured in the primitive ages, but expressly condemned by them; and this is our present undertaking to evince.

The first notice we find of images brought into christian religion, was by Simon Magus: indeed that was very ancient, but very heretical and abominable; but that he brought some in to be worshipped, we find in Theodoret[b] and St. Austin. St. Irenæus tells,[c] that the Gnostics or Carpocratians did make images, and said, that the form of Christ, as he was in the flesh, was made by Pilate; and these images they worshipped, as did the gentiles: these things they did, but against these things the christians did zealously and piously declare: "We have no image in the world," said St. Clemens of Alexandria: "It is apparently forbidden to us to exercise that deceitful art: for it is written, Thou shalt not make any similitude of any thing in heaven above," &c. And Origen[d] wrote a just treatise against Celsus, in which he not only affirms, "That christians did not make or use images in religion, but that they ought not, and were, by God, forbidden to do so." To the same purpose, also, Lactantius discourses to the emperor, and confutes the pretences and little answers of the heathen in that manner, that he leaves no pretence for christians, under another cover, to introduce the like abomination.

We are not ignorant, that those, who were converted from gentilism, and those who loved to imitate the customs of the Roman princes and people, did soon introduce the historical use of images, and, according to the manner of the world, did think it honourable to depict or make images of those whom they had in great esteem; and that this being done by an esteem, relying on religion, did, by the weakness of men, and the importunity of the tempter, quickly pass into inconvenience and superstition; yea even in the time of Julian the emperor, St. Cyril denies[e] that the christians did give veneration and worship to the image, even to the cross itself, which was one of the earliest temptations; and St. Epiphanius (it is a known story) tells, that when, in the village of Bethel, he saw a cloth picture, "as it were, of Christ, or some saint in the church, against the authority of Scripture;" he cut it in pieces, and advised that some poor man should be buried in it; affirming, "that such pictures are against religion, and unworthy of the church of Christ." The epistle was translated into Latin by St. Jerome; by which we may guess at his opinion in the question.

The council of Eliberis is very ancient,[f] and of great fame; in which it is expressly forbidden, that what is worshipped should be depicted on the walls; and that, therefore, pictures ought not to be in churches. St. Austin,[g] complaining that he knew of many in the church who were worshippers of pictures, calls them "superstitious;" and adds, that "the church condemns such customs, and strives to correct them;" and St. Gregory, writing to Serenus, bishop of Massilia, says, "he would not have had him to break the pictures and images, which were there set for an historical use; but commends him for prohibiting any one to worship them, and enjoins him still to forbid it." But superstition by degrees creeping in, the worship of images was decreed in the seventh synod, or the second Nicene. But the decrees of this synod being, by Pope Adrian,[h] sent to Charles the Great, he convocated a synod of German and French bishops at Frankfort, who discussed the acts passed at Nice, and condemned them: and the acts of this synod, although they were diligently suppressed by the pope's arts, yet Eginardus, Hincmarus, Aventinus, Blondus, Adon,

[a] Chap. ii. sect. 12.
[b] Hæret. Fabul. lib. i.
[c] De Hæres. lib. i. c. 23. Vide etiam Epiphan. tom. ii. lib. i. hæres. 27. et S. August. de Hæres. lib. vi. strom. et in parænetico.
[d] Cont. Cels. lib. vii. et viii.
[e] Epist. ad Joh. Hieros.
[f] Can. 36. Placuit picturas in ecclesiâ esse non debere, ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.
[g] De Morib. Eccles. lib. i. c. 34. Idem de Fide et Symbolo. c. 7. et contr. Adimant. c. 13.
[h] A. D. 764.

Aymonius, and Regino, famous historians, tell us, that the bishops of Frankfort condemned the synod of Nice, and commanded it should not be called a "general council;" and published a book under the name of the emperor, confuting that unchristian assembly; and not long since, this book, and the acts of Frankfort, were published by Bishop Tillius; by which, not only the infinite fraud of the Roman doctors is discovered, but the worship of images is declared against and condemned.

A while after this, Ludovicus, the son of Charlemagne, sent Claudius, a famous preacher, to Taurinum in Italy, where he preached against the worshipping of images, and wrote an excellent book to that purpose. Against this book, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, after the death of Ludovicus and Claudius, did write: in which he yet durst not assert the worship of them, but confuted it out of Origen, whose words he thus cites: "Images are neither to be esteemed by inward affection, nor worshipped with outward show;" and out of Lactantius these: "Nothing is to be worshipped that is seen with mortal eyes; let us adore, let us worship nothing, but the name alone of our only Parent, who is to be sought for in the regions above, not here below;" and to the same purpose, he also alleges excellent words out of Fulgentius and St. Jerome; and though he would have images retained, and therefore was angry at Claudius, who caused them to be taken down, yet he himself expressly affirms that they ought not to be worshipped; and withal adds, that though they kept the images in their churches for history and ornament, yet that in France, the worshipping of them was had in great detestation. And though it is not to be denied, but that in the sequel of Jonas's book,[i] he does something prevaricate in this question; yet it is evident that in France, this doctrine was not accounted catholic for almost nine hundred years after Christ; and in Germany, it was condemned for almost one thousand two hundred years, as we find in Nicetas.

We are not unskilled in the devices of the Roman writers, and with how much artifice they would excuse this whole matter, and palliate the crime imputed to them, and elude the scriptures expressly condemning this superstition; but we know also, that the arts of sophistry are not the ways of salvation. And therefore we exhort our people to follow the plain words of Scripture, and the express law of God in the second commandment; and add also the exhortation of St. John,[k] "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." To conclude; it is impossible but that it must be confessed, that the worship of images was a thing unknown to the primitive church; in the purest times of which they would not allow the making of them; as, amongst divers others, appears in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus,[l] Tertullian,[m] and Origen.[n]

[i] Lib. ii. in Vitâ Isaaci Angeli, A. D. 1160.
[k] I John v. 21.
[l] Strom. lib. vi. et in Protrep.
[m] Lib. ii. c. 22. advers. Marcion. et de Idololatr. c. 3.
[n] Cont. Celsum, lib. iv.
[a] Stromat. lib. i.
[b] Contra Celsum, lib. vii.
[c] De Corona Militis.

SECTION IX.

As an appendage to this, we greatly reprove the custom of the church of Rome, in picturing God the Father, and the most holy and undivided Trinity: which, besides that it ministers infinite scandal to all sober-minded men, and gives the new Arians, in Polonia, and antitrinitarians, great and ridiculous entertainment, exposing that sacred mystery to derision and scandalous contempt; it is also (which at present we have undertaken particularly to remark) against the doctrine and practice of the primitive catholic church.

St. Clemens of Alexandria says,[a] "that in the discipline of Moses, God was not to be represented in the shape of a man, or of any other thing;" and that christians understood themselves to be bound by the same law, we find it expressly taught by Origen,[b] Tertullian,[c] Eusebius,[d] Athanasius,[e] St. Jerome,[f] St. Austin,[g] St. Theodoret,[h] Damascen,[i] and the synod of Constantinople, as is reported in the sixth action of the second Nicene council. And certainly, if there were not a strange spirit of contradiction, or superstition, or deflection from the christian rule, greatly prevailing in the church of Rome, it were impossible that this practice should be so countenanced by them, and defended so, to no purpose, with so much scandal, and against the natural reason of mankind, and the very law of nature itself; for the heathens were sufficiently, by the light of nature, taught to abominate all pictures or images of God.

> Sed nulla effigies, simulacraque nulla Deorum
> Majestate locum et sacro implevere timore. SIL. Ital.

They, in their earliest ages, had "no pictures, no images of their gods: their temples were filled with majesty and a sacred fear." And the reason is given by Macrobius:[k] "Antiquity made no image," viz. *of God*; "because the supreme God, and the Mind that is born of him," that is, *his Son, the eternal Word*, "as it is beyond the soul, so it is above nature, and, therefore, it is not lawful, that figments should come thither."

Nicephorus Callistus,[l] relating the heresy of the Armenians and Jacobites, says, they made images of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; "Quod perquàm absurdum est:" "Nothing is more absurd" than to make pictures or images of the persons of the holy and adorable Trinity. And yet they do this in the church of Rome: for in the windows of their churches, even in country villages, where the danger cannot be denied to be great, and the scandal insupportable; nay, in their books of devotion, in their very mass-books and breviaries, in their portuises and manuals, they picture the holy Trinity with three noses, and four eyes, and three faces, in a knot, to the great dishonour of God, and scandal of

[d] Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 5.
[e] Orat. contra Gentes.
[f] In c. 40. Isa.
[g] De Fide et Symbol. c. 7.
[h] In Deut. q. 1.
[i] De Orthod. Fide, lib. iv. c. 17.
[k] In Somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 2.
[l] Lib. xviii. c. 53.

christianity itself. We add no more, (for the case is too evidently bad,) but reprove the error with the words of their own Polydore Virgil:[m] "Since the world began, never was any thing more foolish than to picture God, who is present every where."

SECTION X.

THE last instance of innovations introduced in doctrine and practice by the church of Rome, that we shall represent, is, that of the pope's universal bishopric; that is, not only that he is bishop of bishops, superior to all and every one; but that his bishopric is a plenitude of power; and as for other bishops, "of his fulness they all receive," a part of the ministry and solicitude; and not only so, but that he only is a bishop by immediate Divine dispensation, and others receive from him whatsoever they have: for to this height many of them are come at last. Which doctrine although as it is in sins, where the carnal are most full of reproach, but the spiritual are of greatest malignity; so it happens in this article. For, though it be not so scandalous as their idolatry, so ridiculous as their superstitions, so unreasonable as their doctrine of transubstantiation, so easily reproved as their half-communion, and service in an unknown tongue; yet it is of as dangerous and evil effect, and as false and as certainly an innovation, as any thing in their whole conjugation of errors.

When Christ founded his church, he left it in the hands of his apostles, without any prerogative given to one, or eminency above the rest, save only of priority and orderly precedency, which of itself was natural, necessary, and incident. The apostles governed all; their authority was the sanction, and their decrees and writings were the laws of the church. They exercised a common jurisdiction, and divided it according to the needs, and emergencies, and circumstances of the church. In the council of Jerusalem, St. Peter gave not the decisive sentence, but St. James, who was the bishop of that see. Christ sent all his apostles, as his Father sent him; and, therefore, he gave to every one of them the whole power which he left behind; and to the bishops congregated at Miletum, St. Paul gave them caution to take care of the whole flock of God,[a] and affirms to them all, that the "Holy Ghost had made them bishops:" and in the whole New Testament, there is no act or sign of superiority, or that one apostle exercised power over another; but to them whom Christ sent, he in common intrusted the church of God: according to that excellent saying of St. Cyprian, "The other apostles are the same that St. Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of honour and power; and they are all shepherds, and the flock is one;"[b] and therefore, it ought to be fed by all the apostles with unanimous consent.

This unity and identity of power, without question and interruption, did continue and descend to bishops in the primitive church, in which it was a known doctrine, that the bishops were successors to the apostles: and what was not in the beginning, could not be in the descent, unless it were innovated and introduced by a new authority. Christ gave ordinary power to none but the apostles; and the power being to continue for ever in the church, it was to be succeeded to; and by the same authority, even of Christ, it descended to them who were their successors, that is, to the bishops, as all antiquity does consent and teach:[c] not St. Peter alone, but every apostle, and, therefore, every one who succeeds them in their ordinary power, may and must remember the words of St. Paul; "We are ambassadors or legates for Christ;" "Christ's vicars," not "the pope's delegates:" and so all the apostles are called in the preface of the mass; "Quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti præesse pastores;" they are "pastors" of the flock and "vicars" of Christ; and so also they are, in express terms, called by St. Ambrose;[d] and, therefore, it is a strange usurpation, that the pope arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to him with all the bishops of christendom.

The consequent of this is, that by the law of Christ, one bishop is not superior to another; Christ gave the power to all alike; he made no head of the bishops; he gave to none a supremacy of power, or universality of jurisdiction. But this the pope hath long challenged, and to bring his purposes to pass, hath, for these six hundred years by-gone, invaded the rights of bishops, and delegated matters of order and jurisdiction to monks and friars; insomuch that the power of bishops was greatly diminished at the erecting of the Cluniack and Cistercian monks about the year ML.: but about the year MCC. it was almost swallowed up by privileges granted to the Begging Friars, and there kept by the power of the pope: which power got one great step more above the bishops, when they got it declared, that the pope is above a council of bishops: and at last it was turned into a new doctrine by Cajetan, (who for his prosperous invention was made a cardinal,) that all the whole apostolic or episcopal power is radical and inherent in the pope, in whom is the fulness of the ecclesiastical authority; and that bishops receive their portion of it from him: and this was first boldly maintained in the council of Trent by the Jesuits; and it is now the opinion of their order; but it is also that which the pope challenges in practice, when he pretends to a power over all bishops, and that this power is derived to him from Christ; when he calls himself the universal bishop, and the vicarial head of the church,

[m] Lib. ii. de Invent. c. 23.

[a] Acts xx. 28.

[b] Epist. de Unit. Ecclesia ad Novatian. et habetur caus. 24. qu. 1.

[c] Irenæ. lib. 4. c. 43, 44. S. Cyprian. lib. i. ep. 6. et lib. ii. ep. 10. et lib. iv. ep. 9. S. Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. 1. S. Aug. de Baptism. contra Donat. lib. vii. c. 43. et ibid. Clarus a Muscula. Idem de verb. Dom. Ser. 24. Con. Rom. sub. Sylvest. Const. Apost. lib. viii. c. ult. Annacl. P. ep. 2. Clemens P. ep. 1. S. Hieron. ep. 13. et ep. 54. Euthym. in Psalm xliv. S. Gregor. in Evan. Hom. 26. ad Heliodor. ep. 1. S. Chrysost. ser. Damascen. de Imaginibus: Orat. 2. S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 21. de Laud. Basilii.

[d] In epist. 1. ad Corin. cap. 3. et in epist. ad Roman. c. 1.

the church's monarch, he from whom all ecclesiastical authority is derived, to whose sentence in things Divine, every christian, under pain of damnation, is bound to be subject.[e]

Now, this is it, which as it is productive of infinite mischiefs, so it is an innovation, and an absolute deflection from the primitive catholic doctrine, and yet is the great groundwork and foundation of their church. This we shall represent in these following testimonies. Pope Eleutherius,[f] in an epistle to the bishops of France, says, "That Christ committed the universal church to the bishops;" and St. Ambrose says, "That the bishop holdeth the place of Christ, and is his substitute." But, famous are the words of St. Cyprian; "The church of Christ is one through the whole world, divided by him into many members, and the bishopric is but one, diffused in the agreeing plurality of many bishops."—And again; "To every pastor a portion of the flock is given, which let every one of them rule and govern." By which words it is evident, that the primitive church understood no prelation of one and subordination of another, commanded by Christ, or by virtue of their ordination; but only what was for order's sake introduced by princes, and consent of prelates; and it was to this purpose very full which was said by Pope Symmachus:[g] "As it is in the holy Trinity, whose power is one and undivided (or, to use the expression in the Athanasian creed, "none is before or after other, none is greater or less than another"); so there is one bishopric amongst divers bishops; and, therefore, why should the canons of the ancient bishops be violated by their successors? Now these words being spoken against the invasion of the rights of the church of Arles, by Anastasius, and the question being in the exercise of jurisdiction, and about the institution of bishops, does fully declare that the bishops of Rome had no superiority by the laws of Christ, over any bishop in the catholic church, and that his bishopric gave no more power to him, than Christ gave to the bishop of the smallest diocess.

And, therefore, all the church of God, whenever they reckoned the several orders and degrees of ministry in the catholic church, reckon the bishop as the last and supreme, beyond whom there is no spiritual power but in Christ. For, "as the whole hierarchy ends in Jesus, so does every particular one in its own bishop."[h] Beyond the bishop there is no step, till you rest in the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls. Under him every bishop is supreme in spirituals, and in all power, which to any bishop is given by Christ. St. Ignatius, therefore, exhorts, that "all should obey their bishop, and the bishop obey Christ, as Christ obeyed his Father."[i]—There are no other intermedial degrees of Divine institution. But, as Origen teaches, "The apostles, and they who, after them, are ordained by God, that is, the bishops, have the supreme place in the church, and the prophets have the second place." The same also is taught by Pope Gelasius,[k] by St. Jerome,[l] and Fulgentius,[m] and indeed by all the fathers who spake any thing in this matter: insomuch, that when Bellarmine is, in this question, pressed, out of the book of Nilus, by the authority of the fathers standing against him, he answers, "Papam patres non habere in ecclesiâ, sed filios omnes:" "The pope acknowledges no fathers in the church, for they are all his sons."

Now although we suppose this to be greatly sufficient to declare the doctrine of the primitive catholic church, concerning the equality of power in all bishops by Divine right: yet the fathers have also expressly declared themselves, that one bishop is not superior to another, and ought not to judge another, or force another to obedience. They are the words of St. Cyprian to a council of bishops,[n] "None of us makes himself a bishop of bishops, or, by tyrannical power, drives his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the license of his own liberty and power, hath his own choice, and cannot be judged by another, nor yet himself judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath the power of setting us in the government of his church, and judging of what we do." This was spoken and intended against Pope Stephen, who did then begin "dominari in clero," "to lord it over God's heritage," and to excommunicate his brethren, as Demetrius did in the time of the apostles themselves: but they both found their reprovers; Demetrius was chastised by St. John for this usurpation, and Stephen by St. Cyprian;[o] and this also was approved by St. Austin. We conclude this particular with the words of St. Gregory,[p] bishop of Rome; who, because the patriarch of Constantinople called himself universal bishop, said, it was a "proud title, profane, sacrilegious, and antichristian:" and, therefore, he little thought that his successors in the same see should so fiercely challenge that antichristian title: much less did the then bishop of Rome, in those ages, challenge it as their own peculiar; for they had no mind to be, or to be esteemed antichristian. "Romano pontifici oblatum est, sed nullus unquam eorum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit." His predecessors, it seems, had been tempted with an offer of that title, but none of them ever assumed that name of singularity, as being "against the law of the gospel, and the canons of the church."[q]

Now this being a matter, of which Christ spake

[e] Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 9. de Major. et Obed. cap. Unam Sanctam.
[f] Referente Archiepisc. Granatensi in Concil. Trid. Ubi supra.
[g] Apud Baro. tom. 6. A. D. 499. n. 36.
[h] Dionys. Areop. de Eccles. Hierarch. de Sacr. perfect.
[i] Epist. ad Smyrnens. et ad Philadel.
[k] Dist. 97. c. Duo sunt.
[l] In Jerem. hom. 7. et adver. Lucif.
[m] In Concil. Paris. lib. i. c. 3.
[n] In Concil. Carthag.
[o] De Bapt. contr. Donat. lib. iii. c. 3.
[p] Lib. iv. ep. 76, 78, 31, 34, 38, 39. &c. Lib. vi. ep. 24.
[q] Lib. iv. ep. 32. Quis est iste, qui contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit? Videatur epistola S. Hieron. ad Evagrium, Concil. Chalced. action 16. Concil. Nicen. can. 6. et can. 7. et Concil. Constantinopol. can. 3. et Novel. Justin. 131.

not one word to St. Peter, if it be a matter of faith and salvation, as it is now pretended, it is not imaginable he would have been so perfectly silent. But though he was silent of any intention to do this, yet St. Paul was not silent that Christ did otherwise; for he hath set in his church "primùm apostolos," "first of all apostles;" not, first, St. Peter, and secondarily, apostles; but all the apostles were first. It is also evident that St. Peter did not carry himself so as to give the least overture or umbrage to make any one suspect he had any such pre-eminence; but he was, as St. Chrysostom truly says,[r] μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιῶν γνώμης, "he did all things with the common consent;" οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς, "nothing by special authority or principality:" and if he had any such, it is more than probable that the apostles who survived him, had succeeded him in it, rather than the bishop of Rome; and it being certain, as the bishop of Canaries confesses,[s] "That there is, in Scripture, no revelation that the bishop of Rome should succeed Peter in it;" and we being there told that St. Peter was at Antioch, but never that he was at Rome; it being confessed by some of their own parties,[t] by Cardinal Cusanus, Soto, Driedo, Canus, and Segovius, that this succession was not addicted to any particular church, nor that Christ's institution of this does any other way appear; that it cannot be proved that the bishop of Rome is prince of the church: it being also certain, that there was no such thing known in the primitive church, but that the holy fathers, both of Africa and the East, did oppose Pope Victor and Pope Stephen, when they began to interpose with a presumptive authority, in the affairs of other churches; and that the bishops of the church did treat with the Roman bishop as with a brother, not as their superior; and that the general council, held at Chalcedon, did give to the bishops of Constantinople equal rights and pre-eminence with the bishops of Rome; and that the Greek churches are at this day, and have been a long time, great opponents of this pretension of the bishops of Rome: and after all this, since it is certain that Christ, who foreknows all things, did also know that there would be great disputes and challenges of this pre-eminence,[u] did indeed suppress it in his apostles, and said not it should be otherwise in succession, and did not give any command to his church to obey the bishops of Rome as his vicars, more than what he commanded concerning all bishops; it must be certain, that it cannot be necessary to salvation to do so; but that it is more than probable, that he never intended any such thing, and that the bishops of Rome have, to the great prejudice of christendom, made a great schism, and usurped a title which is not their due, and challenged an authority to which they have no right, and have set themselves above others who are their equals, and impose an article of faith of their own contriving, and have made great preparation for antichrist, if he ever get into that seat, or be in already; and made it necessary for all of the Roman communion to believe and obey him in all things.

[r] In Act. Apost. hom. 3.
[s] Canus Loc. lib. vi. c. 8. p. 235. Ed. Salmant. 1563.
[t] Concor. Cath. lib. ii. c. 34. Sent. lib. iv. dist. 24. q. 2. art. 5. De Eccl. Dogm. lib. iv. c. 3.
[u] Luke xxii. 25. Matt. xx. 26, 27.

SECTION XI.

THERE are very many more things, in which the church of Rome hath greatly turned aside from the doctrines of Scripture, and the practice of the catholic apostolic and primitive church.

Such are these: The invocation of saints; the insufficiency of Scriptures without traditions of faith unto salvation; their absolving sinners before they have, by canonical penances and the fruits of a good life, testified their repentance; their giving leave to simple presbyters, by papal dispensation, to give confirmation or chrism; selling masses for ninepences; circumgestation of the eucharist to be adored; the dangerous doctrine of the necessity of the priest's intention in collating sacraments, by which device they have put it into the power of the priest to damn whom he please of his own parish; their affirming that the mass is a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; private masses, or the Lord's supper without communion, which is against the doctrine and practice of the ancient church of Rome itself, and contrary to the tradition of the apostles, if we may believe Pope Calixtus, and is also forbidden under pain of excommunication: "Peractâ consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus; sic autem etiam apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia:" "When the consecration is finished, let all communicate that will not be thrust from the bounds of the church; for so the apostles appointed, and so the holy church of Rome does hold."[a] The same also was decreed by Pope Soter, and Pope Martin, in a council of bishops, and most severely enjoined by the canons of the apostles, as they are cited in the canon law.[b]

There are divers others; but we suppose that those innovations, which we have already noted, may be sufficient to verify this charge of novelty. But we have done this the rather, because the Roman emissaries endeavour to prevail amongst the ignorant and prejudicate, by boasting of antiquity, and calling their religion "the old religion and the catholic;" so insnaring others by ignorant words, in which is no truth; their religion, as it is distinguished from the religion of the church of England and Ireland, being neither the old nor the catholic religion; but new and superinduced by arts known to all, who, with sincerity and diligence, have looked into their pretences.

But they have taught every priest, that can scarce

[a] De Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Peracta. Vide etiam ib. cap. In Cœna, et cap. Si quis.
[b] De Consecr. dist. 1. c. Omnes fidel. Omnes fideles qui conveniunt in solemnitatibus sacris ad ecclesiam, et Scripturas apostolorum et evangelia audiant. Qui autem non perseverant in oratione usque dum missa peragatur, nec sanctam communionem percipiunt, velut inquietudines ecclesiæ commoventes convenit communione privari.

understand his breviary, (of which, in Ireland, there are but too many,) and very many of the people, to ask, "Where our religion was before Luther?" Whereas it appears by the premises, that it is much more easy for us to show our religion before Luther, than for them to show theirs before Trent. And although they can show too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the church, yet we can, and do, clearly show ours in the purest and first ages; and can and do draw lines, pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and stories of their Babel was builded, and where polished, and where furnished.

But when the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat, and almost destroyed it: when the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause: and when they, who had cause to complain, were yet themselves very much abused, and did not complain in all they might: when divers excellent persons, St. Bernard, Clemangis Grosthead, Marsilius, Ocham, Alvarus, Abbot Joachim, Petrarch, Savanarola, Valla, Erasmus, Mantuan, Gerson, Ferus, Cassander, Andreas Fricius, Modrevius, Hermannus Coloniensis, Wasseburgius archdeacon of Verdun, Paulus Langius,[c] Staphilus, Telesphorus de Cusentiâ, Doctor Talheymius, Francis Zabarel the cardinal, and Pope Adrian himself, with many others; not to reckon Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, the Bohemians, and the poor men of Lyons, whom they called heretics, and confuted with fire and sword; when almost all christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy made things much worse; then it was that divers christian kingdoms, and particularly the church of England,

> Tum primùm senio docilis, tua sæcula, Roma,
> Erubuit; pudet exacti jam temporis, odit
> Præteritos fœdis cum religionibus annos,—

being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties, which had deturpated the face of the church,—looked in the glass of Scripture and pure antiquity; and washed away those stains with which time, and inadvertency, and tyranny, had besmeared her; and being thus cleansed and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned because she refuses to run into the same excess of riot and deordination. But we cannot deserve blame, who return to our ancient and first health, by preferring a new cure before an old sore.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF ROME, AS IT IS AT THIS DAY DISORDERED, TEACHES DOCTRINES, AND USES PRACTICES, WHICH ARE IN THEMSELVES, OR IN THEIR TRUE AND IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES, DIRECT IMPIETIES, AND GIVE WARRANTY TO A WICKED LIFE.

SECTION I.

Our first instance is in their doctrines of repentance. For the Roman doctors teach, that unless it be by accident, or in respect of some other obligation, a sinner is not bound presently to repent of his sin as soon as he hath committed it. Some time or other he must do it; and if he take care so to order his affairs, that it be not wholly omitted, but so that it be done one time or other, he is not by the precept or grace of repentance bound to do more. Scotus and his scholars say, that a sinner is bound, viz. by the precept of the church, to repent on holydays, especially the great ones. But this is thought too severe by Soto and Medina, who teach that a sinner is bound to repent but once a year, that is, against Easter. These doctors indeed do differ concerning the church's sense; which according to the best of them is bad enough; full as bad as it is stated in the charge: but they agree in the worst part of it, viz. that though the church calls upon sinners to repent on holydays, or at Easter; yet that by the law of God they are not tied to so much, but only to repent in the danger or article of death. This is the express doctrine taught in the church of Rome, by their famous Navar;[a] and for this he quotes Pope Adrian and Cardinal Cajetan, and finally affirms it to be "the sense of all men." The same also is taught by Reginaldus,[b] saying, "It is true, and the opinion of all men, that the time, in which a sinner is bound, by the commandment of God, to be contrite for his sins, is the imminent article of natural or violent death."

We shall not need to aggravate this sad story, by the addition of other words to the same purpose in a worse degree; such as those words are of the same Reginaldus, "There is no precept that a sinner should not persevere in enmity against God. There is no negative precept forbidding such a perseverance." These are the words of this man, but the proper and necessary consequent of that which they all teach, and to which they must consent. For since it is certain that he who hath sinned against God and his conscience, is in a state of enmity, we say he, therefore, ought to repent pre-

[c] In Chronic. Zilizensi.

[a] Enchir. c. 1. n. 31.

[b] Praxis fori pœnit. lib. v. c. 2. sect. 4. n. 23.

sently, because until he hath repented he is an enemy to God. This they confess, but they suppose it concludes nothing; for though they consider and confess this, yet they still saying, a man is not bound by God's law to repent till the article of death, do consequently say the same thing that Reginaldus does, and that a man is not bound to come out of that state of enmity, till he be in those circumstances, that it is very probable, if he does not then come out, he must stay in it for ever. It is something worse than this yet that Sotus[c] says, "Even to resolve to defer our repentance, and to refuse to repent for a certain time, is but a venial sin." But Medina[d] says, "It is none at all."

If it be replied to this, that though God hath left it to a sinner's liberty to repent when he please, yet the church hath been more severe than God hath been, and ties a sinner to repent, by collateral positive laws; for having bound every one to confess at Easter, consequently she hath tied every one to repent at Easter, and so, by her laws, can lie in the sin without interruption but twelve months, or thereabouts; yet there is a secret in this, which nevertheless themselves have been pleased to discover for the ease of tender consciences, viz. that the church ordains but the means, the exterior solemnity of it, and is satisfied, if you obey her laws by a ritual repentance; but the holiness, and the inward repentance, which in charity we should have supposed to have been designed by the law of festivals, "Non est id quod per præceptum de observatione festorum injungitur," "is not that which is enjoined by the church in her law of holydays."[e] So that still sinners are left to the liberty which they say God gave; even to satisfy ourselves with all the remaining pleasures of that sin for a little while, even during our short mortal life: only we must be sure to repent at last.

We shall not trouble ourselves or our charges with confuting this impious doctrine. For it is evident, that this gives countenance and too much warranty to a wicked life; and that of itself is confutation enough, and is that which we intended to represent.

If it be answered, that this is not the doctrine of their church, but of some private doctors; we must tell you, that, if by the doctrine of their church they mean such things only as are decreed in their councils; it is to be considered, that but few things are determined in their councils; nothing but articles of belief, and the practice of sacraments relating to public order; and if they will not be reproved for any thing, but what we prove to be false in the articles of their simple belief, they take a liberty to say and to do what they list, and to corrupt all the world by their rules of conscience. But, that this is also the doctrine of their church, their own men tell us, "Communis omnium," &c. "it is the doctrine of all their men;" so they affirm, as we have cited their own words above: who also undertake to tell us, in what sense their church intends to tie sinners to actual repentance; not as soon as the sin is committed, but at certain seasons, and then also to no more of it than the external and ritual part. So that if their church be injuriously charged, themselves have done it, not we. And besides all this, it is hard to suppose or expect that the innumerable cases of conscience, which a whole trade of lawyers and divines amongst them have made, can be entered into the records of councils and public decrees. In these cases we are to consider, who teaches them? Their gravest doctors, in the face of the sun, under the intuition of authority in the public conduct of souls, in their allowed sermons, in their books licensed by a curious and inquisitive authority, not passing from them, but by warranty from several hands intrusted to examine them, "Ne fides ecclesiæ aliquid detrimenti patiatur;" "that nothing be published but what is consonant to the catholic faith." And, therefore, these things cannot be esteemed private opinions:[f] especially, since if they be, yet they are the private opinions of them all, and that we understand to be public enough: and are so their doctrine, as what the scribes and Pharisees taught their disciples, though the whole church of the Jews had not passed it into a law. So, this is the Roman doctrine; though not the Roman law. Which difference we desire may be observed in many of the following instances, that this objection may no more interpose for an escape or excuse. But we shall have occasion again to speak to it, upon new particulars.

But this, though it be infinitely intolerable, yet it is but the beginning of sorrows. For the guides of souls in the Roman church have prevaricated in all the parts of repentance, most sadly and dangerously.

The next things, therefore, that we shall remark, are their doctrines concerning contrition: which when it is genuine and true, that is, a true cordial sorrow for having sinned against God; a sorrow proceeding from the love of God, and conversion to him, and ending in a dereliction of all our sins, and a walking in all righteousness; both the psalms and the prophets, the Old Testament and the New, the Greek fathers and the Latin, have allowed as sufficient for the pardon of our sins through faith in Jesus Christ: (as our writers have often proved in their sermons, and books of conscience:) yet first, the church of Rome does not allow it to be of any value, unless it be joined with a desire to confess their sins to a priest; saying, that a man by contrition is not reconciled to God, without their sacramental or ritual penance, actual or votive; and this is decreed by the council of Trent:[g] which thing, besides that it is against Scripture, and the promises of the gospel, and not only "teaches for doctrine the commandments of men, but evacuates the goodness of God by their traditions and weak-

[c] Dom. à Soto in quart. sent. dict. 17. qu. 2. art. 6. concl. secunda.

[d] Non est dubium quin id licitum sit. Cod. de Pœniten. Tract. 1. q. 6. p. 18. edit. Salmantic. A. D. 1553.

[e] Reginald. lib. de Contrit. c. 2. cap. 4.

[f] Non illico ut homo se reum sentit culpæ, pœnitentiæ lege pœnitere constringitur. Hæc profecto conclusio more et usu ecclesiæ satis videtur constabilita.—Dom. à Soto. in quart. sent. dist. 17. qu. 2. art. 6.

[g] Sessio. 4. c. 4.

ness, and discourages the best repentance, and prefers repentance towards men before that which the Scripture calls repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

But the malignity of this doctrine, and its influence it hath on an evil life, appears in the other corresponding part of this doctrine. For as contrition without their ritual and sacramental confession will not reconcile us to God; so attrition (as they call it) or contrition imperfect, proceeding from fear of damnation, together with their sacrament, will reconcile the sinner. Contrition without it, will not, attrition with it, will reconcile us; and, therefore, by this doctrine, which is expressly decreed at Trent, there is no necessity of contrition at all; and attrition is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon; and a little repentance will prevail as well as the greatest, the imperfect as well as the perfect. So Gulielmus de Rubeo[h] explains this doctrine: "He that confesses his sins, grieving but a little, obtains remission of his sins by the sacrament of penance ministered to him by the priest absolving him." So that although God working contrition in a penitent, hath not done his work for him without the priest's absolution, in desire at least; yet, if the priest do his part, he hath done the work for the penitent, though God hath not wrought that excellent grace of contrition in the penitent.

But for the contrition itself; it is a good word, but of no severity or affrightment by the Roman doctrine: "One contrition, one act of it, though but little and remiss, can blot out any, even the greatest sin," (always understanding it in the sense of the church, that is, in the sacrament of penances,) saith Cardinal Tolet.[i]—"A certain little inward grief of mind is required to the perfection of repentance," said Maldonat.[k] And to "contrition a grief in general for all our sins is sufficient; but it is not necessary to grieve for any one sin more than another," said Franciscus de Victoriâ.[l] "The greatest sin and the smallest, as to this, are all alike; and as for the contrition itself, any intention or degree whatsoever, in any instant whatsoever, is sufficient to obtain mercy and remision," said the same author.

Now let this be added to the former, and the sequel is this, That if a man live a wicked life for threescore or fourscore years together,—yet if in the article of his death, sooner than which God hath not commanded him to repent, he be a little sorrowful for his sins, then resolving for the present that he will do so no more; and though this sorrow hath in it no love of God, but only a fear of hell, and a hope that God will pardon him; this, if the priest absolves him, does instantly pass him into a state of salvation. The priest with two fingers and a thumb can do his work for him; only he must be greatly disposed and prepared to receive it: greatly, we say, according to the sense of the Roman church: for he must be attrite, or it were better if he were contrite; one act of grief, a little one, and that not for one sin more than another, and this at the end of a long wicked life, at the time of our death, will make all sure.

Upon these terms, it is a wonder that all wicked men in the world are not papists; where they may live so merrily, and die so securely, and are out of all danger, unless peradventure they die very suddenly, which because so very few do, the venture is esteemed nothing, and it is a thousand to one on the sinner's side.

SECTION II.

We know it will be said, that the Roman church enjoins confession, and imposes penances; and these are a great restraint to sinners, and gather up what was scattered before. The reply is easy, but it is very sad. For,

1. For confession; it is true, to them who are not used to it, as it is at the first time, and for that once, it is as troublesome, as for a bashful man to speak orations in public: but where it is so perpetual and universal, and done by companies and crowds at a solemn set time; and when it may be done to any one besides the parish-priest, to a friar that begs, or to a monk in his dorter, done in the ear, it may be to a person that hath done worse, and therefore hath no awe upon me, but what his order imprints, and his viciousness takes off; when we see women and boys, princes and prelates do the same every day: and as oftentimes they are never the better, so they are not at all ashamed; but men look upon it as a certain cure, like pulling off a man's clothes to go and wash in a river; and make it, by use and habit, by confidence and custom, to be no certain pain; and the women blush or smile, weep or are unmoved, as it happens under their veil, and the men under the boldness of their sex: when we see that men and women confess to-day, and sin to-morrow, and are not affrighted from their sin the more for it; because they know the worst of it, and have felt it often, and believe to be eased by it: certain it is, that a little reason, and a little observation, will suffice to conclude, that this practice of confession hath in it no affrightment, not so much as the horror of the sin itself hath to the conscience. For they who commit sins confidently, will, with less regret (it may be) confess it in this manner, where it is the fashion for every one to do it. And when all the world observes how loosely the Italians, Spaniards, and French do live in their carnivals; giving to themselves all liberty and license to do the vilest things at that time, not only because they are for awhile to take their leave of them, but because they are, as they suppose, to be so soon eased of their crimes by confession, and the circular and never-failing hand of the priest; they will have no reason to admire the severity of confession; which as it was most certainly intended as a deletery of sin, and might do its first intention, if it

[h] In 4. sent. dist. 18. q. 1.
[i] Lib. iii. instruc. sacerdot. c. 5. n. 4.
[k] Sum. qu. 16. art. 6.
[l] De contrit. num. 107. Quæcunque intensio contra peccatum, in quocunque instanti, sufficiet ad consequendam misericordiam et remissionem.—Ibid. n. 106.

were equally managed; so now certainly it gives confidence to many men to sin, and to most men to neglect the greater and more effective parts of essential repentance.

We shall not need to observe how confession is made a minister of state, a picklock of secrets, a spy upon families, a searcher of inclinations, a betraying to temptations; for this is wholly by the fault of the men, and not of the doctrine; but even the doctrine itself, as it is handled in the church of Rome, is so far from bringing peace to the troubled consciences, that it intromits more scruples and cases than it can resolve.

For besides that itself is a question, and they have made it dangerous by pretending that it is by Divine right and institution,—for so some of the schoolmen[a] teach; and the canonists say the contrary,[b] and that it is only of human and positive constitution,—and by this difference in so great a point, have made the whole economy of their repentance, which relies upon the supposed necessity of confession, to fail, or to shake vehemently, and, at the best, to be a foundation too uncertain to build the hopes of salvation on it: besides all this, we say their rules and doctrines of confession enjoin some things that are of themselves dangerous, and lead into temptation. An instance of this is in that which is decreed in the canons of Trent,[c] that the penitent must not only confess every mortal sin, which, after diligent inquiry, he remembers, but even his very sinful thoughts in particular, and his secret desires, and every circumstance which changes the kind of the sin, or, as some add, does notably increase it: and how this can be safely done, and who is sufficient for these things, and who can tell his circumstances without tempting his confessor, or betraying, and defaming another person, (which is forbidden,) and in what cases it may be done, or in what cases omitted; and whether the confession be valid upon infinite other considerations, and whether it be to be repeated in whole or in part, and how often; and how much; these things are so uncertain, casual, and contingent, and so many cases are multiplied upon every one of these, and these so disputed and argued by their greatest doctors, by Thomas, and Scotus, and all the schoolmen, and by the casuists; that, as Beatus Rhenanus complains, it was truly observed by the famous John Geilerius, that according to their cases, inquiries, and conclusions, it is impossible for any man to make a right confession. So that although the shame of private confession be very tolerable and easy, yet the cases and scruples which they have introduced, are neither easy nor tolerable: and though, as it is now used, there be but little in it to restrain sin; yet there is very much danger of increasing it, and of receiving no benefit by it.

[a] Vide Biel, lib. iv. dist. 17. q. 1. et Scotum, ibid. et Bonavent. ib. n. 2.

[b] Melius dicitur, eam institutam fuisse à quâdam universali Ecclesiæ traditione, quàm ex Novi vel Veteris Testamenti auctoritate; et tamen negatur hæc traditio esse universalis. Confessio non est necessaria apud Græcos, quia non emanavit ad illos traditionaliter. De Pœnit. dist. 5. in principio Gloss. ibid. Vide etiam Panormitan. super Decreta, lib. v. cap. Quod autem, cap. Omnis utriusque sexus, sect. 18. extrav. Gloss. Maldonatus fatetur omnes canonistas in hanc sententiam consensisse. Disp. de Sacram. tom. ii. c. 2. de Confess. Orig.

[c] Sess. 4. can. 7.

[d] Eman. Sà. V. Satisfact. n. 10. Tolet. lib. iii. Instr. Sacerd. c. 11. n. 6.

SECTION III.

But then for penances and satisfactions, (of which they boast so much, as being so great restraints to sin,) these, as they are publicly handled, are nothing but words and ineffective sounds. For first, if we consider what the penances themselves are which are enjoined; they are reduced from the ancient canonical penances to private and arbitrary, from years to hours, from great severity to gentleness and flattery, from fasting and public shame to the saying over their beads, from cordial to ritual, from smart to money, from heartiness and earnestness to pageantry and theatrical images of penance; and if some confessors happen to be severe, there are ways enough to be eased. For the penitent may have leave to go to a gentler, or he may get commutations, or he may get somebody else[d] to do them for him: and if his penances be ever so great, or ever so little, yet it may be all supplied by indulgences; of which there are such store in the Lateran at Rome, that, as Pope Boniface said, "No man is able to number them," yet he confirmed them all.

In the church of "Santa Maria de Popolo" there are for every day in the year two thousand and eight hundred years of pardon, besides fourteen thousand and fourteen carentanes; which, in one year, amount to more than a million: all which are confirmed by the popes Paschal I. Boniface VIII. and Gregory IX. In the church of St. Vitus and Modestus, there are, for every day in the year, seven thousand years, and seven thousand carentanes of pardon, and a pardon of a third part of all our sins besides; and the price of all this is but praying before an altar in that church. At the sepulchre of Christ in Venice there is hung up a prayer of St. Austin, with an indulgence of fourscore and two thousand years, granted by Boniface VIII. (who was of all the popes the most bountiful of the church's treasure) and Benedict XI. to him that shall say it, and that for every day "toties quoties." The Divine pardon of Sica gave a plenary indulgence to every one, that being confessed and communicated should pray there in the Franciscan church of "Santa Maria degli Angeli," and this pardon is "ab omni pœnâ et culpâ." The English of that we easily understand; but the meaning of it we do not, because they will not own that these indulgences do profit any one, whose guilt is not taken away by the sacrament of penance. But this is not the only snare in which they have inextricably entangled themselves: but be it as they please for this; whatever it was, it was since enlarged by Sixtus IV. and Sixtus V. to all that shall wear St. Francis's cord. The saying a few Pater nosters and Aves, before a privileged altar, can, in innumerable places, procure vast por-

tions of this treasure; and to deliver a soul out of purgatory, whom they list, is promised to many upon easy terms, even to the saying of their beads over with an appendant medal of the pope's benediction. Every priest, at his third or fourth mass, is as sure as may be to deliver the souls of his parents: and a thousand more such stories as these are to be seen every where and every day.

Once for all: there was a book printed at Paris by Francis Regnault, A. D. 1536, May 25, called "The hours of the most blessed Virgin Mary, according to the use of Sarum;" in which, for the saying three short prayers written in Rome, in a place called "The chapel of the holy cross of seven Romans," are promised fourscore and ten thousand years of pardon of deadly sin.[b] Now the meaning of these things is very plain. By these devices they serve themselves, and they do not serve God. They serve themselves by this doctrine: for they teach that what penance is ordinarily imposed, does not take away all the punishment that is due; for they do not impose what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons, but some little thing instead of it: and, it may be, that what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons, is not so much as God will exact: for they suppose that he will forgive nothing but the guilt and the eternity; but he will exact all that can be demanded on this side hell, even to the last farthing he must be paid some way or other, even when the guilt is taken away:—but therefore to prevent any failing that way, they have given indulgences enough to take off what was due by the old canons, and what may be due by the severity of God; and if these fail, they may have recourse to the priests, and they by their masses can make supply: so that their disciples are well, and the want of ancient discipline shall do them no hurt.

But then how little they serve God's end by treating the sinner so gently, will be very evident. For by this means they have found out a way, that though, it may be, God will be more severe than the old penitential canons; and although these canons were much more severe than men are now willing to suffer; yet neither for the one or the other shall they need to be troubled: they have found out an easier way to go to heaven than so. And indulgence will be no great charge, but that will take off all the supernumerary penances, which ought to have been imposed by the ancient discipline of the church, and may be required by God. A little alms to a priest, a small oblation to a church, a pilgrimage to the image or relics of a saint, wearing St. Francis's cord, saying over the beads with an hallowed appendant, entering into a fraternity, praying at a privileged altar, leaving a legacy for a soul-mass, visiting a privileged cemetery, and twenty other devices, will secure the sinner from suffering punishment here or hereafter, more than his friendly priest is pleased gently to impose.

To them that ask, What should any one need to get so many hundred thousand years of pardon, as are ready to be had upon very easy terms?—they answer, as before; that whereas it may be for perjury, the ancient canons enjoined penance all their life;[c] that will be supposed to be twenty or forty years, or suppose a hundred; if the man have been perjured a thousand times, and committed adultery so often, and done innumerable other sins, for every one of which he deserves to suffer forty years' penance; and how much more in the account of God he deserves, he knows not: if he be attrite, and confessed so, that the guilt is taken away, yet, as much temporal punishment remains due as is not paid here: but the indulgences of the church will take off so much as it comes to, even of all that would be suffered in purgatory. Now it is true, that purgatory (at least as is believed) cannot last a hundred thousand years; but yet God may, by the acerbity of the flames in twenty years, equal the canonical penances of twenty thousand years: to prevent which, these indulgences of so many thousand years are devised. A wise and thrifty invention sure, and well contrived, and rightly applotted according to every man's need, and according as they suspect his bill shall amount to.

This strange invention, as strange as it is, will be owned; for this is the account of it, which we find in Bellarmine;[d] and although Gerson and Dominicus à Soto are ashamed of these prodigious indulgences, and suppose that the pope's questuaries did procure them, yet it must not be so disowned; truth is truth, and it is notoriously so; and therefore a reason must be found out for it; and this is it, which we have accounted. But the use we make of it, is this; that since they have declared, that when sins are pardoned so easily, yet the punishment remains so very great, and that so much must be suffered here or in purgatory; it is strange that they should not only in effect pretend to show more mercy than God does, or the primitive church did; but that they should directly lay aside the primitive discipline, and while they declaim against their adversaries, for saying they are not necessary, yet at the same time they should devise tricks to take them quite away; so that neither penances shall much smart here, nor purgatory (which is a device to make men be Mulatas, as the Spaniard calls half-christians, a device to make a man go to heaven and to hell too) shall not torment them hereafter. However it be, yet things are so ordered, that the noise of penances need not trouble the greatest criminal, unless he be so unfortunate as to live in no country and near no church, and without priest, or friend, or money, or notice of any thing that is so loudly talked of in christendom. If he be, he hath no help but one; he must live a holy and a severe life, which is the only great calamity which they are commanded to suffer in the church of England: but if he be not, the case is plain, he may by these doctrines take his ease.

[b] Tolet. Instr. Sacerd. lib. iii. c. 11. n. 6.

[c] Vide Concil. Tribur. c. 54. Burchard. lib. xix. Tertul. lib. de Pœnitentiâ.

[d] De Indulgent. lib. i. c. 9. sect. Existit autem.

SECTION IV.

We doubt not, but they who understand the proper sequel of these things, will not wonder that the church of Rome should have a numerous company of proselytes, made up of such as the beginnings of David's army were. But that we may undeceive them also, for to their souls we intend charity and relief by this address, we have thought fit to add one consideration more, and that is, that it is not fit that they should trust to this, or any thing of this; not only because there is no foundation of truth in these new devices, but because even the Roman doctors themselves, when they are pinched with an objection, let their hold go, and to escape, do, in remarkable measures, destroy their own new building.

The case is this: to them who say, that if there were truth in these pretensions, then all these, and the many millions of indulgences more, and the many other ways of releasing souls out of purgatory, the innumerable masses said every day, the power of the keys so largely employed, would, in a short time, have emptied purgatory of all her sad inhabitants, or, it may be, very few would go thither, and they that unfortunately do, cannot stay long; and consequently, besides that, this great softness and easiness of procedure would give confidence to the greatest sinners, and the hopes of purgatory would destroy the fears of hell, and the certainty of doing well enough in an imperfect life, would make men careless of the more excellent; besides these things, there will need no continuation of pensions, to pray for persons dead many years ago: to them, I say, who talk to them at this rate, they have enough to answer.

Deceive not yourselves, there are more things to be reckoned for than so. For, when you have deserved great punishments for great sins, and the guilt is taken off by absolution, and (you suppose) the punishment by indulgences or the satisfaction of others; it may be so, and it may be not so.

For 1. It is according as your indulgence is. Suppose it for forty years, or it may be a hundred, or a thousand (and that is a great matter); yet, peradventure, according to the old penitential rate, you have deserved the penance of forty thousand years; or at least, you may have done so by the more severe account of God; if the penance of forty years be taken off by your indulgence, it does as much of the work as was promised or intended; but you can feel little ease, if still there remains due the penance of threescore thousand years. No man can tell the difference, when what remains shall be so great as to surmount all the evils of this life; and the abatement may be accounted by pen and ink, but will signify little in the perception: it is like the casting out of a devil out of a miserable demoniac, when there still remains fifty more, as bad as he that went away: the man will hardly find how much he is advanced in his cure.

But 2. You have, with much labour and some charge, purchased to yourself so many quadragenes, or lents of pardon; that is, you have bought off the penances of so many times forty days. It is well; but were you well advised? It may be, your quadragenes are not carenes, that is, are not a quitting the severest penances of fasting so long in bread and water: for there is great difference in the manner of keeping a penitential lent, and it may be, you have purchased but some lighter thing; and then, if your demerit arise to so many carenes, and you purchased but mere quadragenes, without a minute, and table of particulars, you may stay longer in purgatory than you expected.

3. But therefore, your best way is to get a plenary indulgence;[a] and that may be had on reasonable terms: but take heed you do not think yourself secure, for a plenary indulgence does not do all that it may be you require; for there is an indulgence more full, and another most full, and it is not agreed upon among the doctors, whether a plenary indulgence is to be extended beyond the taking off those penances, which were actually enjoined by the confessor, or how far they go further. And they that read Turrecremata, Navar, Cordubensis, Fabius, Incarnatus, Petrus de Soto, Armilla Aurea, Aquinas, Tolet, Cajetan, in their several accounts of indulgences, will soon perceive, that all this is but a handful of smoke; when you hold it, you hold it not.

4. But further yet; all indulgences are granted upon some inducement, and are not "ex mero motu," or "acts of mere grace" without cause; and if the cause be not reasonable, they are invalid: and whether the cause be sufficient, will be very hard to judge. And if there be for the indulgence, yet, if there be not a reasonable cause for the quantity of the indulgence, you cannot tell how much you get: and the preachers of indulgences ought not to declare how valid they are "assertive," that is, by any confidence; but "opinative," or "recitative," they can only tell what is said, or what is their own opinion.

5. When this difficulty is passed over, yet, it may be, the person is not capable of them; for, if he be not in the state of grace, all is nothing; and if he be, yet if he does not perform the condition of the indulgence actually, his mere endeavour, or good desire, is nothing. And when the conditions are actually done, it must be inquired, whether, in the time of doing them, you were in charity; whether you be so at least in the last day of finishing them: it is good to be certain in this, lest all evaporate, and come to nothing. But yet, suppose this too, though the work you are to do as the condition of the indulgence, be done so well that you lose not all the indulgence; yet, for every degree of imperfection in that work, you will lose a part of the indulgence, and then it will be hard to tell, whether you get half so much as you propounded to yourself. But here Pope Adrian troubles the whole affair again:[b] for, if the indulgence be only given according to the worthiness of the work done, then that will avail of itself without any grant from the

[a] Vide Joan. de Turrecremata in comment. dist. 1. de Pœnitent.

[b] Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. i. pag. 20. Londin. edit.

church; and then it is hugely questionable, whether the pope's authority be of any use in this whole matter.

6. But there is yet a greater heap of dangers and uncertainties; for you must be sure of the authority of him that gives the indulgence, and in this there are many doubtful questions; but when they are over, yet it is worth inquiry, (for some doctors are fearful in this point,) whether the intromission of venial sins, without which no man lives, does hinder the fruit of the indulgence: for if it does, all the cost is lost.

7. When an indulgence is given, put case to abide forty days on certain conditions, whether these forty days are to be taken collectively or distributively; for, because it is confessed, that the matter of indulgence is "res odibilis," a hateful and "an odious matter,"[c] it is not to be understood in the sense of favour, but of greatest severity; and, therefore, it is good to know beforehand what to trust to, to inquire how the bull is penned, and what sense of law every word does bear; for it may be any good man's case. If an indulgence be granted to a place for so many days in every year, it were fit you inquire, for how many years that will last; for some doctors say, that if a definite number of years be not set down, it is intended to last but twenty years. And, therefore, it is good to be wise early.

8. But it is yet of greater consideration: if you take out a bull of indulgence, relating to the article of death, in case you recover that sickness, in which you thought you should use it,—you must consider, whether you must not take out a new one for the next fit of sickness; or, will the first, which stood for nothing, keep cold, and without any sensible error, serve when you shall indeed die?

9. You must also inquire, and be rightly informed, whether an indulgence granted upon a certain festival will be valid, if the day be changed (as they were all at once by the Gregorian calendar): or, if you go into another country, where the feast is not kept the same day, as it happens in movable feasts, and on St. Bartholomew's day, and some others.

10. When your lawyers have told you their opinion of all these questions, and given it under their hands, it will concern you to inquire yet further, whether a succeeding pope have not, or cannot revoke an indulgence granted by his predecessor; for this is often done in matters of favour and privileges; and the German princes complained sadly of it; and it was complained in the council of Lyons,[d] that Martin, the legate of Pope Innocent VIII., revoked and dissipated all former grants: and it is an old rule, "Papa nunquam sibi ligat manus," "The pope never binds his own hands." But here some caution would do well.

11. It is worth inquiry, whether, in the year of jubilee, all other indulgences be suspended; for, though some think they are not, yet, Navar and Emanuel Sà affirm that they are; and if they chance to say true, (for no man knows whether they do or do not,) you may be at a loss that way. And when all this is done, yet,

12. Your indulgences will be of no avail to you in reserved cases, which are very many. A great many more very fine scruples might be moved, and are so; and, therefore, when you have gotten all the security you can by these, you are not safe at all. But, therefore, be sure still to get masses to be said.

So that now the great objection is answered: you need not fear that saying masses will ever be made unnecessary by the multitude of indulgences: the priest must still be employed and entertained in "subsidium," since there are so many ways of making the indulgence good for nothing; and, as for the fear of emptying purgatory by the free and liberal use of the keys, it is very needless; because the pope cannot evacuate purgatory,[e] or give so many indulgences as to take out all souls from thence: and, therefore, if the popes, and the bishops, and the legates, have been already too free, it may be, there is so much in arrear, that the treasure of the church is spent, or the church is in debt for souls; or else, though the treasure be inexhaustible, yet so much of her treasure ought not to be made use of, and, therefore, it may be, that your soul shall be postponed, and must stay and take its turn God knows when. And, therefore, we cannot but commend the prudence of Cardinal Albernotius,[f] who, by his last will took order for fifty thousand masses, to be said for his soul; for he was a wise man, and loved to make all as sure as he could.

But then, to apply this to the consciences of the poor people of the Roman communion. Here is a great deal of treasure of the church pretended, and a great many favours granted, and much ease promised, and the wealth of the church boasted of, and the people's money gotten; and that this may be a perpetual spring, it is clear amongst their own writers, that you are not sure of any good by all that is past, but you must get more security, or this may be nothing. But how easy were it for you now to conclude, that all this is but a mere cozenage, an art to get money? but that is but the least of the evil, it is a certain way to deceive souls. For since there are so many thousands that trust to these things, and yet, in the confession of your own writers, there are so many fallibilities in the whole, and in every part, why will you suffer yourselves so weakly and vainly to be cozened out of your souls with promises that signify nothing, and words without virtue, and treasures that make no man rich, and indulgences that give confidence to sin, but no ease to the pains which follow?

Besides all this, it is very considerable, that this whole affair is a state of temptation; for they that have so many ways to escape, will not be so careful of the main stake as the interest of it requires. He that hopes to be relieved by many others, will be tempted to neglect himself: there is a ἓν μέγα, an

[c] Fab. Incarnat. scrutin. Sacerd. de Indulgent.
[d] Centum gravam. Germ. Idem facere voluit Paulus Quintus in Venetorum causâ.
[e] Fabius Incarnatus Scrutin. Sacerdot. de indulgent. sect. antepen. edit. Barcinon. 1628.
[f] Apud Genes. Sepulvedam. in vitâ Egidii Albernotii Cardinal.

"Unum necessarium," even that "we work out our own salvation with fear and trembling." A little wisdom, and an easy observation, were enough to make all men that love themselves wisely to abstain from such diet, which does not nourish, but fills the stomach with wind and imagination. But to return to the main inquiry.

We desire that it be considered, how dangerously good life is undermined, by the propositions collaterally taught by their great doctors, in this matter of indulgences, besides the main and direct danger and deception.

1. "Venial sins, preceding or following the work enjoined for getting indulgences, hinder not their fruit; but if they intervene in the time of doing them, then they hinder."[g] By this proposition there is infinite uncertainty concerning the value of any indulgence; for if venial sins be daily incursions, who can say, that he is one day clean from them? And if he be not, he hath paid his price for that which profits not, and he is made to rely upon that which will not support him. But though this being taught, doth evacuate the indulgence, yet it is not taught to prevent the sin; for, before and after, if we commit venial sins, there is no great matter in it: the inconvenience is not great, and the remedy is easy; you are told of your security, as to this point, beforehand.

2. Pope Adrian taught a worse matter. "He that will obtain indulgence for another, if he does perform the work enjoined, though himself be in deadly sin, yet for the other he prevails:"[h] as if a man could do more for another than he can do for himself; or, as if God would regard the prayers of a vile and a wicked person, when he intercedes for another, and at the same time, if he prays for himself, his prayer is an abomination. God first is entreated for ourselves, and when we are more excellent persons, admits us to intercede, and we shall prevail for others; but that a wicked person, who is under actual guilt, and obliged himself to suffer all punishment, can ease and take off the punishment due to others by any externally good work done ungraciously, is a piece of new divinity without colour of reason or religion. Others in this are something less scandalous; and affirm, that though it be not necessary, that when the indulgence is granted, the man should be in the state of grace; yet it is necessary, that at some time or other he should be; at any time (it seems) it will serve. For thus they turn divinity, and the care of souls, into mathematics and clock-work, and dispute minutes and periods with God, and are careful to tell their people how much liberty they may take, and how far they may venture, lest they should lose any thing of their sin's pleasure, which they can possibly enjoy, and yet have hopes of being saved at last.

3. But there is worse yet. If a man willingly commits a sin in hope and expectation of a jubilee, and of the indulgences afterwards to be granted, he does not lose the indulgence, but shall receive it; which is expressly affirmed by Navar,[i] and Antonius Cordubensis,[k]—and Bellarmine,[l] though he asks the question, denies it not. By which it is evident, that the Roman doctrines and divinity teach contrary to God's way; who is most of all angry with them that "turn his grace into wantonness," and sin "that grace may abound."

4. If any man, by reason of poverty, cannot give the prescribed alms, he cannot receive the indulgence. Now since it is sufficiently known, that in all or most of the indulgences, a clause is sure to be included, that something be offered to the church, to the altar, to a religious house,[m] &c. the consequent of this will be soon seen, that indulgences are made for the rich, and the treasures of the church are to be dispensed to them that have treasures of their own; for "Habenti dabitur." But then God help the poor; for them purgatory is prepared, and they must burn: for the rich it is pretended, but the smell of fire will not pass upon them.

From these premises we suppose it but too evident, that the Roman doctors prevaricate in the whole doctrine of repentance, which indeed, in Christ Jesus, is the whole economy of justification and salvation; it is the hopes and staff of all the world, the remedy of all evils, past, present, and to come. And if our physic be poisoned, if our staff be broken, if our hopes make us ashamed, how shall we appear before Christ at his coming? But we say, that, in all the parts of it, their doctrine is infinitely dangerous.

1. Contrition is sufficient, if it be but one little act, and that in the very article of death; and before that time it is not necessary by the law of God, nay, it is indeed sufficient; but it is also insufficient,—for without confession, in act or desire, it suffices not. And though it be thus insufficiently sufficient, yet it is not necessary: for attrition is also sufficient if a priest can be had; and then any little grief proceeding out of the fear of hell will do it, if the priest do but absolve.

2. Confession might be made of excellent use, and is so among the pious children of the church of England; but by the doctrines and practices in the church of Rome it is made, not the remedy of sins by proper energy, but the excuse, the alleviation, the confidence, the ritual, external, and sacramental remedy, and serves instead of the labours of a holy and a regular life; and yet is so entangled with innumerable and inextricable cases of conscience, orders, human prescripts, and great and little artifices, that scruples are more increased than sins are lessened.

3. For satisfactions and penances, which, if they were rightly ordered, and made instrumental to kill the desires of sin, or to punish the criminal, or were properly the fruits of repentance, that is, parts of a holy life, good works done in charity, and the

[g] Fab. Incarn. ubi supra.
[h] Apud Petrum de Soto lect. de Instit. Sacerd. de necessarius ad effectum indulg.
[i] In Tract. de Jubilæo natab. 31. n. 1. et. 6.
[k] Qu. 37. de Indulg. prop. 3.
[l] Lib. i. de Indulg. c. 10. Sect. Altera dubitatio.
[m] Scrutin. Sacerd. ubi supra.

habitual permanent grace of God, were so prevailing, as they do the work of God: yet when they are taken away, not only by the declension of primitive discipline, but by new doctrines and indulgences, regular and offered commutations for money, and superstitious practices, which are sins themselves, and increase the numbers and weights of the account, there is a great way made for the destruction of souls, and the discountenancing the necessity of holy life; but nothing for the advantage of holiness, or the becoming like to God.

And now at last for a cover to this dish, we have thought fit to mind the world, and to give caution to all that mean to live godly in Christ Jesus, to what an infinite scandal and impiety this affair hath risen in the church of Rome, we mean in the instance of their "taxa cameræ, seu cancellariæ apostolicæ," "the tax of the apostolical chamber or chancery;" a book publicly printed, and exposed to common sale; of which their own Espencæus[n] gives this account; that it is a book, in which a man may learn more wickedness, than in all the summaries of vices published in the world: and yet to them that will pay for it, there is to many given a license, to all an absolution, for the greatest and most horrid sins. There is a price set down for his absolution, that hath killed his father or his mother, brother, sister, or wife, or that hath lain with his sister or his mother. We desire all good christians to excuse us for naming such horrid things;

Nomina sunt, ipso penè timenda sono.

But the licenses are printed in Paris in the year 1500, by Tossan Denis. Pope Innocent VIII. either was author or enlarger of these rules of this chancery-tax, and there are glosses upon them, in which the scholiast himself, who made them, affirms, that he must, for that time, conceal some things to avoid scandal. But how far this impiety proceeded, and how little regard there is in it to piety, or the good of souls, is visible by that which Augustinus de Ancona[o] teaches; "that the pope ought not to give indulgences to them, who have a desire of giving money, but cannot, as to them who actually give." And whereas it may be objected, that then poor men's souls are in a worse condition than the rich; he answers, "that as to the remission of the punishment acquired by the indulgence, in such case it is not inconvenient that the rich should be in a better condition than the poor."—For in that manner do they imitate God who is no respecter of persons.

SECTION V.

THESE observations we conceive to be sufficient to deter every well-meaning person from running into or abiding in such temptations. Every false proposition that leads to impiety, is a stock and fountain of temptations; and these which we have reckoned in the matter of repentance, having influence upon the whole life, are yet much greater by corrupting the whole mass of wisdom and spiritual propositions.

There are indeed many others. We shall name some of them, but shall not need much to insist on them. Such as are,

1. That one man may satisfy for another.[a] It is the general doctrine of their church: the divines and lawyers consent in it, and publicly own it: the effect of which is this, that some are made rich by it, and some are careless; but "qui non solvit in ære luat in corpore," is a canonical rule; and though it was spoken in the matter of public penances, and so relates to the exterior court, yet it is also practised and avowed in satisfactions or penances relating to the inward court of conscience, and penance sacramental; and the rich man is made negligent in his duty, and is whipped upon another man's back, and his purse only is the penitent; and, which is worst of all, here is a pretence of doing that, which is too near blasphemy but to say. For by this doctrine, it is not to be said of Christ alone, that "he was wounded for our transgressions," that he only satisfied for our sins; for in the church of Rome it is done frequently, and pretended daily, that "by another's man's stripes we are healed."

2. They teach, that a habit of sin is not a sin distinct from those former actions by which the habit was contracted. The secret intention of which proposition, and the malignity of it, consist in this, that it is not necessary for a man to repent speedily, and a man is not bound by repentance to interrupt the procedure of his impiety, or to repent of his habit, but of the single acts that went before it. For as for those that come after, they are excused, if they be produced by a strong habit; and the greater the habit, the less is the sin: but then as the repentance need not, for that reason, be hasty and presently; so because it is only to be of single acts, the repentance itself need not be habitual, but it may be done in an instant; whereas to mortify a habit of sin (which is the true and proper repentance) there is required a longer time, and a procedure in the methods of a holy life. By this, and such like propositions, and careless sentences, they have brought it to that pass, that they reckon a single act of contrition, at any time, to be sufficient to take away the wickedness of a long life. Now that this is the avowed doctrine of the Roman guides of souls, will sufficiently appear in the writings of their chiefest, of which no learned man can be ignorant.[b] The thing was of late openly and professedly disputed against us, and will not be denied. And that this doctrine is infinitely destructive of the necessity of a good life, cannot be doubted of, when themselves do own the proper consequents of it, even the unnecessariness of present repentance, or before the danger of death; of which we have already given accounts. But the reason why we remark it

[n] Digres. 2. ad. c. 1. epist. ad Titum.
[o] De Potest. Papæ, q. 3. ad. 3.
[a] Sà, Aphor. verb. Satisfa. num. 10. Scrutin. Sacerdot. Tract. de Indulg. sect. penult. Suarez, part. 4. in 3. disp. 38. sect. 9.

[b] Granat. in Materia de Peccatis, tract. 8. disput. 1. sect. 1. F. Knott against Chillingworth, in his Infidelity Unmasked, pp. 105, 106, 107, &c.

here, is that which we now mentioned, because that by the doctrine of vicious habits, having in them no malignity or sin, but what is in the single preceding acts, there is an excuse made for millions of sins: for, if by an evil habit the sinner is not made worse, and more hated by God, and his sinful acts made not only more, but more criminal; it will follow, that the sins are very much lessened: for they being not so voluntary in their exercise and distinct emanation, are not in present so malicious; and therefore, he that hath gotten a habit of drunkenness or swearing, sins less in every act of drunkenness, or profane oath, than he that acts them seldom, because by his habit he is more inclined, and his sins are almost natural, and less considered, less chosen, and not disputed against; but pass, by inadvertency and an untroubled consent, easily and promptly, and almost naturally, from that principal: so that by this means, and in such cases when things are come to this pass, they have gotten an imperfect warrant to sin a great deal and a great while, without any new great inconvenience: which evil state of things ought to be infinitely avoided by all christians that would be saved by all means; and, therefore, all such teachers, and all such doctrines, are carefully to be declined, who give so much easiness, not only to the remedies, but to the sins themselves. But of this, we hope it may be sufficient to have given this short warning.

3. The distinction of mortal and venial sins, as it is taught in the church of Rome, is a great cause of wickedness, and careless conversation. For although we do, with all the ancient doctors, admit of the distinction of sins mortal and venial; yet we also teach, that in their own nature, and in the rigour of the Divine justice, every sin is damnable, and deserves God's anger, and that in the unregenerate they are so accounted, and that in hell the damned suffer for small and great in a common mass of torment; yet, by the Divine mercy and compassion, the smaller sins, which come by surprise, or by invincible ignorance, or inadvertency, or unavoidable infirmity, shall not be imputed to those who love God, and delight not in the smallest sin, but use caution and prayers, watchfulness and remedies against them. But if any man delights in small sins, and heaps them into numbers, and, by deliberation or licentiousness, they grow numerous, or are in any sense chosen, or taken in, by contempt of Divine law, they do put us from the favour of God, and will pass into severe accounts. And though sins are greater or less by comparison to each other, yet the smallest is a burden too great for us without the allowances of the Divine mercy.

But the church of Rome teaches, that there is a whole kind of sins, which are venial in their own nature, such, which if they were all together, all in the world conjoined, could not equal one mortal sin,[c] nor destroy charity, nor put us from the favour of God; such, for which no man can perish,[d] "etiamsi nullum pactum esset de remissione," "though God's merciful covenant of pardon did not intervene." And whereas Christ said, "Of every idle word a man shall speak, he shall give account at the day of judgment;" and, "By your words ye shall be justified;" and, "By your words ye shall be condemned:" Bellarmine expressly affirms, "It is not intelligible, how an idle word should, in its own nature, be worthy of the eternal wrath of God, and eternal flames."—Many other desperate words are spoken by the Roman doctors in this question; which we love not to aggravate, because the main thing is acknowledged by them all.

But now we appeal to the reason and consciences of all men, Whether this doctrine of sins, venial in their own nature, be not greatly destructive to a holy life? When it is plain that they give rest to men's consciences for one whole kind of sins; for such, which because they occur every day, in a very short time (if they be not interrupted by the grace of repentance) will swell to a prodigious heap. But concerning these we are bidden to be quiet; for we are told that all the heaps of these in the world cannot put us out of God's favour. Add to this, that it being, in thousands of cases, impossible to tell which are, and which are not venial in their own nature, and in their appendant circumstances, either the people are cozened by this doctrine into a useless confidence; and for all this talking in their schools, they must nevertheless do to venial sins, as they do to mortal, that is, mortify them, fight against them, repent speedily of them, and keep them from running into mischief; and then all their kind doctrines in this article signify no comfort or ease, but all danger and difficulty, and useless dispute; or else, if really they mean, that this easiness of opinion be made use of, then the danger is imminent, and carelessness is introduced, and licentiousness in all little things is easily indulged; and men's souls are daily lessened without repair, and kept from growing towards christian perfection, and from "destroying the whole body of sin;" and in short, "despising little things, they perish by little and little."

This doctrine also is worse yet in the handling. For it hath infinite influence to the disparagement of holy life, not only by the uncertain, but, as must frequently happen, by the false determination of innumerable cases of conscience. For it is a great matter, both in the doing and the thing done, both in the caution and the repentance, whether such an action be a venial or a mortal sin. If it chance to be mortal, and your confessor says it is venial, your soul is betrayed. And it is but a chance what they say in most cases; for they call what they please venial, and they have no certain rule to answer by; which appears too sadly in their innumerable differences, which are amongst all their casuists, in saying, what is, and what is not mortal; and of this there needs no greater proof than the reading the little summaries made by their most leading guides of conscience, Navar, Cajetan, Tolet, Emanuel Sà, and others; where one says such a thing is mortal, and two say it is venial.

And lest any man should say or think, "This is

[c] Bellarm. lib. i. de Amis. Gratiæ. c. 13. sect. Alterum est. Et de Sacram. Euchar. lib. iv. c. 19. sect. Respondeo.

[d] Cap. 14. sect. Adde postremo. De Purgator. lib. i. c. 11. sect. Probatur ultimo.

no great matter:"—we desire that it be considered, that, in venial sins, there may be very much fantastic pleasure, and they that retain them, do believe so; for they suppose the pleasure is great enough to outweigh the intolerable pains of purgatory; and that it is more eligible to be in hell awhile, than to cross their appetites in such small things. And however it happen in this particular, yet, because the doctors differ so infinitely and irreconcilably, in saying what is and what is not venial; whoever shall trust to their doctrine, saying, that such a sin is venial; and to their doctrine, that says, it does not exclude from God's favour; may, by these two propositions, be damned before he is aware.

We omit to insist upon their express contradicting the words of our blessed Saviour, who taught his church expressly, "that we must work in the daytime; for the night cometh, and no man worketh:" let this be as true as it can in the matter of repentance and mortification, and working out our pardon for mortal sins; yet it is not true in venial sins, if we may believe their great St. Thomas,[e] whom also Bellarmine[f] follows in it; for he affirms, that by the acts of love and patience in purgatory, venial sins are remitted; and that the acceptation of those punishments proceeding out of charity, is a virtual kind of penance. But in this particular we follow not St. Thomas nor Bellarmine, in the church of England and Ireland; for we believe in Jesus Christ, and follow him. If men give themselves liberty as long as they are alive, to commit one whole kind of sins, and hope to work it out after death by acts of charity and repentance, which they would not do in their life-time; either they must take a course to sentence the words of Christ as savouring of heresy, or else they will find themselves to have been at first deceived in their proposition, and at last in their expectation. Their faith hath failed them here, and hereafter they will be ashamed of their hope.

SECTION VI.

THERE is a proposition, which indeed is new, but is now the general doctrine of the leading men in the church of Rome; and it is the foundation on which their doctors of conscience rely, in their decision of all cases in which there is a doubt or question made by themselves; and that is, "That if an opinion or speculation be probable, it may in practice be safely followed:" and if it be inquired, What is sufficient to make an opinion probable? the answer is easy, "Sufficit opinio alicujus gravis doctoris, aut bonorum exemplum," "the opinion of any one grave doctor is sufficient to make a matter probable;" nay, "the example and practice of good men," that is, men who are so reputed; if they have done it, you may do so too, and be safe. This is the great rule of their cases of conscience.[a]

And now we ought not to be pressed with any one saying, that such an opinion is but the private opinion of one or more of their doctors. For although, in matters of faith, this be not sufficient to impute a doctrine to a whole church, which is but the private opinion of one or more; yet, because we are now speaking of the infinite danger of souls in that communion, and the horrid propositions by which their disciples are conducted, to the disparagement of good life,—it is sufficient to allege the public and allowed sayings of their doctors because these sayings are their rule of living: and because the particular rules of conscience use not to be decreed in councils, we must derive them from the places where they grow, and where they are to be found.

But besides, you will say, that this is but the private opinion of some doctors; and what then? Therefore it is not to be called the doctrine of the Roman church. True, we do not say, "it is an article of their faith," but "a rule of manners:" this is not, indeed, in any public decree; but we say that although it be not, yet neither is the contrary. And if it be but a private opinion, yet is it safe to follow it, or is it not safe? For that is the question and therein is the danger. If it be safe, then this is their rule, "A private opinion of any one grave doctor may be safely followed in the questions of virtue and vice."—But if it be not safe to follow it and that this does not make an opinion probable or the practice safe; who says so? Does the church? No. Does Dr. Cajus, or Dr. Sempronius, say so? Yes; but these are not safe to follow; for they are but private doctors; or, if it be safe to follow them though they be no more, and the opinion no more but probable; then I may take the other side, and choose which I will, and do what I list in most cases, and yet be safe by the doctrine of the Roman casuists; which is the great line and general measure of most men's lives; and that is it which we complain of. And we have reason; for they suffer their casuists to determine all cases, severely and gently, strictly and loosely; that so they may entertain all spirits, and please all dispositions, and govern them by their own inclinations, and as they list to be governed; by what may please them, not by that which profits them; that none may go away scandalized or grieved from their penitential chairs.

But upon this account, it is a sad reckoning which can be made concerning souls in the church of Rome. Suppose one great doctor amongst them (as many of them do) shall say, "It is lawful to kill a king whom the pope declares heretic." By the doctrine of probability here is his warranty. And though the church do not declare that doctrine, that is, the church do not make it certain in speculation; yet it may be safely done in practice. Here is enough to give peace of conscience to him that does it; nay, if the contrary be more safe, yet if the other be but probable by reason or authority, you may do the less safe, and refuse what is more. For that also is the opinion of some grave doctors:[b]

[e] In 4. sent. dist. 21. q. 1. art. 2.
[f] Lib. i. c. 14. de Purgator. sect. Est ergo opinio vera.
[a] Emanuel Sâ. Aphor. Verb. Dubium. Escobar. The. Moral. Exa. 3. c. 3. de Conscientiâ probabili, &c.

[b] Eman. Sâ. Aphorism. Verb. Dubium. Escobar. de Conscientiâ probabili.

if one doctor says, it is safe to swear a thing, as of our knowledge, which we do not know, but believe it is so; it is therefore probable, that it is lawful to swear it, because a grave doctor says it, and then it is safe enough to do so.

And upon this account, who could find fault with Pope Constantine IV. who, when he was accused in the Lateran council,[c] for holding the see apostolic when he was not in orders, justified himself by the example of Sergius, bishop of Ravenna,—and Stephen, bishop of Naples? Here was "exemplum bonorum," honest men had done so before him, and therefore he was innocent. When it is observed by Cardinal Campegius,[d] and Albertus Pighius did teach, that a priest lives more holily and chastely that keeps a concubine, than he that hath a married wife; and then shall find in the pope's law, that a priest is not to be removed for fornication;[e] who will not, or may not, practically conclude, that since, by the law of God, marriage is holy, and yet, to some men fornication is more lawful, and does not make a priest irregular, that therefore to keep a concubine is very lawful? especially since, abstracting from the consideration of a man's being in orders or not, fornication itself is probably no sin at all? For so says Durandus,[f] simple fornication of itself is not a deadly sin, according to the natural law, and excluding all positive law; and Martinus de Magistris says,[g] To believe simple fornication to be no deadly sin, is not heretical, because the testimonies of Scripture are not express. These are grave doctors, and therefore the opinion is probable, and the practice safe. When the good people of the church of Rome hear it read, that Pope Clement VIII. in the index of prohibited books, says,[h] "That the Bible, published in vulgar tongues, ought not to be read and retained:" no, not so much as a compend of the history of the Bible: and Bellarmine says, "That it is not necessary to salvation to believe that there are any Scriptures at all written;" and that Cardinal Hosius saith, "Perhaps it had been better for the church, if no Scriptures had been written;" they cannot but say that this doctrine is probable, and think themselves safe when they walk without the light of God's word, and rely wholly upon the pope, or their priest, in what he is pleased to tell them; and that they are no way obliged to keep that commandment of Christ, "Search the Scriptures." Cardinal Tolet says,[i] "That if a nobleman be set upon, and may escape by going away, he is not tied to it, but may kill him that intends to strike him with a stick;[k] that if a man be in a great passion, and so transported that he considers not what he says; if, in that case, he does blaspheme, he does not always sin:[l] that if a man be beastly drunk, and then commit fornication, that fornication is no sin:[m] that if a man desires carnal pollution, that he may be eased of his carnal temptations, or for his health, it were no sin:[n] that it is lawful for a man to expose his bastards to the hospital to conceal his own shame."[o] He says it out of Soto, and he from Thomas Aquinas: "That if the times be hard, or the judge unequal, a man that cannot sell his wine at a due price, may lawfully make his measures less than is appointed, or mingle water with his wine, and sell it for pure, so he do not lie; and yet if he does, it is no mortal sin, nor obliges him to restitution."—Emanuel Sà affirms,[p] "That if a man lie with his intended wife before marriage, it is no sin, or a light one; nay, 'quinetiam expedit, si multum illa differatur,' 'it is good to do so, if the benediction or publication of marriage be much deferred:'" that infants in their cradles may be made priests, is the common opinion of divines and canonists, saith Tolet;[q] and that in their cradles they can be made bishops, saith the archdeacon and the provost;[r] and though some say the contrary, yet the other is the more true, saith the cardinal. Vasquez saith,[s] "That not only an image of God, but any creature in the world, reasonable or unreasonable, may, without danger, be worshipped together with God, as his image: that we ought to adore the relics of saints, though under the form of worms; and that it is no sin to worship a ray of light, in which the devil is invested, if a man supposes him to be Christ; and in the same manner, if he supposes it to be a piece of a saint, which is not, he shall not want the merit of his devotion. And to conclude, Pope Celestine III. as Alphonsus à Castro reports himself to have seen a decretal of his to that purpose, affirmed, That if one of the married couple fell into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and that the other may marry another; and the marriage is nefarious, and they are "irritæ nuptiæ," "the espousals are void,"[t] if a catholic and a heretic marry together, said the fathers of the synod in Trullo. And though all of this be not owned generally, yet if a Roman catholic marries a wife, that is or shall turn heretic, he may leave her, and part bed and board, according to the doctrine taught by the canon law itself,[u] by the lawyers and divines, as appears in Covaruvius,[x] Mathias Aquarius,[y] Bellarmine.[z]

These opinions are, indeed, very strange to us of the church of England and Ireland, but no strangers in the church of Rome; and, because they are taught by great doctors, by popes themselves, by cardinals, and the canon law respectively, do at least become very probable, and, therefore, they may be believed and practised without danger; according to the doctrine of probability. And thus the most desperate things that ever were said by any, though before the declaration of the church, they cannot

[c] Apud Nauclerum. Generat. xxi. 26.
[d] Dist. 82. Can. Presbyter in Glossa.
[e] 3 Qu. 7. Lata Extravag. de Bigamis. Quia circa. Communiter dicitur quod clericus pro simplici fornicatione deponi non debet, dist. 21. Maximianus. Glossa in Gratian.
[f] Sent. lib. iv. dist. 33.
[g] Lib. de Temp. qu. 2. de Luxuria.
[h] Vide Dan. Tilen. de Verbo non Scripto. lib. iv. c. 8.
[i] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. v. c. 6. n. 15.
[k] Lib. iv. c. 13. n. 4. [l] Lib. v. c. 10. n. 3.
[m] Lib. v. c. 13. n. 10. [n] Lib. v. c. 11. n. 5.
[o] Lib. viii. c. 49. n. 4.
[p] Aphor. tit. Debitum Conjugale, 6.
[q] Lib. i. c. 60. [r] Ibid.
[s] De Adorat. lib. iii. disp. 1. c. 2. Ibid. c. v. sect. 33.
[t] Concil. Constantinopol. 6. can. 76.
[u] Cap. Fin. de Conver. Conjug. c. 2. de Divertiis.
[x] De Matrim. part. 2. c. 7. sect. 5. n. 4.
[y] In Sent. 4. d. 39. art. 1. concl. ult.
[z] Lib. i. de Matrim. c. 14. sect. Secundo sine consensu.

become articles of faith; yet, besides that they are doctrines publicly allowed, they can also become rules of practice, and securities to the conscience of their disciples.

To this we add, that which is usual in the church of Rome, the "praxis ecclesiæ," "the practice of the church." Thus if an indulgence be granted, upon condition to visit such an altar in a distant church; the nuns that are shut up, and prisoners that cannot go abroad, if they address themselves to an altar of their own with that intention, they shall obtain the indulgence: "Id enim confirmat ecclesiæ praxis," says Fabius;"[a] the practice of the church, in this case, gives first a probability in speculation, and then a certainty in practice. This instance, though it be of no concern, yet we use it as a particular, to show the principle upon which they go. But it is practicable in many things of greatest danger and concern. If the question be, Whether it be lawful to worship the image of the cross, or of Christ, with Divine worship? First, there is a doctrine of St. Thomas for it,[b] and Vasquez, and many others; therefore it is probable, and, therefore, is safe in practice; "et sic est ecclesiæ praxis," "the church also practises so," as appears in their own offices: and St. Thomas makes this use of it; "Illi exhibemus cultum latriæ, in quo ponimus spem salutis: sed in cruce Christi ponimus spem salutis. Cantat enim ecclesia, 'O crux ave, spes unica, hoc passionis tempore, Auge piis justitiam, Reisque dona veniam.' Ergo crux Christi est adoranda adoratione latriæ." "We give Divine worship," says he, "to that in which we put our hopes of salvation; but in the cross we put our hopes of salvation; for so the church sings, (it is the practice of the church,) 'Hail, O cross, our only hope in this time of suffering; increase righteousness to the godly, and give pardon to the guilty;' therefore, the cross of Christ is to be adored with Divine adoration."

By this principle, you may embrace any opinion of their doctors safely, especially if the practice of the church do intervene, and you need not trouble yourself with any further inquiry: and if an evil custom get amongst men, that very custom shall legitimate the action, if any of their grave doctors allow it, or good men use it; and Christ is not your rule,—but the examples of them that live with you, or are in your eye and observation, that is your rule. We hope we shall not need to say any more in this affair: the pointing out this rock may be warning enough to them that would not suffer shipwreck, to decline the danger that looks so formidably.

SECTION VII.

As these evil doctrines have general influence into evil life, so there are some others, which, if they be pursued to their proper and natural issues, that is, if they be believed and practised, are enemies to the particular and specific parts of piety and religion. Thus the very prayers of the faithful are, or may be, spoiled by doctrines publicly allowed, and prevailing in the Roman church.

For, 1. They teach "That prayers themselves 'ex opere operato,' or 'by the natural work itself,' do prevail; for it is not essential to prayer for a man to think particularly of what he says; it is not necessary to think of the things signified by the words:" so Suarez teaches:[c] "Nay, it is not necessary to the essence of prayer, that he who prays should think 'de ipsâ locutione,' 'of the speaking itself.'" And, indeed, it is necessary that they should all teach so, or they cannot tolerably pretend to justify their prayers in an unknown tongue. But this is, indeed, their public doctrine: for prayers, in the mouth of the man that says them, "are like the words of a charmer; they prevail even when they are not understood," says Salmeron. Or, as Antoninus,[d] "They are like a precious stone, of as much value in the hand of an unskilful man, as of a jeweller." And, therefore, attention to, or devotion in our prayers, is not necessary: for the understanding of which, saith Cardinal Tolet, when it is said, That you must say your prayers or offices attentively, reverently, and devoutly, you must know that attention or advertency to your prayers is manifold: 1. "That you attend to the words, so that you speak them not too fast, or to begin the next verse of a psalm, before he that recites with you hath done the former verse; and this attention is necessary. But, 2. There is an attention which is by understanding the sense, and that is not necessary; for if it were, very extremely few would do their duty, when so very few do at all understand what they say. 3. There is an attention relating to the end of prayer, that is, that he that prays considers that he is present before God, and speaks to him; and this indeed is very profitable, but it is not necessary:" no, not so much. So that by this doctrine no attention is necessary, but to attend that the words be all said, and said right. But even this "attention is not necessary that it should be actual, but it suffices to be virtual, that is, that he who says his office, intend to do so, and do not change his mind, although he does not attend: and he who does not change his mind, that is, unless observing himself not to attend, he still turns his mind to other things, he attends:" meaning, he attends sufficiently, and as much as is necessary; though indeed, speaking naturally and truly, he does not attend. If any man in the church of England and Ireland had published such doctrine as this, he should quickly and deservedly have felt the severity of the ecclesiastical rod; but in Rome it goes for good catholic doctrine.

Now although upon this account, devotion is (it may be) good; and it is good to attend to the words of our prayer, and the sense of them; yet, that it is not necessary, is evidently consequent to this. But it is also expressly affirmed by the same hand,[e]

[a] Scrutin. Sacerd. de Indulg.
[b] 3 Part. q. 25. art. 4. Vide etiam Pontif. cap. de Benedictione nova crucis, f. 163.
[c] De Orat. lib. v. c. 4.
[d] Sum. part. 3. tit. 23. Vide etiam Jacobum de Graffiis. de Orat. lib. ii. Instruct. Sacerd. c. 13. n. 5. et 6.
[e] Ibid. n.

there ought to be devotion, that our mind be inflamed with the love of God, though if this be wanting, without contempt, it is no deadly sin. "Ecclesiæ satis fit per opus externum, nec aliud jubet," saith Reginaldus:[f] "If ye do the outward work, the church is satisfied, neither does she command any thing else."—Good doctrine this! And it is an excellent church, that commands nothing to him that prays, but to say so many words.

Well! but after all this, if devotion be necessary or not, if it be present or not, if the mind wander or wander not, if you mind what you pray or mind it not, there is an easy cure for all this: for Pope Leo granted remission of all negligences, in their saying their offices and prayers, to them, who, after they have done, shall say this prayer: "To the holy and undivided Trinity, to the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, to the fruitfulness of the most blessed and most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the university of all saints, be eternal praise, honour, virtue, and glory, from every creature; and to us remission of sins, for ever and ever: Amen. Blessed are the bowels of the Virgin Mary, which bore the Son of the eternal God; and blessed are the paps which suckled Christ our Lord. Pater noster. Ave Maria." This prayer, to this purpose, is set down by Navar and Cardinal Tolet.[g]

This is the sum of the doctrine, concerning the manner of saying the divine offices in the church of Rome; in which greater care is taken to obey the precept of the church than the commandments of God: "for the precept of hearing mass is not, to intend the words, but to be present at the sacrifice, though the words be not so much as heard; and they that think the contrary, think so without any probable reason," saith Tolet.[h] It seems there was not so much as the authority of one grave doctor to the contrary; for if there had, the contrary opinion might have been probable; but all agree upon this doctrine, all that are considerable.

So that between the church of England and the church of Rome, the difference in this article is plainly this: They pray with their lips, we with the heart; we pray with the understanding, they with the voice; we pray, and they say prayers. We suppose that we do not please God, if our hearts be absent; they say, it is enough if their bodies be present at their greatest solemnity of prayer, though they hear nothing that is spoken, and understand as little. And which of these be the better way of serving God, may soon be determined, if we remember the complaint which God made of the Jews, "This people draweth near me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me:" but we know, that we are commanded to "ask in faith," which is seated in the understanding, and requires the concurrence of the will, and holy desires; which cannot be at all, but in the same degree in which we have a knowledge of what we ask. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man prevails:" but what our prayers want of this, they must needs want of blessing and prosperity. And if we lose the benefit of our prayers, we lose that great instrumentality by which christians are receptive of pardon, and strengthened in faith, and confirmed in hope, and increase in charity, and are protected by Providence, and are comforted in their sorrows, and derive help from God: "Ye ask, and have not, because ye ask amiss," that is St. James's rule. They that pray not as they ought, shall never obtain what they fain would.

Hither is to be reduced their fond manner of prayer, consisting in vain repetitions of names, and little forms of words. The Psalter of our lady is a hundred and fifty Ave Maries, and, at the end of every tenth, they drop in the Lord's prayer; and this, with the creed at the end of the fifty, makes a perfect rosary. This, indeed, is the main entertainment of the people's devotion; for which cause Mantuan called their religion,

> Religionem,———
> Quæ filo insertis numerat sua murmura baccis,

"a religion that numbers their murmurs by berries filed upon a string:" this makes up so great a part of their religion, that it may well be taken for one half of its definition. But because so few do understand what they say, but all repeat, and stick to their numbers, it is evident they think to be heard for that. For that or nothing; for, besides that, they neither do or understand: and all that we shall now say to it is, that our blessed Saviour reproved this way of devotion, in the practice and doctrines of the heathens: very like to which is that which they call the Psalter of Jesus, in which are fifteen short ejaculations, as, "Have mercy on me, + strengthen me, + help me, + comfort me," &c.; and with every one of these, the name of Jesus is to be said thirty times, that is, in all, four hundred and fifty times. Now we are ignorant how to distinguish this from the *βαττολογία*, or "vain repetition" of the gentiles[i]: for they did just so, and Christ said, they did not do well: and that is all that we pretend to know of it. They thought to be heard the rather for so doing; and if the people of the Roman church do not think so, there is no reason why they should do so. But without any further arguing about the business, they are not ashamed to own it. For the author of the preface to the Jesus-Psalter, printed by Fowler at Antwerp, promises to the repetition of that sweet name, "Great aid against temptations, and a wonderful increase of grace."

SECTION VIII.

BUT this mischief is gone further yet; for, as Cajetan affirms, "Prayers ought to be well done; 'saltem non malè,' 'at least not ill.'"[a] But, besides that what we have now remarked is so "not well," that it is very ill: that which follows, is

[f] Ubi supra. [g] Ubi supra, c. 13. [h] Ibid. n. 6.

[i] Ohe, jam desine Deos, uxor, gratulando obtundere;
Nisi illos tuo ex ingenio judicas,
Ut nihil credas intelligere, nisi idem dictum est centies.
HEAUTONTIM. Act v. Scene 1.

[a] Summa Cajetan. v. Oratio.

directly bad, and most intolerable. For the church of Rome, in her public and allowed offices, prays to dead men and women, who are, or whom they suppose to be, beatified; and these they invocate as preservers, helpers, guardians, deliverers in their necessity; and they expressly call them "their refuge, their guard and defence, their life and health:" which is so formidable a devotion, that we, for them, and for ourselves too, if we should imitate them, are to dread the words of Scripture, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man." We are commanded to "call upon God in the time of trouble;" and it is promised, "that he will deliver us, and we shall glorify him."[b] We find no such command to call upon saints; neither do we know who are saints, excepting a very few; and in what present state they are, we cannot know, nor how our prayers can come to their knowledge; and yet if we did know all this, it cannot be endured at all, that christians who are commanded to call upon God, and upon none else, and to make all our prayers "through Jesus Christ," and never so much as warranted to make our prayers "through saints departed," should yet choose saints for their particular patrons, or at all rely upon them, and make prayers to them in such forms of words, which are only fit to be spoken to God; prayers which have no testimony, command, or promise, in the Word of God, and, therefore, which cannot be made in faith or prudent hope.

Neither will it be enough to say, that they only desire the saints to pray for them; for though that be of itself a matter indifferent, if we were sure they do hear us when we pray, and that we should not, by that means, secretly destroy our confidence in God, or lessen the honour of Christ our Advocate: of which because we cannot be sure, but much rather the contrary, it is not a matter indifferent: yet besides this, in the public offices of the church of Rome, there are prayers to saints made with confidence in them, with derogation to God's glory and prerogative, with diminution to the honour of Christ, with words in sound, and, in all appearance, the same with the highest that are usually expressed in our prayers to God and his Christ; and this is it we insist upon, and reprove, as being a direct destruction of our sole confidence in God, and too near to blasphemy to be endured in the devotions of christians. We make our words good by these allegations:—

1. We shall not need here to describe, out of their didactical writings, what kind of prayers, and what causes of confidence they teach towards the blessed Virgin Mary and all saints: only we shall recite a few words of Antoninus, their great divine, and archbishop of Florence: "It is necessary that they, to whom she converts her eyes, being an advocate for them, shall be justified and saved."[c] And whereas it may be objected out of John,[d] that the apostle says, "If any sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:"—he answers,—"That Christ is not our Advocate alone, but a Judge: and since the just is scarce secure, how shall a sinner go to him, as to an Advocate? Therefore God hath provided us of an advocatess, who is gentle and sweet, in whom nothing that is sharp is to be found." And to those words of St. Paul, "Come boldly to the throne of grace;"—he says,—"That Mary is the throne of Christ, in whom he rested; to her, therefore, let us come with boldness, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of need;" and adds, that "Mary is called 'full of grace,' because she is the means and cause of grace, by transfusing grace to mankind;" and many other such dangerous propositions; of which who please to be further satisfied, if he can endure the horror of reading blasphemous sayings, he may find too great abundance in the "Mariale" of Bernardine,[e] which is confirmed by public authority,—Jacobus Perez de Valentia,[f] and in Ferdinand Quirinus de Salazar,[g] who affirms, "That the Virgin Mary, by offering up Christ to God the Father, was worthy to have, after a certain manner, that the whole salvation and redemption of mankind should be ascribed to her; and that this was common to Christ and the blessed Virgin his mother, that she did offer and give the price of our redemption, truly and properly; and that she is deservedly called the redeemer, the repairer, the mediator, the author, and cause of our salvation." Many more horrid blasphemies are in his notes upon that chapter; and in his Defence of the Immaculate Conception, published with the privilege of Philip III. of Spain, and by the authority of his order. But we insist not upon their doctrines delivered by their great writers, though every wise man knows that the doctrines of their church are delivered in large and indefinite terms, and descend not to minute senses, but are left to be explicated by their writers, and are so practised and understood by the people; and, at the worst, the former doctrine of probability will make it safe enough: but we shall produce the public practice of their church.

And first it cannot be supposed, that they intend nothing but to desire their prayers; for they rely also on their merits, and hope to get their desires, and to prevail by them also: for so it is affirmed by the Roman catechism, made by the decree of the council of Trent,[h] and published by the pope's command: "The saints are, therefore, to be invocated, because they continually make prayers for the health of mankind, and God gives us many benefits by their merit and favour: and it is lawful to have recourse to the favour or grace of the saints, and to use their help; for they undertake the patronage of us." And the council of Trent[i] does not only say it is good to fly "to their prayers, but to their aid and to their help;" and that is indeed the principal and the very meaning of the other. We pray that the saints should intercede for us, "id est, ut merita eorum

[b] Jerem. xvii. 5. Psal. cxv. 9. and xlvi. 3. and cxviii. 8. and l. 15. Heb. iv. 16. Matt. xi. 28. John vi. 37.
[c] Sum. part. 4. tit. 15.
[d] 1 Jo. c. ii. 1, 2.
[e] Bernardin. de Bastis, de Concept. Mariæ. 1. part. serm. 1. part 2.
[f] In Cantic. Mar. Magnificat.
[g] Com. in Prov. viii. 19.
[h] Tit. de Sanctis.
[i] Sess. 9.

nobis suffragentur;" "that is, that their merits should help us," said the master of the sentences. "Atque id confirmat ecclesiæ praxis," to use their own so frequent expression in many cases.

> Continet hoc templum sanctorum corpora pura,
> A quibus auxilium suppleri, poscere cura.

This distich is in the church of St. Laurence, in Rome. "This church contains the pure bodies of saints, from whom take care to require that help be supplied to you." But the practice of the church tells their secret meaning best. For besides what the common people are taught to do, as to pray to St. Gall for the health and fecundity of their geese, to St. Wendeline for their sheep, to St. Anthony for their hogs, to St. Pelagius for their oxen; and that several trades have their peculiar saints; and the physicians are patronized by Cosmas and Damian; the painters by St. Luke; the potters by Goarus; the huntsmen by Eustachius; the harlots (for that also is a trade at Rome) by St. Afra and St. Mary Magdalene: they do also rely upon peculiar saints for the cure of several diseases; St. Sebastian and St. Roch have a special privilege to cure the plague; St. Petronilla the fever; St. John and St. Bennet, the abbot, to cure all poison; St. Apollonia the toothache; St. Otilia sore eyes; St. Apollinaris the French pox (for it seems he hath lately got that employment, since the discovery of the West Indies;) St. Vincentius hath a special faculty in restoring stolen goods, and St. Liberius (if he please) does infallibly cure the stone, and St. Felicitas (if she be heartily called upon) will give the teeming mother a fine boy. It were strange if nothing but intercession by these saints were intended, that they cannot as well pray for other things as these; or that they have no commission to ask of these any thing else, or not so confidently; and that, if they do ask, that St. Otilia shall not as much prevail to help a fever as a cataract; or that if St. Sebastian be called upon to pray for the help of a poor female sinner, who by sad diseases pays the price of her lust, he must go to St. Apollinaris in behalf of his client.

But if any of the Roman doctors say, "That they are not tied to defend the superstitions of the vulgar, or the abused:"—they say true, they are not indeed, but rather to reprove them, as we do, and to declare against them; and the council of Trent very goodly forbids all superstitions in this article, but yet tells us not what are superstitions, and what not; and still the world goes on in the practice of the same intolerable follies, and every nation hath a particular guardian saint, and every city, every family, and almost every house, and every devouter person almost chooses his own patron saint, whose altars they more devoutly frequent, whose image they more religiously worship, to whose relics they more readily go in pilgrimage, to whose honour they say more "Pater nosters," whose festival they more solemnly observe; spoiling their prayers by their confidences in unknown persons, living in an unknown condition, and diminishing that affiance in God and our Lord Jesus Christ, by importune and frequent addresses to them that cannot help.

But that these are not the faults of their people only, running wilfully into such follies, but the practice of their church, and warranted and taught by their guides, appears by the public prayers[k] themselves; such as these, O generous Mary, beauteous above all, obtain pardon for us, apply grace unto us, prepare glory for us. Hail, thou rose, thou Virgin Mary, &c. Grant to us to use true wisdom, and with the elect to enjoy grace, that we may with melody praise thee; and do thou drive our sins away: O Virgin Mary, give us joys." These, and divers others like these, are in the anthem of our lady. In the rosary of our lady this hymn is to be said,

> Reparatrix et Salvatrix desperantis animæ,
> Irroratrix et Largitrix spiritualis gratiæ,
> Quod requiro, quod suspiro, mea sana vulnera,
> Et da menti te poscenti gratiarum munera,
> Ut sim castus et modestus, &c.
> . . . . . .
> Corde prudens, ore studens veritatem dicere,
> Malum nolens, Deum volens pio semper opere.

That is, "Thou Repairer and Saviour of the despairing soul, the dew-giver and bestower of spiritual grace; heal my wounds, and give to the mind that prays to thee, the gifts of grace, that I may be chaste, modest, wise in heart, true in my sayings, hating evil, loving God in holy works:" and much more to the same purpose. There also the blessed Virgin Mary, after many glorious appellatives, is prayed to in these words, "Join me to Christ, govern me always, enlighten my heart, defend me always from the snare of the enemy, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell."

So that it is no wonder that Pope Leo the Xth[l] calls her a goddess; and Turcelin,[m] the Jesuit, "Divinæ majestatis, potestatisque sociam. Huic olim cœlestium mortaliumque principatum detulit. Ad hujus arbitrium (quoad hominum tutela postulat) terras, maria, cœlum, naturamque moderatur. Hâc annuente, et per hanc, divinos thesauros, et cœlestia dona largitur:" "The companion or partner of the Divine majesty and power. To her he long since gave the principality of all heavenly and mortal things. At her will (so far as the guardianship of men requires) he rules the earth and seas, heaven and nature: and she consenting, he gives divine treasures and celestial gifts." Nay, in the mass books penned 1538, and used in the Polonian churches, they call the blessed Virgin Mary, "Viam ad vitam, totius mundi gubernatricem, peccatorum, cum Deo reconciliatricem, fontem remissionis peccatorum, lumen luminum;" "the way to life, the governess of all the world, the reconciler of sinners with God, the fountain of remission of sins, light of light;"[n] and at last salute her with an "Ave universæ Trinitatis mater," "Hail, thou mother of the whole Trinity."[o]

[k] Ex cursu horarum beatæ Mariæ.

[l] Ad Recanatenses de Lauretanâ imagine, apud Bembum, lib. viii. ep. 17.

[m] In epist. ded. hist. Lauretan. [n] Fol. 323, 324, 335.

[o] Fol. 327.—Vide epist. Andr. Dudithii quinque Eccles. episc. edit. A. D. 1590. sine loci et typographi nomine.

We do not pick out these only, as the most singular, or the worst forms; for such as these are very numerous, as is to be seen in their breviaries, missals, Hours of our Lady, Rosary of our Lady, the Litany of our Lady, called "Litania Mariæ," the "Speculum rosariorum," the hymns of saints, portuises, and manuals. These only are the instances which amongst many others presently occur. Two things only we shall add, instead of many more that might be represented.

The first is, that in a hymn which they (from what reason or etymology we know not, neither are we concerned) call a "sequence," the council of Constance did invocate the blessed Virgin, in the same manner as councils did use to invocate the Holy Ghost; they call her the "Mother of grace, the remedy to the miserable, the fountain of mercy, and the light of the church:" attributes proper to God, and incommunicable:—"They sing her praises, and pray to her for graces, they sing to her with the heart, they call themselves her sons, they declare her to be their health and comfort in all doubts, and call on her for light from heaven, and trust in her for the destruction of heresies, and the repression of schisms, and for the lasting confederations of peace."—

The other thing we tell of is, that there is a psalter of our lady, of great and ancient account in the church of Rome; it hath been several times printed, at Venice, at Paris, at Leipsic; and the title is, "The Psaltêr of the Blessed Virgin, compiled by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, bishop of Alba, and presbyter cardinal of the holy church of Rome." But of the book itself, the account is soon made; for it is nothing but the psalms of David, a hundred and fifty in number are set down; altered indeed, to make as much of it as could be sense so reduced: in which the name of "Lord" is left out, and that of "Lady" put in; so that whatever David said of God and Christ, the same prayers and the same praises they say of the blessed Virgin Mary; and whether all that can be said without intolerable blasphemy, we suppose needs not much disputation.

The same things, but in a less proportion and frequency, they say to other saints.

> O Maria Magdalena,
> Audi vota laude plena,
> Apud Christum chorum istum
> Clementer concilia:
>
> Ut fons summæ pietatis,
> Qui te lavit à peccatis,
> Servos suos, atque tuos
> Mundet, datâ veniâ.

"O Mary Magdalen, hear our prayers, which are full of praises, and most clemently reconcile this company unto Christ: that the fountain of supreme piety, who cleansed thee from thy sins, giving pardon, may cleanse us who are his servants and thine."[p] These things are too bad already, we shall not aggravate them by any further commentary; but apply the premises.

Now, therefore, we desire it may be considered, that there are as the effects of Christ's death for us, three great products, which are the rule and measure of our prayers, and our confidence: 1. Christ's merits. 2. His satisfaction. 3. His intercession. By these three we come boldly to the throne of grace, and pray to God through Jesus Christ. But if we pray to God through the saints too, and rely upon their 1. merits, 2. satisfaction, 3. and intercession; is it not plain that we make them equal with Christ, in kind, though not in degree? For it is publicly avowed and practised in the church of Rome, to rely upon the saints' intercession; and this intercession to be made valid by the merits of the saints: "We pray thee, O St. Jude, the apostle, that by thy merits thou wouldst draw me from the custom of my sins, and snatch me from the power of the devil, and advance me to the invisible powers;"[q] and they say as much to others. And for their "satisfactions," the treasure of the church for indulgences is made up with them, and the satisfactions of Christ: so that there is nothing remaining of the honour due to Christ our Redeemer, and our confidence in him, but the same in every kind is by the church of Rome imputed to the saints; and, therefore, the very being and economy of christianity is destroyed by these prayers; and the people are not, cannot be, good christians in these devotions; and what hopes are laid up for them, who repent to no purpose, and pray with derogation to Christ's honour, is a matter of deepest consideration. And, therefore, we desire our charges not to be seduced by little tricks and artifices of useless and laborious distinctions, and protestations against evidence of fact, and with fear and trembling to consider, what God said by the prophet,[r] "My people have done two great evils, they have forsaken me, 'fortem, vivum,' 'the strong and the living' God;" "fontem vivum," so some copies read it,—"'The living fountain,' and have digged for themselves cisterns," that is, little fantastic helps, "that hold no water," that give no refreshment; or as St. Paul[s] expresses it, they worship and invocate the creature παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, "besides the Creator;" so the word properly signifies, and so it is used by the apostle in other places.[t] And at least let us remember those excellent words of St. Austin, "Tutius et jucundius loquar ad meum Jesum, quàm ad aliquem sanctorum spirituum Dei;" "I can speak safer and more pleasantly or cheerfully to my Lord Jesus, than to any of the saints and spirits of God."[u] For that we have commandment, for this we have none; for that we have example in Scriptures, for this we have none; there are many promises made to that, but to this there is none at all; and therefore we cannot in faith pray to them, or at all rely upon them for helps.

Which consideration is greatly heightened by that prostitution of devotion usual in the church of Rome, πανδημεὶ, to every upstart, to every old and new saint. And although they have a story among

[p] In Canticis quæ vocant Sequentia. Dominic. ante Ascensionem Domini.
[q] Vide speculum Rosarior. Sequentias; et Breviar. Rom.
[r] Jerem. ii. 13.
[s] Rom. i. 25.
[t] 1 Cor. iii. 11. Gal. i. 8.
[u] Lib. i. c. 2. de Visitatione infirmorum: ascript. S. Aug.

themselves, that it is ominous for a pope to canonize a saint, and he never survives it above a twelvemonth, as Pierre Mathieu observes in the instances of Clement IV. and Adrian VI.; yet this hinders not, but that they are tempted to do it frequently. But concerning the thing itself, the best we can say, is what Christ said of the Samaritans, "They worship they know not what."[x] Such are St. Fingare, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Christopher, Charles Borromæus, Ignatius Loyola, Xaverius,[y] and many others of whom Cardinal Bessarion[z] complained, that many of them were such persons whose life he could not approve; and such, concerning whom they knew nothing, but from their parties, and by pretended revelations made to particular and hypochondriacal persons. It is a famous saying of St. Gregory, "that the bodies of many persons are worshipped on earth, whose souls are tormented in hell:" and Augustinus Triumphus affirms, "that all who are canonized by the pope, cannot be said to be in heaven." And this matter is beyond dispute; for Prateolus tells, that Herman, the author of the heresy of the Frarticelli, was for twenty years together after his death honoured for a saint, but afterwards his body was taken up and burnt. But then since, (as Ambrosius Catharinus and Vivaldus observe,) if one saint be called in question, then the rest may; what will become of the devotions which are paid to such saints which have been canonized within these last five centuries? Concerning whom we can have but slender evidence that they are in heaven at all. And therefore the cardinal of Cambray, Petrus de Alliaco, wishes that so many new saints were not canonized.[a] They are indeed so many, that in the church of Rome, the holydays, which are called their "greater doubles," are threescore and four, besides the feasts of Christ and our lady, and the holydays which they call half-double festivals, together with the Sundays, are above one hundred and thirty. So that besides many holydays kept in particular places, there are, in the whole year, about two hundred holydays, if we may believe their own Gavantus;[b] which, besides that it is an intolerable burden to the poor labourer, who must keep so many of them, that on the rest he can scarce earn his bread, they do also turn religion into superstition, and habituate the people to idleness, and disorderly festivities, and impious celebrations of the day with unchristian merriments and licentiousness. We conclude this with those words of St. Paul, "How shall we call on him, on whom we have not believed?"[c] Christ said, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." But he never said, Ye have believed in me, believe also in my saints. No: "For there is but one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."[d] And therefore we must come to God, not by saints, but only by Jesus Christ our Lord.

[x] John iv. 22.
[y] Vide libr. de Sanctis Hibernicis nuper Latinè edit. per D. Picardum Parisiensem.
[z] Apud Bodin. in Method. Histor. lib. iv. Apud August. Triumphum de Ancona, q. 14. ad 4. et quæst. 17. ad 4. verb. Hermannus.
[a] Lib. de Reform. Eccles. [b] De Fastis Sanctor. 7. 10.
[c] Rom. x. 14. [d] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

SECTION IX.

There is, in the church of Rome, a horrible impiety taught and practised, which, so far as it goes, must needs destroy that part of holy life which consists in the holiness of our prayers; and indeed is a conjugation of evils, of such evils, of which in the whole world a society of christians should be least suspected; we mean the infinite superstitions and incantations, or charms used by their priests in their exorcising possessed persons, and conjuring of devils.

There was an ecclesiastical book called "Ordo Baptizandi cum modo Visitandi," printed at Venice, A. D. 1575, in which there were damnable and diabolical charms, insomuch that the Spanish inquisitors in their expurgatory index, printed at Madrid, A. D. 1612, commanded "deleatur tota exorcismus[e] Luciferina, cujus initium est, Adesto, Domine, tui famuli;" "that all that Luciferian exorcism be blotted out." But whoever looks into the Treasure of Exorcisms and horrible Conjurings, (for that is the very title of the book printed at Colen, A. D. 1608,) shall find many as horrid things, and not censured by any inquisitors as yet, so far as we have ever read or heard. Nay, that very "Luciferina," or "Devilish Exorcism," is reprinted at Lyons, A. D. 1614, in the "Institutio Baptizandi," which was restored by the decree of the council of Trent: so that though it was forbidden in Spain, it was allowed in France. But as bad as that are allowed every where in the church of Rome: the most famous and of most public use are, "The Treasure of Exorcisms," of which we but now made mention; "the Roman Ritual;" "the Manual of Exorcisms," printed at Antwerp, A. D. 1626, with approbation of the bishop, and privilege of the archdukes; the Pastorals of several churches, especially that of Ruræmund; and especially the "Flagellum Dæmonum," "The devil's whip," by father Jerome Mengus, a friar minor; which the clergy of Orleans did use in the exorcising of Martha Brosser, A. D. 1599, the story whereof is in the epistles of Cardinal D'Ossat, and the history of the excellent Thuanus.[f]

Now from these books, especially this last, we shall represent their manner of casting out devils; and then speak a word to the thing itself.

Their manner and form is this:

First,[g] They are to try the devil by holy water, incense, sulphur, rue, which from thence, as we suppose, came to be called "herb of grace,"—and especially, St. John's wort, which therefore they call "devil's flight;" with which if they cannot cast the devil out, yet they may do good to the patient; for so Pope Alexander I.[h] promised and commanded

[e] Ne miretur lector eruditus, quod "exorcismus" apud Inquisitores sit fœminini generis: fortasse dispensatum fuit cum bonis viris in hoc articulo. An potius factum quia bonus Angelus nunquam, mali autem Genii sæpissime sub formâ fœmininá apparuere; quod notavit Trithemius.
[f] Lib. cxiii.
[g] Flagellum Dæmonum, docum. 3.
[h] Vide Raimon. Lullium. lib. ii. de quintâ essentiâ.

the priests to use it for the sanctifying and pacifying the people, and driving away the snares of the devil: and to this, it were well if the exorcist would rail upon, mock, and jeer the devil; for he cannot endure a witty and a sharp taunt, and loves jeering and railing no more than he loves holy water; and this was well tried of old against an empuse, that met Apollonius Tyanæus at mount Caucasus, against whom he railed, and exhorted his company to do so.[i]

Next to this, the exorcist may ask the devil some questions; What is his name? How many of them there are? For what cause and at what time he entered? and, for his own learning, By what person he can be cast out? and by what saint adjured? Who are his particular enemies in heaven? and who in hell? By what words he can be most afflicted? for the devils are such fools that they cannot keep their own counsel, nor choose but tell, and when they do they always tell true. He may also ask him by what covenant or what charm he came there, and by what he is to be released? Then he may call Lucifer to help him, and to torment that spirit (for so "they cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils"); and certainly Lucifer dares not but obey him. Next to this, the exorcist is cunningly to get out of the devil, the confession of some article of faith, for the edification of the standers-by, (whom he may by this means convince of the truth of transubstantiation, the reality of purgatory, or the value of indulgencies,) and command him to knock his head three times against the ground, in adoration of the Holy Trinity. But let him take heed what relics he apply to the devil; for, if the relics be counterfeit, the devil will be too hard for him. However, let the exorcising priest be sure to bless his pottage, his meat, his ointment, his herbs; and then also he may use some schedules, or little rolls of paper, containing in them holy words; but he must be sure to be exercised and skilful in all things that belong to the conjuring of the devil; these are the preparatory documents, which when he hath observed, then let him fall to his prayers.

Now for the prayers, they also are publicly described in their offices before cited; and are as followeth:—

The priest ties his stole about the neck of the possessed with three knots, and says, "O ye abominable rebels against God, I conjure you spirits, and adjure, I call, I constrain, I call out, I contend and contest, wherever you are in this man, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, [then he makes three +,] by the most powerful name of God, Heloy, the strong and admirable, I exorcise you, and adjure you, and command you, by the power I have, that you incontinently hear the words of my conjuring, and perceive yourselves overcome, and command you not to depart without license, and so I bind you with this stole of jucundity; in the name of the Father +, Son +, and Holy Ghost +, Amen." Then he makes two and thirty crosses more, and calls over one and thirty names of God in false Hebrew, and base Greek, and some Latin, signifying the same names; and the two and thirtieth is by the sign of the cross, praying God to deliver them from their enemies. Then follow more prayers, and more adjurations, and more conjurations (for they are greatly different you must know) and aspersions of holy water, and showings of the cross, and signings with it. Then they adjure the devil (in case the names of God will not do it) by St. Mary, and St. Anne, by St. Michael, and St. Gabriel, by Raphael, and all angels and archangels, by the patriarchs, and by the prophets, and by his own infirmity, by the apostles, and by the martyrs; and then after all this, if the devil will not come out, he must tarry there still, till the next exorcism; in which the exorcist must rail at the devil, and say over again the names of God, and then ask him questions, and read over the sequences of the Gospels; and after that tell him, that he hath power over him, for he can transubstantiate bread into Christ's body; and then conjure him again, and call him "damned devil, unclean spirit," and as bad as he can call him; and so pray to God to cast him out of the man's mouth and nose, lips and teeth, jaws and cheeks, eyes and forehead, eyebrows and eye-lids, his feet and his members, his marrow and his bones, and must reckon every part of his body: to which purpose, we suppose it would be well if the exorcist were well skilled in Laurentius, or Bauhinus's anatomy. And if he will not go out yet, there is no help but he must choose, till the third exorcism: in which, besides many prayers and conjurations in other words to the same purpose, the exorcist must speak *louder*, [especially if it be a deaf devil, for then indeed it is the more necessary,] and tell the devil his own, and threaten him terribly, and conjure him again, and say over him about some twenty or thirty names or titles of Christ, and forbid the devil to go any whither, but to the centre of the world, and must damn him eternally to the sulphurous flames of hell, and to be tormented worse than Lucifer himself for his daring to resist so many great names; and if he will not now obey, let him take fire and brimstone, and make a fume, whether the possessed will or no, until the devil tell you all his mind in what you ask him: [the liver of Tobias's fish were a rare thing here, but that is not to be had for love or money:] and after this, he conjures him again, by some of the names of God, and by the merits, and all the good things which can be spoken or thought of the most blessed Virgin, and by all her names and titles, which he must reckon, one and forty in number, together with her epithets, making so many, and by these he must cast him headlong into hell.

But if the devil be stubborn, for some of them are very disobedient, there is a fourth, and a fifth, and a sixth exorcism: and then he conjures the earth, the water, and the fire to make them of his party, and commands them not to harbour such villanous spirits, and commands hell to hear him, and obey his word, and conjures all the spirits in hell to take that spirit to themselves (for it may be, they will understand their duty better than that stubborn devil, that is broke loose from thence). But if this chance to fail, there is yet left a remedy

[i] Philost. de vita Apollonii.

that will do it: he must make the picture of the devil, and write his name over the head of it, and conjure the fire to burn it most horribly and hastily [and if the picture be upon wood or paper, it is ten to one that may be done]: After all this stir, Sprinkle more holy water, and take sulphur, galbanum, assafœtida, aristolochia, rue, St. John's wort; all which being distinctly blessed, the exorcist must hold the devil's picture over the fire, and adjure the devil to hear him; and then he must not spare him, but tell him all his faults, and give him all his names, and anathematize him, and curse not only him, but Lucifer too, and Beelzebub, and Satan, and Astaroth, and Behemot, and Beherit, and all together [for indeed there is not one good-natured thing among them all]; and then pray once more, and so throw the devil's picture into the fire, and then insult in a long form of crowing over him, which is there set down.

And now after all, if he will not go out, there is a seventh exorcism for him with new ceremonies. He must show him the consecrated host in the Pix, pointing at it with his finger, and then conjure him again, and rail at him once more; to which purpose, there is a very fine form taken out of Prierius, and set down in the "Flagellum Dæmonum;" and then let the exorcist pronounce sentence against the devil, and give him his oath, and then a commandment to go out of the several parts of his body, always taking care that at no hand he remain in the upper parts; and then is the devil's cue to come out, if he have a mind to it (for that must be always supposed); and then follow the thanksgivings.

This is the manner of their devotion, described for the use of their exorcists; in which is such a heap of folly, madness, superstition, blasphemy, and ridiculous guises, and playings with the devil, that if any man amongst us should use such things, he would be in danger of being tried at the next assizes for a witch, or a conjuror: however, certain it is, whatever the evil loses by pretending to obey the exorcist, he gains more by this horrible debauchery of christianity. There needs no confutation of it, the impiety is visible and tangible; and it is sufficient to have told the story.

Only this we say, as to the thing itself:

The casting out of devils is a miraculous power, and given at first for the confirmation of christian faith, as the gifts of tongues and healing were; and therefore we have reason to believe, that because it is not an ordinary power, the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses. We do not envy to any one, any grace of God, but wish it were more modestly pretended, unless it could be more evidently proved. Origen[1] condemned this whole procedure of conjuring devils long since: "Quæret aliquis, si convenit vel dæmones adjurare? Qui aspicit Jesum imperantem dæmonibus, sed etiam potestatem dantem discipulis super omnia dæmonia, et ut infirmitates sanarent, dicet, quoniam non est secundum potestatem datam à Salvatore adjurare dæmonia; Judaicum enim est:" "If any one asks, whether it be fit to adjure devils? He that beholds Jesus commanding over devils, and also giving power to his disciples over all unclean spirits, and to heal diseases, will say, that to adjure devils is not according to the power given by our blessed Saviour; for it is a Jewish trick:" and St. Chrysostom[k] spake soberly and truly, "We poor wretches cannot drive away the flies, much less devils."

But then as to the manner of their conjurations and exorcisms; this we say, If these things come from God, let them show their warranty, and their books of precedents: if they come not from God, they are so like the enchantments of Balaam, the old heathens, and the modern magicians, that their original is soon discovered.

But yet from what principle it comes, that they have made exorcists an ecclesiastical order, with special words and instruments of collation; and that the words of ordination giving them power only over possessed christians, catechumens or baptized, should by them be extended and exercised upon all infants, as if they were all possessed by the devil; and not only so, but to bewitched cattle, to mice and locusts, to milk and lettuce, to houses and tempests; as if their charms were Prophylactic, as well as Therapeutic; and could keep, as well as drive the devil out, and prevent storms like the old χαλαζοφύλακες, of whom Seneca[l] makes mention: of these things we cannot guess at any probable principle, except they have derived them from the Jewish Cabala, or the exorcisms which it is said Solomon used when he had consented to idolatry.

But these things are so unlike the wisdom and simplicity, the purity and spirituality of christian devotion; are so perfectly of their own devising, and wild imaginations; are so full of dirty superstitions, and ignorant fancies; that there are not in the world many things, whose sufferance and practice can more destroy the beauty of holiness, or reproach a church, or society of christians.

SECTION X.

To put our trust and confidence in God only, and to use ministeries of his own appointment and sanctification, is so essential a duty owing by us to God, that whoever trusts in any thing but God, is a breaker of the first commandment; and he that invents instrumental supports of his own head, and puts a subordinate ministerial confidence in them, usurps the rights of God, and does not pursue the interests of true religion, whose very essence and formality is to glorify God in all his attributes, and to do good to man, and to advance the honour and kingdom of Christ. Now how greatly the church of Rome prevaricates in this great soul of religion, appears by too evident and notorious demonstration: for she hath invented sacramentals of her own, without a Divine warrant, Δεῖ γὰρ, περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲν τὸ τόχον

[1] Tract. 35. in Matt.

[k] In illa verba, [Qui credit in me, majora faciet.]

[l] Ques. Nat. lib. iv. c. 6.

ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν, said St. Cyril,[a] "Concerning the holy and Divine mysteries of faith or religion, we ought to do nothing by chance, or of our own heads, nothing without the authority of the Divine Scriptures:" but the church of Rome does otherwise; invents things of her own, and imputes spiritual effects to these sacramentals; and promises not only temporal blessings, and immunities, and benedictions, but the collation or increment of spiritual graces, and remission of venial sins, and alleviation of pains due to mortal sins, to them who shall use these sacramentals: which because God did not institute, and did not sanctify, they use them without faith, and rely upon them without a promise, and make themselves the fountains of these graces, and produce confidences, whose last resort is not upon God, who neither was the author, nor is an approver of them.

Of this nature[b] are holy water, the paschal wax, oil, palm-boughs, holy bread, (not eucharistical,) hats, Agnus Dei's, medals, swords, bells, and roses hallowed upon the Sunday called "Lætare Jerusalem;" such as Pope Pius II. sent to James II. of Scotland, and Sixtus Quintus to the Prince of Parma: concerning which, their doctrine is this, that the blood of Christ is by these applied unto us, that they do not only signify, but produce spiritual effects, that they blot out venial sins, that they drive away devils, that they cure diseases, and that though these things do not operate infallibly, as do the sacraments, and that God hath made no express covenant concerning them, yet by the devotion of them that use them, and the prayers of the church, they do prevail.

Now though it be easy to say, and it is notoriously true in theology, that the prayers of the church can never prevail, but according to the grace which God hath promised; and either can only procure a blessing upon natural things, in order to their natural effects; or else an extraordinary supernatural effect, by virtue of a Divine promise; and that these things are pretended to work beyond their natural force, and yet God hath not promised to them a supernatural blessing, as themselves confess; yet besides the falseness of the doctrine, on which these superstitions do rely, it is also as evident, that these instrumentalities produce an affiance and confidence in the creature, and estrange men's hearts from the true religion and trust in God, while they think themselves blessed in their own inventions, and in digging to themselves cisterns of their own, and leaving the fountain of blessing and eternal life.

To this purpose the Roman priests abuse the people with romantic stories out of the Dialogues of St. Gregory, and Venerable Bede; making them believe, that St. Fortunatus cured a man's broken thigh with holy water, and that St. Malachias, the bishop of Down and Connor, cured a madman with the same medicine; and that St. Hilarion cured many sick persons with holy bread and oil (which indeed is the most likely of them all, as being good food, and good medicine); and although not so much as a chicken is now-a-days cured of the pip by holy water, yet upon all occasions they use it, and the common people throw it upon children's cradles, and sick cows' horns, and upon them that are blasted; and if they recover by any means, it is imputed to the holy water: and so the simplicity of christian religion, the glory of our dependence on God, the wise order and economy of blessings in the gospel, the sacredness and mysteriousness of sacraments and Divine institutions, are disordered and dishonoured: the bishops and priests inventing both the word and the element, institute a kind of sacrament, in great derogation to the supreme prerogative of Christ; and men are taught to go in ways which superstition hath invented, and interest does support.

But there is yet one great instance more of this irreligion. Upon the sacraments themselves they are taught to rely, with so little of moral and virtuous dispositions, that the efficacy of one is made to lessen the necessity of the other; and the sacraments are taught to be so effectual by an inherent virtue, that they are not so much made the instruments of virtue, as the suppletory; not so much to increase, as to make amends for the want of grace; on which we shall not now insist, because it is sufficiently remarked in our reproof of the Roman doctrines, in the matter of repentance.

SECTION XI.

After all this, if their doctrines, as they are explicated by their practice, and the commentaries of their greatest doctors, do make their disciples guilty of idolatry, there is not any thing greater to deter men from them, than that danger to their souls which is imminent over them, upon that account.

Their worshipping of images we have already reproved, upon the account of its novelty and innovation in christian religion. But that it is against good life, a direct breach of the second commandment, an act of idolatry, as much as the heathens themselves were guilty of, in relation to the second commandment, is but too evident by the doctrines of their own leaders.

For if to give Divine honour to a creature be idolatry, then the doctors of the church of Rome teach their people to commit idolatry; for they affirm, that the same worship which is given to the prototype or principal, the same is to be given to the image of it. As we worship the holy Trinity, and Christ, so we may worship the images of the Trinity, and of Christ; that is, with "Latria," or "Divine honour." This is the constant sentence of the divines: "The image is to be worshipped with the same honour and worship, with which we worship those whose image it is," said Azorius, their great master of casuistical theology. And this is the doctrine of their great St. Thomas,[c] of Alex-

[a] Cyril. Hieros. Catech. 4.
[b] Bellarm. de cultu Sanct. lib. iii. c. 7. sect. Secunda propositio et sect. Secund. ad deletionem.
[c] Instit. moral. par. 1. lib. ix. c. 6.

ander of Ales, Bonaventure, Albertus, Richardus, Capreolus, Cajetan, Costar, Valentia, Vasquez, the Jesuits of Cologne, Triers, and Mentz, approving Coster's opinion.

Neither can this be eluded by saying, that though the same worship be given to the image of Christ, as to Christ himself, yet it is not done in the same way; for it is terminatively to Christ or God, but relatively to the image, that is, to the image for God's or Christ's sake. For this is that we complain of, that they give the same worship to an image which is due to God; for what cause soever it be done, it matters not, save only that the excuse makes it, in some sense, the worse for the apology. For, to do a thing which God hath forbidden, and to say it is done for God's sake, is to say, that for his sake we displease him; for his sake we give that to a creature, which is God's own propriety. But besides this, we affirm, and it is of itself evident, that whoever, christian or heathen, worships the image of any thing, cannot possibly worship that image terminatively, for the very being of an image is relative; and, therefore, if the man understands but common sense, he must suppose and intend that worship to be relative, and a heathen could not worship an image with any other worship: and the second commandment, forbidding to worship the "likeness of any thing in heaven or earth," does only forbid that thing which is in heaven to be worshipped by an image, that is, it forbids only a relative worship: for it is a contradiction to say, this is the image of God, and yet this is God; and, therefore, it must be also a contradiction, to worship an image with Divine worship terminatively; for then it must be, that the image of a thing is that thing whose image it is. And, therefore, these doctors teach the same thing which they condemn in the heathens.

But they go yet a little further: the image of the cross they worship with Divine honour; and, therefore, although this Divine worship is but relative, yet consequently, the cross itself is worshipped terminatively by Divine adoration. For the image of the cross hath it relatively, and for the cross's sake; therefore the cross itself is the proper and full object of the Divine adoration. Now that they do and teach this, we charge upon them by undeniable records: for in the very "Pontifical," published by the authority of Pope Clement the VIIIth, these words are found, "The legate's cross must be on the right hand, because latria, or Divine honour, is due to it."[d] And if Divine honour relative be due to the legate's cross, which is but the image of Christ's cross, then this Divine worship is terminated on Christ's cross, which is certainly but a mere creature. To this purpose are the words of Almain, "The images of the Trinity, and of the cross, are to be adored with the worship of latria;" that is, "Divine." Now if the image of the cross be the intermedial, then the cross itself, whose image that is, must be the last object of this Divine worship; and if this be not idolatry, it can never be told what is the notion of the word. But this passes also into other real effects: and well may the cross itself be worshipped by Divine worship, when the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross; for so she does, says Aquinas, and makes one the argument of the other, and proves that the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross, that is, on the instrument of Christ's passion, by a hymn which she uses in her offices; but this thing we have remarked above upon another occasion. Now although things are brought to a very ill state, when christians are so probably and apparently charged with idolatry, and that the excuses are too fine to be understood by them that need them; yet no excuse can acquit these things, when the most that is or can be said, is this, that although that which is God's due, is given to a creature; yet it is given with some difference of intention, and metaphysical abstraction, and separation; especially, since, if there can be idolatry in the worshipping of an image, it is certain, that a relative Divine worship is this idolatry; for no man that worships an image (in that consideration or formality) can make the image the last object: either, therefore, the heathens were not idolaters in the worshipping of an image, or else these men are. The heathens did indeed infinitely more violate the first commandment; but against the second, precisely and separately from the first, the transgression is alike.

The same also is the case in their worshipping the consecrated bread and wine: of which how far they will be excused before God, by their ignorant pretensions and suppositions, we know not; but they hope to save themselves harmless by saying, that they believe the bread to be their Saviour, and that if they did not believe so they would not do so. We believe that they say true; but we are afraid that this will no more excuse them, than it will excuse those who worship the sun and moon, and the queen of heaven, whom they would not worship, if they did not believe them to have Divinity in them: and it may be observed, that they are very fond of that persuasion, by which they are led into this worship. The error might be some excuse, if it were probable, or if there were much temptation to it: but when they choose this persuasion, and have nothing for it but a tropical expression of Scripture, which rather than not believe in the natural, useless, and impossible sense, they will defy all their own reason, and four of the five operations of their soul, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling,—and contradict the plain doctrine of the ancient church, before they can consent to believe this error, that bread is changed into God, and the priest can make his Maker: we have too much cause to fear, that the error is too gross to admit an excuse; and it is hard to suppose it invincible and involuntary, because it is so hard, and so untempting, and so unnatural to admit the error. We do desire that God may find an excuse for it, and that they would not. But this we are most sure of, that they might, if they pleased, find many excuses, or rather just causes, for not giving Divine honour to the consecrated elements; because there are so many contingencies in the whole conduct of this

[d] Edit. Roman. p. 672.

affair, and we are so uncertain of the priest's intention, and we can never be made certain, that there is not in the whole order of causes any invalidity in the consecration; and it is so impossible that any man should be sure that "here," and "now," and "this" bread is transubstantiated, and is really the natural body of Christ; that it were fit to omit the giving God's due to that which they do not know to be any thing but a piece of bread, and it cannot consist with holiness, and our duty to God, certainly to give Divine worship to that thing, which though their doctrine were true, they cannot know certainly to have a Divine being.[e]

SECTION XII.

AND now we shall plainly represent to our charges, how this whole matter stands. The case is this, the religion of a christian consists in faith and hope, repentance and charity, Divine worship and celebration of the sacraments, and finally in keeping the commandments of God. Now in all these, both in doctrines and practices, the church of Rome does dangerously err, and teaches men so to do.

They do injury to faith, by creating new articles, and enjoining them as of necessity to salvation. They spoil their hope, by placing it upon creatures, and devices of their own. They greatly sin against charity, by damning all that are not of their opinion, in things false or uncertain, right or wrong. They break in pieces the salutary doctrine of repentance, making it to be consistent with a wicked life, and little or no amendment. They worship they know not what, and pray to them that hear them not, and trust on that which helps them not. And as for the commandments, they leave one of them out of their catechisms and manuals; and while they contend earnestly against some opponents for the possibility of keeping them all, they do not insist upon the necessity of keeping any in the course of their lives, till the danger or article of their death. And concerning the sacraments, they have egregiously prevaricated in two points. For not to mention their reckoning of seven sacraments, which we only reckon to be an unnecessary and unscholastical error; they take the one half of the principal away from the laity; and they institute little sacraments of their own; they invent rights, and annex spiritual graces to them, what they please themselves, of their own head, without a Divine warrant or institution; and at last persuade their people to that which can never be excused, at least from material idolatry.

If these things can consist with the duty of christians, not only to eat what they worship but to adore those things with Divine worship which are not God; to reconcile a wicked life with certain hopes and expectations of heaven at last, and to place these hopes upon other things than God, and to damn all the world that are not christians at this rate: then we have lost the true measures of christianity; and the doctrine and discipline of Christ is not a natural and rational religion; not a religion that makes men holy, but a confederacy under the conduct of a sect, and it must rest in forms and ceremonies, and devices of man's invention. And although we do not doubt, but that the goodness of God does so prevail over all the follies and malice of mankind, that there are, in the Roman communion, many very good christians; yet they are not such, as they are papists, but by something that is higher, and before that, something that is of an abstract or more sublime consideration. And though the good people amongst them are what they are by the grace and goodness of God, yet by all or any of these opinions they are not so; but the very best suffer diminution and allay by these things; and very many more are wholly subverted and destroyed.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF ROME TEACHES DOCTRINES, WHICH IN MANY THINGS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIETY IN GENERAL, AND OF MONARCHY IN SPECIAL; BOTH WHICH, THE RELIGION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND DOES, BY HER DOCTRINES, GREATLY AND CHRISTIANLY SUPPORT.

SECTION I.

THAT in the church of Rome it is publicly taught by their greatest doctors, that it is lawful to lie, or deceive the question of the magistrate, to conceal their name, and to tell a false one, to elude all examinations, and make them insignificant and toothless, cannot be doubted by any man that knows how the English priests have behaved themselves in the

[e] Nemini potest per fidem constare se recepisse vel minimum sacramentum. Estque hoc ita certum ex fide, ac clarum est nos vivere. Nulla est via, quâ, citra revelationem, nosse possumus intentionem ministrantis, vel evidenter, vel certò ex fide.—ANDREAS VEGA, lib. ix. de justific. c. 17.—Non potest quis esse certus, certitudine fidei, se precipere verum sacramentum: cum sacramentum sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre potest.—BELLAR. lib. iii. c. 1. secl. Dicent.

times of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the blessed martyr King Charles I. Emonerius wrote in defence of it; and father Barnes, who wrote a book against lying and equivocating, was suspected for a heretic, and smarted severely under their hands.

"To him that asks you again for what you have paid him already, you may safely say, You never had any thing of him, meaning so as to owe it him now:" it is the doctrine of Emanuel Sà and Sanchez; which we understand to be a great lie, and a great sin, it being at the best a deceiving of the law, that you be not deceived by your creditor; that is, a doing evil to prevent one: a sin, to prevent the losing of your money.

If a man asks his wife if she be an adulteress, though she be, yet she may say, "she is not," if in her mind secretly she say, "not with a purpose to tell you:" so Cardinal Tolet teaches.[a] And if a man swears he will take such a one to his wife, being compelled to swear; he may secretly mean, "if hereafter she do please me." And if a man swears to a thief that he will give him twenty crowns, he may secretly say, "If I please to do so;" and then he is not bound. And of this doctrine Vasquez[b] brags, as of a rare, though new invention, saying, it is gathered out of St. Austin, and Thomas Aquinas, who only found out the way of saying nothing in such cases and questions, asked by judges; but this invention was drawn out by assiduous disputations. He that promises to say an Ave Mary, and swears he will, or vows to do it, yet sins not mortally, though he does not do it, said the great Navar,[c] and others whom he follows. There is yet a further degree of this iniquity; not only in words, but in real actions, it is lawful to deceive or rob your brother, when to do so is necessary for the preservation of your fame: for no man is bound to restore stolen goods, that is, to cease from doing injury, with the peril of his credit. So Navar, and Cardinal Cajetan and Tolet[d] teaches; who adds also, "Hoc multi dicunt, quorum sententiam potest quis tutâ conscientiâ sequi:" "Many say the same thing; whose doctrine any man may follow with a safe conscience." Nay, "to save a man's credit, an honest man, that is ashamed to beg, may steal what is necessary for him," says Diana.

Now, by these doctrines,[e] a man is taught how to be an honest thief, and to keep what he is bound to restore; and by these we may not only deceive our brother, but the law,—and not the law only, but God also, even with an oath, if the matter be but small: it never makes God angry with you, or puts you out of the state of grace. But if the matter be great, yet to prevent a great trouble to yourself, you may conceal a truth, by saying that which is false, according to the general doctrine of the late casuists. So that a man is bound to keep truth and honesty, when it is for his turn, but not "if it be to his own hinderance;" and, therefore, David was not in the right, but was something too nice, in the resolution of the like case, in the fifteenth psalm. Now although we do not affirm, that these particulars are the doctrine of the whole church of Rome, because little things, and of this nature, never are considered in their public articles of confession; yet a man may do these vile things, (for so we understand them to be,) and find justifications and warranty, and shall not be affrighted with the terrors of damnation, nor the imposition of penances: he may, for all these things, be a good catholic, though, it may be, not a very good christian. But since these things are affirmed by so many, the opinion is probable, and the "practice safe," saith Cardinal Tolet.[f]

But we shall instance in things of more public concern and catholic authority. No contracts, leagues, societies, promises, vows, or oaths, are a sufficient security to him that deals with one of the church of Rome, if he shall please to make use of that liberty, which may, and many times is, and always can be granted to him. For, first, it is affirmed, and was practised by a whole council of bishops at Constance, that faith is not to be kept with heretics; and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and Savanarola, felt the mischief of violation of public faith; and the same thing was disputed fiercely at Worms, in the case of Luther, to whom Cæsar had given a safe conduct, and very many would have had it to be broken; but Cæsar was a better christian than the ecclesiastics and their party, and more a gentleman. But that no scrupulous princes may keep their words any more in such cases, or think themselves tied to perform their safe conducts given to heretics, there is a way found out by a new catholic doctrine; Becanus shall speak this point instead of the rest:[g] "There are two distinct tribunals, and the ecclesiastical is the superior; and, therefore, if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct, he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal; nor, by any security given, hinder the bishop or the pope to exercise their jurisdiction:" and upon the account of this or the like doctrine, the pope and the other ecclesiastics did prevail at Constance for the burning of their prisoners, to whom safe conduct had been granted. But these things are sufficiently known by the complaints of the injured persons.

But not only to heretics, but to our friends also, we may break our promises, if the pope give us leave. It is a public and an avowed doctrine, that if a man have taken an oath of a thing lawful and honest, and in his power, yet if it hinders him from doing a greater good, the pope can dispense with his oath, and take off the obligation. This is expressly affirmed by one of the most moderate of them, Canus,[h] bishop of the Canaries. But beyond dispute, and even without a dispensation, they all of them own it, that if a man have promised to a woman to marry her, and is betrothed to her, and hath sworn it, yet if he will, before the consummation, enter into a monastery, his oath shall not bind him, his promise is null; but his second promise,

[a] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. iv. c. 21. c. 22.
[b] In 3. tom. 4. qu. 93. art. 5. dub. 13.
[c] Manual. c. 18. n. 7.
[d] Apud. Tolet. instruct. Sacerd. lib. v. c. 2.
[e] In Compend. p. 335. Lugduni, A. D. 1641.
[f] Ubi supra. [g] Theol. Schola. [h] Relect. de Pœnitent.

that shall stand. And he that denies this, is accursed by the council of Trent.[i]

Not only husbands and wives espoused may break their vows and mutual obligation against the will of one another, but, in the church of Rome, children have leave given them to disobey their parents, so they will but turn friars: and this they might do, girls at twelve, and boys at the age of fourteen years; but the council of Trent enlarged it to sixteen: but the thing was taught and decreed by Pope Clement III. and Thomas Aquinas did so,[k] and then it was made lawful by him and his scholars, though it was expressly against the doctrine and laws of the preceding ages of the church, as appears in the capitulars of Charles the Great. But thus did the Pharisees teach their children to cry "corban," and neglect their parents; to pretend religion in prejudice of filial piety. In this particular, Ærodius, a French lawyer, an excellently learned man, suffered sadly by the loss, and forcing of a hopeful son from him, and he complained most excellently in a book written on purpose upon this subject.

But these mischiefs are doctrinal, and accounted lawful: but in the matter of marriages and contracts, promises and vows, where a doctrine fails, it can be supplied by the pope's power; which thing is avowed and owned without a cover: for when Pope Clement V.[l] condemned the order of knights templars, he disowned any justice or right in doing it, but stuck to his power: "Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen, ex plenitudine potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus;" that is, "Though by right we cannot do it, yet by the fulness of power we condemn the said order;" for he can dispense always, and in all things where there is cause, and in many things where there is no cause; "sed sub majori pretio," "under a greater price," said the tax of the datary, where the price of the several dispensations, even in "causâ turpi," "in base and filthy causes," are set down.

> Intranti nummo, quasi quodam principe summo.
> Exsiliunt valvæ, nihil auditur nisi "salve."[m]

Nay, the pope can dispense "supra jus, contra jus," "above law, and against law and right," said Mosconius, in his books of "The Majesty of the Militant Church:" for "the pope's tribunal and God's is but one; and therefore every reasonable creature is subject to the pope's empire," said the same author.[n] And what dispensations he usually gives, we are best informed by a gloss of their own, upon the canon law, "Nota mirabile, quod cum eo qui peccat dispensatur; cum illo autem qui non peccat, non dispensatur;" "It is a wonderful thing that they should dispense with a fornicator, but not with him who marries after the death of his first wife." They give divorces for marriages in the fourth degree, and give dispensation to marry in the second. These things are a sufficient charge, and yet evidently so, and publicly owned.

We need not aggravate this matter by what Panormitan[o] and others do say, that the pope hath power to dispense in all the laws of God, except the articles of faith; and how much of this they own and practise, needs no greater instance than that which Volaterran tells of Pope Innocent VIII., that he gave the Norwegians a dispensation, not only to communicate, but to consecrate in bread only.

As the pope, by his dispensations, undertakes to dissolve the ordinances of God, so also the most solemn contracts of men; of which a very great instance was given by Pope Clement VII., who dispensed with the oath which Francis I. of France solemnly swore to Charles V. emperor, after the battle of Pavy, and gave him leave to be perjured. And one of the late popes dispensed with the bastard son of the Conde D'Olivarez, or rather, plainly dissolved his marriage, which he made and consummated with Isabella D'Azueta, whom he had publicly married when he was but a mean person, the son of Donna Marguerita Spinola, and under the name of Julian Valeasar. But when the Conde had declared him son and heir, the pope dissolved the first marriage, and gave him leave, under the name of Henry Philip de Guzman, to marry D. Juana de Valesco, daughter to the Constable of Castile.

And now if it be considered what influence these doctrines have upon societies and communities of men, they will need no further reproof than a mere enumeration of the mischiefs they produce. They, by this means, legitimate adulterous and incestuous marriages, and disannull lawful contracts; they give leave to a spouse to break his or her vow and promise; and to children to disobey their parents, and perhaps to break their mother's heart, or to undo a family. No words can bind your faith, because you can be dispensed with; and if you swear you will not procure a dispensation, you can as well be dispensed with for that perjury as the other; and you cannot be tied so fast, but the pope can unloose you. So that there is no certainty in your promise to God, or faith to men; in judicatories to magistrates, or in contracts with merchants; in the duty of children to their parents, of husbands to their wives, or wives to their contracted husbands; of a catholic to a heretic: and last of all, a subject to his prince cannot be bound so strictly, but if the prince be not of the pope's persuasion, or be by him judged a tyrant, his subjects shall owe him no obedience. But this is of particular consideration, and reserved for Sect. III.

SECTION II.

There is yet another instance, by which the church of Rome does intolerable prejudice to governments and societies; in which, although the impiety is not so apparent, yet the evil is more owned, and

[i] Sess. 8. can. 5.
[k] Cap. cum virum de regularibus. Aquin. 2. 2. q. 88. art. 9. Lib. i. c. 101.
[l] Thom. Walsingham.
[m] Deferunt aurum et argentum, et reportant chartas. Card. Cusan.
[n] Lib. 1. de Summo Pontif. vide etiam Jacobum de Terano: et Ravis. de Concil. du Trent. cap. Quia circa Extra. de Bigamis.
[o] Cap. Proposui de Concess. Præbend. n. 20.

notorious, and defended; and that is, the exemption of their clergy from the jurisdiction of secular princes and magistrates, both in their estates and persons: not only in the matters of simony, heresy, and apostasy, but in matters of theft, perjury, murder, adultery, blasphemy, and treason; in which cases they suffer not a clergyman to be adjudged by the secular power until the church hath quit him, and turned him over, and given them leave to proceed. This was verified in the synod of Dalmatia,[a] held by the legates of Pope Innocent III., and is now, in the church of Rome, pretended to be by Divine right; "For it cannot be proved, that secular princes are the lawful superiors and judges of clergymen, unless it can be proved, that the sheep are better than the shepherd, or sons than their fathers, or temporals than spirituals," said Bellarmine:[b] and, therefore, it is a shame, says he, to see princes contending with bishops for precedency or for lands. For the truth is this, whatever the custom be, the prince is the bishop's subject, not the bishop the prince's: for no man can serve two masters; the pope is their own superior, and, therefore, the secular prince cannot be. So both Bellarmine and Suarez[c] conclude this doctrine out of Scripture.

And although in this, as in all things else, when he finds it for the advantage of the church, the pope can dispense; and divers popes of Rome did give power to the commonwealth of Venice to judge clergymen, and punish them for great offences; yet how ill this was taken by Paulus V. at their hands, and what stirs he made in christendom concerning it, the world was witness; and it is to be read in the History of the Venetian Interdict; and not without great difficulty defended by Marcus Antonius Peregrinus, M. Antonius Othelius, and Joachim Scaymus of Padua, beside the doctors of Venice.

Now if it be considered, how great a part of mankind, in the Roman communion, are clergymen, and how great a portion of the lands and revenues, in each kingdom, they have; to pretend a Divine right of exemption of their persons from secular judicatories, and their lands from secular burdens and charges of the commonwealth, is to make religion a very little friend to the public; and causes that by how much there is more of religion, by so much there is the less of piety and public duty. Princes have many times felt the evil, and are always subject to it, and so many thousand persons are in their kingdoms, and yet subjects to a foreign power. But we need not trouble ourselves to reckon the evils consequent to this procedure; themselves have owned them, even the very worst of things, "The rebellion of his clergyman against his prince is not treason, because he is not his prince's subject:" It is expressly taught by Emanuel Sà;[d] and because the Frenchmen, in zeal to their own king, could not endure this doctrine, these words were left out of the edition of Paris, but still remain in the editions of Antwerp and Cologne. But the thing is a general rule, "That all ecclesiastical persons are free from secular jurisdiction in causes criminal, whether civil or ecclesiastical: and this rule is so general, that it admits no exception; and so certain that it cannot be denied, unless you will contradict the principles of faith;" so father Suarez.[e] And this is pretended to be allowed by councils, sacred canons, and all the doctors of laws, human and Divine; for so Bellarmine affirms.[f] Against which, since it is a matter of faith and doctrine which we now charge upon the church of Rome, as an enemy to public government, we shall think it sufficient to oppose against their pretension, the plain and easy words of St. Paul,[g] "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:" "every soul," that is, saith St. Chrysostom,[h] whether he be a monk or an evangelist, a prophet or an apostle.

Of the like iniquity, when it is extended to its utmost commentary, which the commenters of the church of Rome put upon it, is, the Divine right of the seal of confession; which they make so sacred, to serve such ends as they have chosen, that it may not be broken up to save the lives of princes, or of the whole republic, saith Tolet;[i]—No, not to save all the world, said Henriquez:[k]—Not to save an innocent, not to keep the world from burning, or religion from perversion, or all the sacraments from demolition. Indeed it is lawful, saith Bellarmine,[l] if a treason be known to a priest in confession, he may, in general words, give notice to a pious and catholic prince, but not to a heretic; and that was acutely and prudently said by him, said father Suarez.[m] Father Binet is not so kind even to the catholic princes; for he says, that it is better that all the kings of the world should perish, than that the seal of confession should be so much as once broken; and this is the catholic doctrine, said Eudæmon Johannes,[n] in his apology for Garnet; and for it he also quotes Suarez. But it is enough to have named this. How little care these men take of the lives of princes, and the public interest, which they so greatly undervalue to every trifling fancy of their own, is but too evident by these doctrines.

SECTION III.

THE last thing we shall remark for the instruction and caution of our charges, is not the least. The doctrines of the church of Rome are great enemies to the dignity and security, to the powers and lives of princes: and this we shall briefly prove by setting down the doctrines themselves, and their consequent practices.

And here we observe, that not only the whole

[a] Si Imperator, dist. 96, &c. Ecclesia S. M. de Constitut. A. D. 1199.
[b] Can. 5. de Clericis, lib. i. c. 30. sect. Quarto objiciunt.—De Offic. Christiani Prin. lib. i. c. 5.
[c] Suarez. Defens. contra sect. Anglic. lib. iv. c. 17. sect. 15, 16, et 18.
[d] Aphor. verb. Clericus.
[e] Defens. Fid. lib. iv. c. 15. sect. 1.
[f] Apolog. p. 57.
[g] Rom. xiii. 1.
[h] In hunc locum.
[i] Instruct. Sacerd. lib. iii. c. 16.
[k] De Pœnit. lib. ii. c. 19. n. 5.
[l] Apol. cont. Reg. M. Brit. c. 13.
[m] Contr. Reg. Angl. lib. ix. c. 3.
[n] Cap. 13.

order of Jesuits is a great enemy to monarchy, by subjecting the dignity of princes to the pope, by making the pope the supreme monarch of christians; but they also teach, that it is a catholic doctrine, the doctrine of the church.

The pope hath a supreme power of disposing the temporal things of all christians in order to a spiritual good; saith Bellarmine.[a] And Becanus discourses of this very largely in his book of the English controversy, printed by Albin at Mentz, 1612. But because this book was ordered to be purged, ("una litura potest,") we shall not insist upon it; but there is as bad, which was never censured. Bellarmine says,[b] that the ecclesiastic republic can command and compel the temporal, which is indeed its subject, to change the administration, and to depose princes, and to appoint others, when it cannot otherwise defend the spiritual good: and father Suarez says the same.[c] The power of the pope extends itself to the coercion of kings with temporal punishments, and depriving them of their kingdoms, when necessity requires; nay, this power is more necessary over princes than over subjects. The same also is taught by Santarel, in his book of heresy and schism, printed at Rome, 1626.

But the mischief of this doctrine proceeds a little further.

Cardinal Tolet affirms,[d] and our countryman, father Bridgewater, commends the saying, "That when a prince is excommunicate, before the denunciation the subjects are not absolved from their oath of allegiance (as Cajetan says well); yet when it is denounced, they are not only absolved from their obedience, but are bound not to obey, unless the fear of death or loss of goods excuse them, which was the case of the English catholics in the time of Henry VIII." And father Creswell says,[e] it is the sentence of all catholics, that subjects are bound to expel heretical princes if they have strength enough; and that to this they are tied by the commandment of God, the most strict tie of conscience, and the extreme danger of their souls.—Nay, even before the sentence is declared, though the subjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully they may deny obedience to an heretical prince, said Gregory de Valentia.[f]

It were an endless labour to transcribe the horrible doctrines, which are preached in the Jesuits' school, to the shaking of the regal power of such princes which are not of the Roman communion. The whole economy of it is well described by Bellarmine,[g] who affirms, "That it does not belong to monks, or other ecclesiastics, to commit murders, neither do the popes use to proceed that way. But their manner is, first, fatherly to correct princes,—then, by ecclesiastical censures, to deprive them of the communion,—then to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance, and to deprive them of their kingly dignity. And what then? The execution belongs to others." This is the way of the popes, thus wisely and moderately to break kings in pieces.

We delight not to aggravate evil things. We, therefore, forbear to set down those horrid things spoken by Sà, Mariana, Santarel, Carolus Scribanius, and some others. It is enough that Suarez says,[h] "An excommunicate king may, with impunity, be deposed or killed by any one." This is the case of kings and princes by the sentence of the chiefest Roman doctors. And if it be objected, that we are commanded "to obey kings, not to speak evil of them, not to curse them, no, not in our heart:" there is a way found out to answer these little things. For though the apostle commands that we should be subject to higher powers, and obey kings, and all that are in authority: it is true you must, and so you may well enough for all this; for the pope can make that he who is a king shall be no king, and then you are disobliged: so Bellarmine.[i] And if, after all this, there remains any scruple of conscience, it ought to be remembered, that though even after a prince is excommunicated, it should be, of itself, a sin to depose or kill the prince; yet, if the pope commands you, it is no sin. "For if the pope should err by commanding sin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil; unless she would sin against her conscience." They are the very words of Bellarmine.[k]

But they add more particulars of the same bran. "The sons of an heretical father are made 'sui juris,' that is, free from their father's power."—"A catholic wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical husband; and the servants are not bound to do service to such masters."—These are the doctrines of their great Azorius; and as for kings, he affirms they may be deposed for heresy. But all this is only in the case of heretical princes: but what for others?

Even the Roman catholic princes are not free from this danger. All the world knows what the pope did to King Chilperick of France: he deposed him, and put Pepin in his place, and did what he could to have put Albert, king of the Romans, in the throne of Philip, surnamed the Fair. They were the popes of Rome who armed the son against the father, the emperor Henry IV.; and the son fought against him, took him prisoner, shaved him, and thrust him into a monastery, where he died with grief and hunger. We will not speak of the emperor Frederick, Henry the VIth, emperor; the duke of Savoy, against whom he caused Charles the Vth, and Francis the Ist, of France, to take arms; nor of Francis Dandalus, duke of Venice, whom he bound with chains, and fed him as dogs are fed, with bones and scraps under his table: our own Henry the IId, and King John, were great instances of what princes, in their case, may expect from that religion. These were the piety of the father of christendom. But these were the product of the

[a] De Sum. Pontif. lib. v. c. 6.
[b] Ibid. c. 2.
[c] Defens. Fid. Cath. lib. iii. c. 23. sect. 10. et sect. 18. et 20.
[d] Concer. Eccl. in Angl. fol. 336.
[e] In Philopat. sect. 2. n. 160. et 162.
[f] Tom. iii. disp. 1. q. 12. punct. 2.
[g] Cont. Barcl. c. 7.
[h] Ubi supra, lib. vi. c. 6. sect. 24.
[i] Cont. Barcl. c. 7.
[k] De Ro. Pontif. lib. iv. c. 5

doctrine, which Clement the Vth vented in the council of Vienna. "Omne jus regum à se pendere:" "The rights of all kings depend upon the pope."—And, therefore, even their catholic princes are at their mercy, and they would, if they durst, use them accordingly: if they do but favour heretics or schismatics, receive them or defend them; if the emperor be perjured, if he rashly break a league made with the see apostolic, if he do not keep the peace promised to the church, if he be sacrilegious, if he dissipate the goods of the church, —the pope may depose him, said Azorius. And Santarel[l] says, he may do it, in case the prince or emperor be insufficient, if he be wicked, if he be unprofitable, if he does not defend the church. This is very much, but yet there is something more;[m] this may be done, if he impose new gabels or imposts upon his subjects, without the pope's leave; for if they do not pretend to this also, why does the pope, "in Bullâ Cœnæ Dominici," excommunicate all princes that do it?[n]

Now if it be inquired, by what authority the pope does these things? it is answered, that the pope hath a supreme and absolute authority; both the spiritual and the temporal power is in the pope as Christ's vicar, said Azorius and Santarel. The church hath the right of a superior lord over the rights of princes and their temporalities; and that by her jurisdiction she disposes of temporals, "ut de suo peculio," "as of her own proper goods," said our countryman Weston, rector of the college at Doway. Nay, the pope hath power, "in omnia, per omnia, super omnia," "in all things, through all things, and over all things;" and the "sublimity and immensity of the supreme bishop is so great, that no mortal man ean comprehend it," said Cassenæus;[o] "No man can express it, no man can think it:" so that it is no wonder what Papirius Massonus said of Pope Boniface the VIIIth, that he owned himself not only as the lord of France, but of all the world.[p]

Now we are sure it will be said, that this is but the private opinion of some doctors, not the doctrine of the church of Rome. To this we reply: 1. It is not the private opinion of a few, but their public doctrine owned, and offered to be justified to all the world, as appears in the preceding testimonies. 2. It is the opinion of all the Jesuit order, which is now the greatest and most glorious in the church of Rome; and the maintenance of it is the subject matter of their new vow of obedience to the pope, that is, to advance his grandeur. 3. Not only the Jesuits, but all the canonists in the church of Rome contend earnestly for these doctrines. 4. This they do upon the authority of the decretals, their own law,[q] and the decrees of councils. 5. Not only the Jesuits and canonists, but others also of great note amongst them, earnestly contend for these doctrines; particularly Cassenæus, Zodericus,[r] the archbishop of Florence,[s] Petrus de Monte,[t] St. Thomas Aquinas,[u] Bozius, Baronius, and many others. 6. Themselves tell us it is a matter of faith; father Creswell[x] says, it is the sentence of all catholics; and they that do not admit these doctrines, father Rosweyd[y] calls them half-christians, grinners, barking royalists, and a new sect of catholics; and Eudæmon Johannes[z] says, that without question it is a heresy in the judgment of all catholics. Now in such things which are not in their creeds, and public confessions, from whence should we know the doctrines of their church, but from their chiefest and most leading doctors; who, it is certain, would fain have all the world believe it to be the doctrine of their church? And, therefore, as it is certain that any Roman catholic may with allowance be of this opinion; so he will be esteemed the better and more zealous catholic if he be; and if it were not for fear of princes, who will not lose their crowns for their foolish doctrines, there is no peradventure but it would be declared to be "de fide," "a matter of faith," as divers of them of late do not stick to say. And of this the pope gives but too much evidence, since he will not take away the scandal, which is so greatly given to all christian kings and republics, by a public and a just condemnation of it. Nay, it is worse than thus; for Sixtus Quintus upon the 9th of September, A. D. 1589, in an oration in a conclave of cardinals, did solemnly commend the monk, that killed Henry the IIIrd of France. The oration was printed at Paris, by them that had rebelled against that prince, and avouched for authentic by Boucher Decreil, and Ancelin: and though some would fain have it thought to be none of his, yet Bellarmine[a] dares not deny it, but makes for it a crude and a cold apology.

Now concerning this article, it will not be necessary to declare the sentence of the church of England and Ireland; because it is notorious to all the world; and is expressly opposed against this Roman doctrine, by laws, articles, confessions, homilies, the oath of allegiance and supremacy, the book of christian institution, and the many excellent writings of King James of blessed memory, of our bishops and other learned persons against Bellarmine, Parsons, Eudæmon Johannes, Creswell, and others; and nothing is more notorious than that the church of England is most dutiful, most zealous for the right of kings; and within these four-and-twenty years, she hath had many martyrs, and very, very many confessors in this cause.

It is true that the church of Rome does recriminate in this point, and charges some Calvinists and

[l] Instit. Moral. part 2. lib. x. c. 9. [m] Ubi supra.
[n] See Mart. Vivaldus de bullâ cœnæ Dominicæ.
[o] Sanctuar. Jur. Pontificii qu. 15. sect. 5. qu. 17. sect. 6. et qu. 27. sect. 7. Catal. plor. mundi part. 4. consid. 7. ex Zoderico.
[p] Verb. Bonif. 8.
[q] De major. et obedient. unam sanctam. In extrav. Bonif. 8. concil. Later. sub Julio 2. In extrav. Joh. 22. cap. Cum inter non nullos. In gloss. final. edit. Paris, 1503, concil. Viennens. sub Clem. 5.
[r] Ubi supra in Cassenæo.
[s] Summ. 3. part. lib. xxii. c. 6. sect. 4.
[t] In suâ Monarchiâ quem citat Felinus in cap. Si quando, ubi per eum extrav. de rescript.
[u] In tract. de Rege et Regno ad Regem Cypri.
[x] In Philopatr. sect. 2. n. 160, 162.
[y] Lib. de fide hæret. servanda.
[z] In epist. monitor. ad Joh. Barclai.
[a] In resp. ad Apolog. pro Juram. fidelit.

presbyterians with doctrines which indeed they borrowed from Rome, using their arguments, making use of their expressions, and pursuing their principles. But with them in this article we have nothing to do, but to reprove the men, and condemn their doctrine, as we have done all along, by private writings and public instruments.

We conclude these our reproofs with an exhortation to our respective charges, to all that desire to be saved "in the day of the Lord Jesus," that they decline from these horrid doctrines, which in their birth are new, in their growth are scandalous, in their proper consequents are infinitely dangerous to their souls, and "hunt for their precious life;" but, therefore, it is highly fit that they also should perceive their own advantages, and give God praise, that they are immured from such infinite dangers, by the holy precepts and holy faith taught and commanded in the church of England and Ireland; in which the word of God is set before them as a "lantern to their feet, and a light unto their eyes;" and the sacraments are fully administered according to Christ's institution, and repentance is preached according to the measures of the gospel, and faith in Christ is propounded according to the rule of the apostles, and the measures of the churches apostolical; and obedience to kings is greatly and sacredly urged, and the authority and order of bishops is preserved against the usurpation of the pope, and the invasion of schismatics and Aerians new and old; and truth and faith to all men is kept and preached to be necessary and inviolable, and the commandments are expounded with just severity, and without scruples; and holiness of life is urged upon all men, as indispensably necessary to salvation, and therefore without any allowances, tricks, and little artifices of escaping from it by easy and imperfect doctrines; and every thing is practised which is useful to the saving of our souls; and Christ's merits and satisfaction are entirely relied upon for the pardon of our sins; and the necessity of good works is universally taught; and our prayers are holy, unblamable, edifying, and understood; they are according to the measures of the word of God, and the practice of all saints. In this church the children are duly, carefully, and rightly baptized, and the baptized, in their due time, are confirmed; and the confirmed are communicated; and penitents are absolved, and the impenitents punished and discouraged; and holy marriage in all men is preferred before unclean concubinate in any; and nothing is wanting that God and his Christ hath made necessary to salvation.

Behold we set before you life and death, blessing and cursing, safety and danger. Choose which you will; but remember that the prophets who are among you, have declared to you the way of salvation. Now the "Lord give you understanding in all things, and reveal even this also unto you."—Amen.

THE SECOND PART

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY:

IN

VINDICATION OF THE FIRST PART,

AND

FURTHER REPROOF AND CONVICTION OF THE ROMAN ERRORS.

Curavimus Babylonem, et non est sanata.

THE INTRODUCTION.

BEING AN ANSWER TO THE FOURTH APPENDIX TO J. S.'s "SURE FOOTING;" INTENDED AGAINST THE GENERAL WAY OF PROCEDURE IN THE "DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY."

When our blessed Saviour was casting out the evil spirit from the poor demoniac in the gospel, he asked his name; and he answered, "My name is Legion, for we are many." "Legion" is a Roman word, and signifies "an army," as "Roman" signifies "Catholic;" that is, a great body of men, which though in true speaking they are but a part of an imperial army, yet when they march alone, they can do mischief enough, and call themselves an army royal. A squadron of this legion hath attempted to break a little fort or out-work of mine; they came in the dark, their names concealed, their qualities unknown, whether clergy or laity not to me discovered, only there is one pert man amongst them, one that is discovered by his "Sure Footing." The others I know not; but this man is a man famous in the "new science of controversy" (as he is pleased to call it); I mean in the most beauteous and amiable part of it, railing and calumny; the man I mean is the ὁ αὐθάδης, "the confident," the man of principles, and the son of demonstration; and though he had so reviled a great champion[a] in the "armies of the living God," that it was reasonable to think he had cast forth πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα, "all the fiery darts of the wicked one;" yet I find, that an evil fountain is not soon drawn dry, and he hath indignation enough and reviling left for others, amongst whom I have the honour not to be the least sufferer and sharer in the persecution. He thought not fit to take any further notice of me but in an appendix;[b] the viper is but little; but it is a viper still, though it hath more tongue than teeth. I am the more willing to quit myself of it, by way of introduction, because he intends it as an "organum catholicum" against the general way of the procedure which I have used in the "Dissuasive;" and therefore I suppose the removing this, might ἑτοιμάζειν τὴν ὁδὸν, "make my way smoother" in the following discourses.

I will take no other notice of his evil language, his scorn and reproach, his undervaluing and slighting the person and book of the "Dissuader" (as he is pleased sometimes to call me); but I shall answer to these things as St. Bernard did to the temptation of the devil, endeavouring to hinder his preaching by tempting to vanity: "I neither began for you, nor for you will I make an end:" but I shall look on those rhetorical flowers of his own but as a fermentum, his spirit was troubled, and he "breathed forth the froth as of an enraged sea;" and when he hath done, it may be he will be quiet; if not, let him know "God will observe that which is to come, and require that which is past."

But I will search and see what I can find of matter that is to be considered, and give such accounts of them as is necessary, and may be useful for the

[a] Dr. H. H.

[b] The fourth Appendix to "Sure Footing."

defence of my book, and the justification of myself against all ruder charges. And after I have done so, I shall proceed to other things which I shall esteem more useful.

The first thing I shall take notice of, is his scornful and slight speaking of Scripture, affirming that "he is soonest beaten at this weapon," that "it is Samson's hair;" it is the weakest part in the man: and yet if it be the weakest, it is that which St. Paul calls "the weakness and foolishness of preaching," more strong and more wise than all the wisdom of man. When the devil tempted our blessed Saviour, he used Scripture; but Christ did not reprove his way of arguing, but in the same way discovered his fraud. "Scriptum est," said the tempter; yea, but "scriptum est," said Christ, to other purposes than you intend; and so would J. S. have proceeded, if he had been at all in love with the way. But he thinks he hath a better; and the wonder is the less that the gentleman does not love the Scriptures, or at least gives too much suspicion that he does not; for he hath not yet proved himself by his writings to be so good a christian as to love his enemies, or his reprovers: but, however he is pleased to put a scorn on Scripture expressions, it were much better, if he and his church too would use them more, and express their articles they contend for, and impose them on the christian world, in the words and expressions of Scripture, which, we are sure, express the mind of God with more truth and simplicity, than is done by their words of art and expressions of the schools. If this had been observed, christendom at this day had had fewer controversies, and more truth, and more charity; we should not have been puzzled to unriddle the words of "transubstantiation," and "hyperdulia," and "infallibility," and "doctrines ex cathedra," and "fere de fide," and "next to heresy," and "temerarious," and "ordo ad spiritualia," and "St. Peter's chair," and "supremacy in spirituals," and "implicit faith," and very many more profane or unhallowed novelties of speech, which have made christianity quite another thing than it is in itself, or than it was represented by the apostles and apostolic men at first, as the plain way of salvation to all succeeding ages of the church for ever.

But be it as it will; for he will neither approve of Scripture language, nor is he pleased that I use "any handsome expressions," for that is charged upon me as part of my fault; only to countenance all this, he is pleased to say that all these are "but division upon no grounds;" and therefore "to grounds and first principles" I must be brought, and by this way he is sure to "blow up my errors from the foundation;" that is his expression, being a metaphor, I suppose, taken from the gunpowder treason, in which indeed, going upon popish grounds, they intended to blow up something or other that was very considerable, from its very foundations.

To perform this effect, J. S. hath eight several mines, all which I hope to discover without Guy Faux's lantern.

The First Way.

His first way is, that I have not one first or self-evident principle to begin with, on which I build the "Dissuasive;" but he hath, that is, he says he hath; for he hath reproved that oral tradition, on which he and his church rely, is such a principle; he thought (it may be) he had reason then to say so; but the scene is altered, and until he hath sufficiently confuted his adversaries, who have proved his self-evident principle to be an evident and pitiful piece of sophistry, his boasting is very vain. However, though he hath failed in his undertaking, yet I must acquit myself as well as I can. I shall therefore tell him that the truth, fulness, and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith and manners, is the principle that I and all protestants rely upon. And although this be not a first and self-evident principle, yet it is resolved into these that are. 1. Whatsoever God hath said is true. 2. Whatsoever God hath done is good. 3. Whatsoever God intends to bring to pass, he hath appointed means sufficient to that end. Now since God hath appointed the Scriptures to instruct us, and make us wise unto salvation, and to make the man of God perfect, certain it is, that this means must needs be sufficient to effect that end. Now that God did do this, to this end, to them that believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, is as evident as any first principle. And let these Scriptures be weighed together, and see what they do amount to. "Search the Scriptures; for therein ye think to have eternal life."[c] The Jews thought so, that is, they confessed and acknowledged it to be so; and if they had been deceived in their thought, besides that it is very probable Christ would have reproved it, so it is very certain he would not have bidden them to have used that means to that end. And if Christ himself and the apostles did convince the Jews out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, proving that Jesus was the Christ: if Christ himself and the apostles proved the resurrection, and the passion, and the supreme kingdom of Christ out of the Scriptures: if the apostle proved him to be the Messias, and that he ought to suffer and to rise again the third day, by no other precedent topic, and that upon these things christian religion relied, as upon its entire foundation, and on the other side the Jewish doctors had brought in many things by tradition, to which our blessed Saviour gave no countenance, but reproved many of them, and made it plain that tradition was not the first and self-evident principle to rely upon in religion, but a way by which they had corrupted the commandment of God: it will follow from hence, that the Scriptures are the way that Christ and his apostles walked in, and that oral tradition was not. But then to this add what more concerns the New Testament, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel; in the preface he tells us; "that many had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed amongst us *christians*, and that he having perfect understanding of all things *(viz. which Christ did and*

[c] John v. 39.

taught) from the very first, did write *this Gospel*, that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed." Now here, if we believe St. Luke, was no want of any thing; he was fully instructed in all things; and he chose to write that book, that by that book Theophilus might know the truth, yea, the certainty of all things. Now if we be christians, and believe St. Luke to be divinely inspired, this is not indeed a first but an evident principle; that a book of Scripture can make a man certain and instructed in the whole gospel of Jesus Christ. To the same purpose is that of St. John,[d] "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name." The end is salvation by Jesus Christ; the means of effecting this, was the writing the Gospel by St. John; and therefore it is a sure principle for christians to rely upon, the word of God written by men divinely inspired, such as christians believe and confess St. Luke and St. John to be. Hear St. Luke again:[e] "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day he was taken up."—No man then can deny but all Christ's doctrine and life was fully set down by these evangelists and apostles; whether it were to any purpose, or no, let J. S. consider, and I shall consider with him in the sequel. But first, let us hear what St. Paul saith in an epistle written, as it is probable, not long before his death; but certainly after three of the Gospels, and divers of the epistles were written, and consequently related to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them: and that, from a child, thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."[f] Now I demand; does J. S. believe these words to be true? Are the Scriptures able to make us wise unto salvation? Are they profitable to all intents and purposes of the spirit, that is, to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct? Is the end of all this economy, to make a christian man, yea, a christian bishop, perfect? Can he by this dispensation be thoroughly furnished unto all good works, and that "by faith in Jesus Christ?" If so, then this is the true principle, the apostolical way, the way of God, the way of salvation; and if Scriptures, the books written by the finger of God and the pen of apostles, can do all this, then they are something more than "ink varied into divers figures, unsensed characters," and I know not what other reviling epithets J. S. is pleased to cast upon them.

"Yea, but all this is nothing, unless we know that Scriptures are the word of God, that they were written by the apostles; and of this the Scriptures cannot be a witness in their own behalf: and therefore oral tradition must supply that, and consequently is the only first and self-evident principle:"—To this I answer; that it matters not by what means it be conveyed to us that the Scriptures are the word of God. Oral tradition is an excellent means; but it is not that alone by which it is conveyed. For if by oral tradition he means the testimony of the catholic church; it is the best external ministry of conveyance of this, being a matter of fact, and of so great concernment. To which the testimony of our adversaries, Jews and heathens, adds no small moment; and the tradition is also conveyed to us by very many writings. But when it is thus conveyed, and that the church does believe them to be the word of God, then it is that I inquire, whether the Scripture cannot be a witness to us of its own design, fulness, and perfection. Certainly no principle is more evident than this, none more sure and none before it; Whatever God hath said is true, and in Scripture God did speak, and speak this; and therefore this to us is a first, at least an evident, principle.

Yea, but if this proposition, "that the Scriptures are the word of God," is conveyed to us by oral tradition, this must needs be the best and only principle; for if it be trusted for the whole, why not for every particular. This argument concludes thus: This is the gate of the house, therefore this is all the house. Every man enters this way; and therefore this is the hall and the cellar, the pantry and dining-room, the bed-chambers and the cock-lofts. But besides the ridiculousness of the argument, there is a particular reason why the argument cannot conclude: the reason in brief is this, because it is much easier for any man to carry a letter, than to tell the particular errand; it is easier to tell one thing, than to tell ten thousand; to deliver one thing out of our hand, than a multitude out of our mouths; one matter of fact, than very many propositions; as it is easier to convey in writing all Tully's works, than to say by heart, with truth and exactness, any one of his orations. That the Bible was written by inspired men, God setting his seal to their doctrine, confirming by miracles what they first preached, and then wrote in a book, this is a matter of fact, and is no otherwise to be proved (unless God should proceed extraordinarily and by miracle) but by the testimony of wise men, who saw it with their eyes, and heard it with their ears, and felt it with their hands. This was done at first, then only consigned, then witnessed, and thence delivered. And with how great success, and with the blessing of how mighty a providence, appears it in this; because although, as St. Luke tells us, many did undertake to write gospels, or the declaration of the things so surely believed amongst christians; and we find in St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Irenæus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and St. Jerome, mention made of many gospels, as that of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, Nazarenes, Ebionites, the gospel of James, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and divers more, yet but four only were transmitted and consigned to the church; because these four only were written by these whose names they bear; and

[d] John xx. 31. [e] Acts i. [f] 2 Tim. v. 14.

these men had the testimony of God, and a spirit of truth, and the promise of Christ, that the Spirit should bring all things to their minds, and he did so: now of this we could have no other testimony but of those who were present, who stopped the first issue of the false gospels, and the sound of the other four went forth into all the world, according to that of Origen; "Ecclesia cum quatuor tantum Evangelii libros habet, per universum mundum Evangeliis redundat; hæresies cum multa habeant, unum non habent." Those which heretics made are all lost, or slighted; those which the Spirit of God did write by the hands of men divinely inspired, these abide, and shall abide for ever. Now then this matter of fact how should we know, but by being told it by credible persons who could know, and never gave cause of suspicion that they should deceive us. Now if J. S. will be pleased to call this oral tradition, he may; but that which was delivered by this oral tradition, was not only preached at first, but transmitted to us by many writings, besides the Scriptures, both of friends and enemies. But suppose it were not; yet this book of Scriptures might be consigned by oral tradition from the apostles and apostolic men, and yet tradition become of little or no use after this consignation and delivery. For this was all the work which of necessity was to be done by it; and indeed this was all that it could do well.

1. This was all which was necessary to be done by oral tradition; because the wisdom of the Divine Spirit having resolved to write all the doctrine of salvation in a book, and having done it well and sufficiently in order to his own gracious purposes; (for who dares so much as suspect the contrary?) there was now no need that oral tradition should be kept up with the jointure of infallibility, since the first infallibility of the apostles was so sufficiently witnessed, that it convinced the whole world of christians; and therefore was enough to consign the divinity and perfection of this book for ever. For it was in this as in the doctrine itself contained in the Scriptures; "God confirmed it by signs following;" that is, by signs proving that the apostles spake the mind of God; the things which they spake, were proved and believed for ever; but then the signs went away, and left a permanent and eternal event. So it is in the infallible tradition delivered by the apostles and apostolic age, concerning the Scriptures being the word of God; what they said was confirmed by all that testimony, by which they obtained belief in the church, to their persons and doctrines; but when they had once delivered this, there needed no remaining miracle, and entail of infallibility in the church to go on in the delivery of this; for by that time that all the apostles were dead, and the infallible spirit was departed, the Scriptures of the Gospels were believed in all the world, and then it was not ordinarily possible ever any more to detract faith from that book; and then for the transmitting this book to after-ages, the Divine providence needed no other course, but the ordinary ways of man, that is, right reason, common faithfulness, the interest of souls, believing a good thing, which there was and could be no cause to disbelieve; and a universal consent of all men, that were any ways concerned for it, or against it; and this not only preached upon the house-tops, but set down also in very many writings. This actually was the way of transmitting this book, and the authority of it, to after-ages respectively.

These things are, of themselves, evident; yet because J. S. still demands we should set down some first and self-evident principle, on which to found the whole procedure, I shall once more satisfy him; and this is a first and self-evident principle, "whatsoever can be spoken, can be written;" and if it be plain spoken, it may be as plain written. I hope I need not go about to demonstrate this; for it is of itself evident, that God can write all that he is pleased to speak; and all good scribes can set down in writing, whatsoever another tells them; and in his very words too, if he please, he can as well transcribe a word spoken as a word written. And upon this principle it is that the protestants believe, that the words of Scripture can be as easily understood, after they are written in a book, as when they were spoken in the churches of the first christians; and the apostles and evangelists did write the life of Christ, his doctrines, the doctrines of faith as plain as they did speak them, at least as plain as was necessary to the end for which they were written, which is the salvation of our souls. And what necessity now can there be, that there should be a perpetual miracle still current in the church, and a spirit of infallibility descendant to remember the church of all those things, which are at once set down in a book, the truth and authority of which was at first proved by infallible testimony, the memory and certainty of which is preserved amongst christians by many unquestionable records and testimonies of several natures?

2. As there was no necessity that an infallible oral tradition should do any more but consign the books of Scripture; so it could not do any more, without a continual miracle. That there was no continued miracle is sufficiently proved, by proving it was not necessary it should; for that also is another first and self-evident principle, that "the all-wise God does not do any thing, much less such things as miracles, to no purpose, and for no need." But now if there be not a continued miracle, then oral tradition was not fit to be trusted, in relating the particulars of the christian religion. For if in a succession of bishops and priests, from St. Peter down to Pope Alexander VII., it is impossible for any man to be assured that there was no nullity in the ordinations, but insensibly there might intervene something to make a breach in the long line, which must, in that case, be made up as well as they can, by tying a knot on it; it will be infinitely more hard to suppose, but that in the series and successive talkings of the christian religion, there must needs be infinite variety, and many things told otherwise, and some things spoken with evil purposes, by such as "preached Christ out of envy;" and many odd things said and doctrines strangely represented by such as "creep into houses, and lead

captive silly women." It may be, the bishops of the apostolical churches did preach right doctrines for divers ages; but yet in Jerusalem, where fifteen bishops in succession were circumcised, who can tell how many things might be spoken in justification of that practice, which might secretly undervalue the apostolical doctrine. And where was the oral tradition then of this proposition, "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing?" But, however, though the bishops did preach all the doctrine of Christ; yet these sermons were told to them that were absent, by others who, it may be, might mistake something, and understand them to other senses than was intended. And though infallibility of testifying might be given to the church, that is, to the chief rulers of it, (for I hope J. S. does not suppose it subjected in every single christian man or woman,) yet when this testimony of theirs is carried abroad, the reporters are not always infallible: and let it be considered, that even now, since christianity hath been transmitted to many ages, and there are so many thousands that teach it, yet how many hundreds of these thousands understand but very little of it, and therefore tell it to others but pitifully and imperfectly; so that if God, in his goodness, had not preserved to us "the surer word" of the prophetical and evangelical Scriptures, christianity would, by this time, have been a most strange thing; "litera scripta manet." As to the apostles while they lived it was so easy to have recourse, that error durst not appear with an open face, but the cure was at hand: so have the apostles, when they took care to have something left to the churches to put them in mind of the precious doctrine; they put a sure standard, and fixed a rule in the church, to which all doubts might be brought to trial, and against which all heresies might be dashed in pieces. But we have lived to see the apostolical churches rent from one another, and teaching contrary things, and pretending contrary traditions, and abounding in several senses, and excommunicating one another; and it is impossible, for example, that we should see the Greeks going any whither, but to their own superior and their own churches to be taught christian religion; and the Latins did always go to their own patriarch, and to their own bishops and churches, and it is not likely it should be otherwise now, than it hath been hitherto, that is, that they follow the religion that is taught them there, and the tradition that is delivered by their immediate superiors. Now there being so vast a difference, not only in the great churches, but in several ages, and in several diocesses, and in single priests, every one understanding as he can, and speaking as he please, and remembering as he may, and expressing it accordingly; and the people also understanding it by halves, and telling it to their children, sometimes ill, sometimes not at all, and seldom as they should; and they who are taught, neglecting it too grossly, and attending to it very carelessly, and forgetting it too quickly; and which is worse yet, men expounding it according to their interests, or their lusts, out of faction, or as they are misled, and then report it accordingly: these, and a thousand things more, convince us of the easiness of being deceived by oral tradition of doctrines, which can insensibly and unavoidably be changed, in great differences and mistakes; but can never suffer any considering person to believe, that mouth-delivery is a better way of keeping records than writing in a book.

So that now I wonder that J. S. is pleased to call traditions certainty, the "first principle of controversy;" the pretence of it is indeed the mother and nurse of controversy; for in the world there is not any thing more uncertain than the report of men's words. How many men have been undone by mistaken words! And it is well remembered, that in the last unhappy parliament,[s] a gentleman was called to the bar for speaking words of truth and honesty, but against the sense of the house: the words were spoken in a great assembly, before many witnesses; curious and malicious observers spoke at that very time; and yet when the words were questioned, they could not agree what they were; and consequently the sense of them might be strangely altered, since a word, the misplacing of a word, an accent, a point, any ambiguity, any mistake, might change the sense: well, upon this accident the speaker called to a gentleman, whom he had observed to write the words; and to him they appealed, and he told them that which I supposed was said, but wholly differing from them that spake it, the traditionary part of the parliament.

All the rest which J. S. says in his First Way, is nothing but a strange and arrogant bragging, which as it is inconsistent with the modesty of a christian, so it is an ill sign of a sober and wise conviction; for if he had demonstrated the certainty of oral tradition, he needed no such noises; they that speak truest, make the least stir, and when they are at peace in the truth of the thing, they are pleased it is well, and so they leave it to prevail by its native strengths.

But after all this noise made by J. S., why is he so fierce to call me to first and self-evident principles? Does any school of philosophy do so in their systems and discourses? Are there not in every science divers "præcognita," things to be "presupposed" and believed, before we can prove any thing? It is unreasonable, when I reprove any vicious person for dishonouring God, and dissuade him from his wicked courses, that he should tell me he will not be dissuaded by my fine words, but if I will go to principles and first grounds, he will hear me; and I must first prove what "dishonouring" is, and "how God can be dishonoured," and whether it be only by fiction of law, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, and by way of condescension it is so said: and yet after all this, I must prove that "God does care at all, whether the man say such things or no;" or lastly, I must prove that "there is a God," before he can suffer me to reprove him upon such ungrounded discourses. Theology, and the science of the Scriptures, suppose divers grounds laid down before and believed; and, therefore, it were a wild demand,

[s] 1641.

that, in every book, we should make a logical system, or a formal analysis of all our discourses, and make a map describing all the whole passage from the first truth to the present affirmative.

But if J. S. will but consider what the design of "The Dissuasive" was, and that the purpose of it was to prove, that the doctrine of popery, as such, is wholly an innovation, neither catholic or apostolic; there was no need of coming to any other first grounds, but to show the time when the Roman propositions were not catholic doctrines, and when they began to be esteemed so. These things are matters of fact, and need no reduction to any other first principles, but the credible testimony of men fit to be believed. But yet because I will humour J. S. for this once; even here also "The Dissuasive" relies upon a first and self-evident principle as any is in christianity; and that is, "Quod primum, verum." And, therefore, if I prove that the Roman doctrines now controverted, were not "at first," but came in afterwards, then I have built "The Dissuasive" aright; and now I have pointed it out, and have already in part, and, in the following book, have more largely done it; therefore, I hope J. S. will be as good as his word, and "yield himself absolutely confuted." But because there are some other reasons inclining me to think he will not perform his promise, and particularly "because of the ill-naturedness of *his own* principles" (that I may use his own expression in his postscript); yet if I have failed in my proofs, it is not for want of clear and evident principles, but of right deductions from them; and, therefore, he is mistaken in his First Way of mining; and whether there be any defect in any thing else, will be put to trial in the sequel: in the mean time, the lion is not so terrible as he is painted.

The Second Way.

In the next place, I shall try his second mine; and believe I shall find it big with a "brutem fulmen;" and that it can do no hurt but make a noise, and scare the boys in the neighbourhood.

For now, though, in the First Way, he blamed me for relying upon no first and self-evident principle; in the second, he excludes me from all right of using any, unless I will take his. He says, "I have no right to allege Scriptures or fathers, councils or reason, history or instances." But why, I pray? "It is done thus: All discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds." That is his first proposition; what he makes of it afterwards we shall see: in the mean time, he may consider, that though all his discourses suppose that certain on which they build, because his geese are swans, and his arguments are demonstrations, yet there are many wiser discourses which rely upon probable arguments: and so does a moral demonstration; and such a great wit of France, Mr. Silhon, supposed to be his best way of proving the immortality of the soul. Now this is nothing but a coacervation of many probabilities, which according to the subject matter, (as not being capable of any other way of probation,) amounts to the effect of a demonstration. And however this gentleman looks big upon it, the infallibility of the church of Rome is, by the wisest of his own party, acknowledged to rely but upon prudential motives; and he is a madman, says Aristotle, who, in some cases, (in which yet a man may discourse wisely enough,) looks for any more than arguments of a high probability. But what does J. S. think of arguments "ad hominem?" Do they suppose that certain which they build upon? or, if they do not, can there be no good discourses made upon them? What are the wise consultations of states and councils? Do they always discourse foolishly when they proceed and argue but upon probabilities? Nay, what does J. S. think of general councils, who are fallible in their premises, though right in their conclusions? Do their conclusions suppose their premises, upon which they build their conclusions, to be certain? If not, then J. S. hath affirmed weakly, that all discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds.

Well! but how does he build upon this rotten foundation, who hath already, in this very procedure, confuted his following discourse, as being such which does not, I am sure ought not, (as appears by the reasons I have brought against it,) suppose that certain on which it is built: "Thus, if tradition, or the way of conveying down matters of fact by the former ages testifying, can fail, none of these, viz. Scripture, reason, history, fathers, councils, yea, instances, are certain." This is his assumption; and this, besides that it is false, is also to none of his purposes. 1. It is false; for suppose tradition be not certain, how must "all reason" therefore fail? For, first, there must be some reason pre-supposed, before the certainty of tradition can be established: and if there be not, why does J. S. offer, at a demonstrative reason, to prove the certainty of tradition? though, if there be no better reasons for it than he hath yet shown, his reason and tradition fail together. 2. Supposing tradition should fail, yet there may be reasons given for the excellency of christianity, which, as they confirm christians in their faith, and beget love to the articles, so they may be sufficient to invite even the wiser heathens to consider it, and choose it.

But then suppose, that these things should be uncertain upon the supposal of the uncertainty of tradition of matters of fact, yet it will avail J. S. nothing; for it will only follow, that then "those things which only rely upon that matter of fact," are not demonstratively certain; but though it may fail "in some things," it may be "right in others;" and we may have reason for one, and not for another, and then either those things must be proved some other way, or else they can be believed but only so far as the first topic will extend; which yet, though so uncertain as not to be infallible or demonstrative, may be certain enough to make men believe, and live and die accordingly. For if we have no better, God requires no better, and by these things will bring his purposes to pass; and if this were not true, what will become of the laity, and the many ignorant priests of his own church, who do not rely upon the certainty of universal tradition, but the

single testimony of their parents or their parish priest? But of this afterwards.

But to come closer to the thing: Suppose tradition of fact be certain; (for so it is in many instances, and if it be universal, it will be allowed to be so in all;) yet it is but so certain, that yet there is a natural possibility that it should be false; and it is possible that what the generality of one sort of men do jointly testify, may yet be found false, or at least uncertain; as the burial of Mahomet in Mecca, and his being attracted by a loadstone, of which the Mahometans have a long and general tradition, at least we in christendom are made to believe so; and if it be not so, yet it is naturally possible that they should all believe and teach a lie, and they actually do so; yet I will allow ecclesiastical catholic tradition, speaking morally, to be certain and indubitable; and that if this should fail, much of our comfort and certainty of adherence to christian religion would fail with it; but then it is to be considered, that the certainty of tradition which is allowed, is but "in matters of fact, not in doctrines," because the fact may be one, the doctrines many; that soon remembered, these soon forgotten; that perceived by sense, these mistaken and misunderstood; and though it is very credibly reported and easily believed, that Julius Cæsar was killed in the senate, yet all that he said that day, and all the unwritten orders he made, and all his orations, will not, cannot, so easily be trusted upon oral tradition. So that oral tradition is a good ministry of conveying a record, but it is not the best record; and the principal office of oral tradition is done when the record is verified by it, when the Scripture is consigned; and though still it is useful, yet it is not still so necessary; for when, by tradition or oral testimony, we are assured that the Bible is the word of God, and the great record of salvation, then we are sure that God who gave it, will preserve it, or not require it,—and he that designed it to such an end, will make and keep it sufficient to that end; and that he hath done so already is therefore notorious, because God hath been pleased to multiply the copies, and enwrap the contents of that book with the biggest interests of mankind; that it is made impossible to destroy that Divine repository of necessary and holy doctrines; and when the christians were, by deaths and tortures, assaulted, to cause them to deliver up their Bibles, that they might be destroyed, the persecutors prevailed not; they might, with as much success, have undertaken to drink up the sea. And that Providence which keeps the whole from destruction, will also keep all its necessary parts from corruption, lest the work of God become insufficient to the end of its designation; and he that will look for better security, than we can have from the certain knowledge and experience of the infallibility of the Divine providence and never-failing goodness, must erect a new office of assurance.

The effect of this discourse is this: That oral tradition may be very certain, and, in some case, is the best evidence we have in matters of fact unless where we are taught by sense or revelation: and if it were not certain, we should be infinitely to seek for notices of things that are past: but this is but a moral certainty, though it be the best we have; and this is but in matters of fact, not in doctrines and orations, or notions delivered in many words; and after all this, when tradition hath consigned an instrument or record, a writing or a book, it may then leave being necessary, and when the providence of God undertakes to supply the testimony of man, the change is for our advantage.

Well! now, having considered this second proposition, let us see what his conclusion is; for that also hath something of particular consideration, as having in it something more than was in the premises. The conclusion is: "Therefore a protestant or a renouncer of tradition, cannot, with reason, pretend to discourse out of any of these." To which I shall reply these things: 1. This gentleman wholly mistakes us protestants, as he did the protestant religion when he weakly forsook it. Protestants are not renouncers of tradition; for we allow all catholic traditions that can prove themselves to be such; but we finding little or nothing, (excepting this, that "the Bible is the word of God," and that "the Bible contains all the will of God for our salvation," all doctrines of faith and life,) little or nothing else, I say, descending to us by a universal tradition, therefore we have reason to adhere to Scripture, and renounce, as J. S. is pleased to call it, all pretence of tradition of any matters of faith, not plainly set down in the Bible.

But now, since we renounce no tradition but such as is not, and cannot be, proved to be competent and catholic, I hope, with the leave of J. S. we may discourse out of Scriptures and councils, fathers and reason, history and instances. For we believe tradition when it is credible, and we believe what two or three honest men say upon their knowledge, and we make no scruple to believe that there is an English plantation in the Barbadoes, because many tell us so, who have no reason to deceive us; so that we are in a very good capacity of making use of Scriptures and councils, &c. But I must deal freely with Mr. S.; though we do believe these things upon credible testimony, yet we do not think the testimony infallible, and we do believe many men who yet pretend not to infallibility: and if nothing were credible but what is infallible, then no man had reason to believe his priest or his father: we are taught by Aristotle that that is credible, "Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur;" and yet these are but degrees of probability, and yet are sufficient to warrant the transaction of all human affairs, which, unless where God is pleased to interpose, are not capable of greater assurance. Even the miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour, though they were the best arguments in the world to prove the Divinity of his person and his mission, yet they were but the best argument we needed and understood; but although they were infinitely sufficient to convince all but the malicious, yet there were some so malicious who did not allow them to be demonstrations, but said, that he did "cast out devils by Beelzebub."

"Here we live by faith and not by knowledge;" and therefore, it is an infinite goodness of God to give proofs sufficient for us, and fitted to our natures, and proportioned to our understanding; but yet such as may neither extinguish faith, nor destroy the nature of hope, which, although it may be so certain and sure as to be a stedfast "anchor of the soul," yet it may have in it something of natural uncertainty, and yet "fill us with all comfort and hope in believing:" so that we allow tradition to be certain if it be universal, and to be credible according to the degrees of its universality, and disinterested simplicity; and therefore, we have as much right to use the Scriptures and fathers as J. S. and all his party: and all his following talk in the sequel of this Second Way, relying upon a ground which I have discovered to be false, must needs fall of itself and signify nothing. But although this point be soon washed off, yet I suppose the charge, which will recoil upon himself, will not so easily be put by. For though it appears, that protestants have right to use fathers and councils, Scriptures and reason, yet J. S. and his little convention of four or five brothers of the tradition, have clearly disentitled themselves to any use of these. For if the oral tradition of the present church be the infallible and only rule of faith, then there is no oracle but this one; and the decrees of councils did bind only in that age they were made, as being part of the tradition of that age; but the next age needed it not, as giving testimony to itself, and being its own rule. And, therefore, when a question is to be disputed, you can go no whither to be tried but to the tradition of the present church, and this is not to be proved by a series and order of records and succession; but if you will know what was formerly believed, you must only ask what is believed now; for now rivers run back to their springs, and the lamb was to blame for troubling the wolf by drinking in the descending river, for the lower is now higher; and you are not to prove by what is past, that the present is right, but by the present you prove what was past, and Harry VII. is before Harry VI., and children must teach their parents, and, therefore, it is to be hoped, in time may be their elders. But, by this means, fathers and councils are made of no use to these gentlemen, who have greatly obliged the world by telling us a short way to science; and though our life be short, yet art is shorter, especially in our way, in theology; concerning which there needs no labour, no study, no reading, but to know of the present church what was always believed and taught, and what ought to be so; nay, what was done, or what was said, or what was written, is to be told by the present church, which, without further trouble, can infallibly assure us. And upon this account, the Jesuits have got the better of the Jansenists; for though these men weakly and fondly deny such words to be in Jansenius, yet the virtual church can tell better whether they be or no in Jansenius; or rather, it matters not whether they be or no; for it being the present sense of the pope, he may proceed to condemnation.

But J. S. offers at some reason for this: "For," saith he, "fathers being eminent witnesses, to immediate posterity or children, of the church' doctrine received, and councils representatives of the church; their strengths as proofs,—nay, their very existence, is not known till the notion of the church be known, which is part of their definition, and to which they relate." This is but part of his argument, which I yet must consider apart, because every proposition of his argument hath in it something very untrue; which when I have remarked, I shall consider the whole of it altogether.

And here, first, I consider that it is a strange proposition to say, that "the existence of the fathers is not known, till the notion or definition of the church be known." For who is there of any knowledge in any thing of this nature, that hath not heard of St. Austin, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, or St. Gregory? The Spaniards have a proverb, "There was never good oglio without bacon, nor good sermon without St. Austin:" and yet I suppose all the people of Spain that hear the name of St. Austin, it may be, five hundred times every Lent, make no question of the existence of St. Austin, or that there was such a man as he; and yet I believe, not very many of them can tell the definition of the church. Thousands of the people, and the very boys, see the pictures of St. Austin sold in fairs and markets, and yet are not so wise as to know the notion or nature of the church; and indeed, many wiser people, both among them and us, will be very much to seek in the definition, when your learned men amongst yourselves dispute what that nature or definition is.

But, it may be, though J. S. put fathers and councils into the same proposition, yet he means it of councils only, and that it is the existence of councils which is not to be had without the notion or definition of church, and this is as false as the other; for what tradesman in Germany, Italy, France, or Spain, is not well enough assured that there was such a thing as the council of Trent? And yet to the knowing of this, it was not necessary that they should be told how church is to be defined. Indeed they cannot know what it is to be church-councils, unless they know as much of church as they do of councils. But what think we? Could not men know there was a council at Ariminum more numerous than that at Nice, unless they had the notion of church? Certainly the church was no part of the definition of that council, nor did it relate, save only as enemies are relatives to each other; and if they be, yet it is hard to say they are parts of each other's definition. But, it may be, J. S. means this saying of good and catholic councils: yet they also may be known to have been without skill in definitions. Definitions do not tell "an sit," but "quid sit;" the first is to be supposed before any definition is to be inquired after.

Well! but how shall the being or nature of church be known? That is his second proposition, and tells us a pretty thing: "Nor is the being or nature of church known, till it be certainly known who are faithful or have true faith, who not; which must be manifested by their having, or not having, the true rule of faith." Why, but does the hav-

ing the true rule of faith make a man faithful? Cannot a man have the true rule of faith, and yet forsake it, or not make use of it, or "hide the truth in unrighteousness?" Does the having the best antidote in the world make a man healthful; though he live disorderly, and make no use of it? But to let that pass among the other σφάλματα. That which is more remarkable is, "That the being or nature of church is not known, till it be certainly known who are faithful or have true faith." I had thought that the way in the church of Rome of pronouncing men faithful or to have true faith, had been their being in the church, and that adhering to the church, (whose being and truth they must therefore be presupposed to believe,) had been the only way of pronouncing them faithful; which I supposed so certain amongst men, that though they have no faith at all but to believe as the church believes, had been a sufficient declaration of the faith of ignorant men. But it seems the tables are turned. It is not enough to go to the church; but first they must be assured that they are faithful, and have true faith, before they know any thing of the church.

But if the testimony of the present church be the only rule of faith, as J. S. would fain make us believe, then it had been truer said; a man cannot know the being or nature of faith, till he be well acquainted with the church. And must the rule of faith be tried by the church, and must the church be tried by the rule of faith? Is the testimony of the church the measure and touchstone of faith, and yet must we have the faith before we have any knowledge whether there be a church or no? Are they both first, and both prove one another, and is there here no circle? But, however, I am glad that the evidence of truth hath brought this gentleman to acknowledge that our way is the better way; and that we must first choose our religion, and then our church; and not first choose our church, and then blindly follow the religion of it whatsoever it be. But then also it will follow that J. S. hath destroyed his main hypothesis, and the oral tradition of the present church is not "the rule of faith;" for that must first be known, before we can know whether there be such a thing as the church or no; whose rule that is pretended to be.

And now follows his conclusion, which is nought upon other accounts; "Wherefore," saith he, "since the properties of the rule of faith do all agree to tradition our rule, and none of them to theirs, it follows the protestant or renouncer of tradition knows not what is either right Scripture, father, or council, and so ought not to meddle with either of them." To this I have already answered; and what J. S. may do hereafter, when he happens to fall into another fit of demonstration, I know not; but as yet he hath been very far from doing what he says he hath done, that is, "evidently proved" what he undertook in this question. And I suppose I have in a following section of this book, evidently proved that tradition, such I mean as the church of Rome uses in this inquiry, leads into error, or may do, as often as into truth; and, therefore, though we may and do use tradition as a probable argument in many things, and some as certain in one or two things to which in the nature of the thing it is apt to minister, yet it is infinitely far from being the rule of faith, the whole christian faith.

But I wonder why J. S. saith, that, for want of tradition, we cannot know either right Scripture, fathers, or councils, I do not think that by tradition they do know all the books of Scriptures. Do they know by universal or apostolical tradition, that the epistle to the Hebrews is canonical Scripture? The church of Rome had no tradition for it for above four hundred years, and they received it at last from the tradition of the Greek church; and then they, not the Roman church, are the great conservers of tradition, and they will get nothing by that. And what universal tradition can they pretend for those books which are rejected by some councils; as particularly that of Laodicea, (which is in the code of the universal church, and some of the fathers,) which yet they now receive; certainly in that age which rejected them, there was no catholic tradition for them, and those fathers which (as J. S. expresses it) "were eminent witnesses, to their immediate posterity or children, of the church's doctrine received," in all likehood did teach their posterity what themselves professed; and, therefore, it is possible the fathers in that council and some others of the same sentiment, might join in saying something which might deceive their posterity; and consequently the very ground of J. S.'s demonstration is digged up, for it was very possible the fathers might teach something that contradicts the present oral tradition of the church; because when they were alive, they believed the contradictory.

But further yet; can J. S. affirm, that, by the oral tradition of the present church, we can be infallibly taught which books were written by the fathers, and which not? If he can, how haps it that the doctors of his church are not agreed about very many of them, some rejecting that as spurious which others quote as genuine. If he cannot, then we may have a title to make use of the fathers, though we did renounce tradition; because by tradition certain and infallible they do not know it; and then if either they do not know it at all, or know it any other ways than by tradition, we may know it that way as well as they, and therefore have as good a title to make use of them as themselves.

But the good man proceeds, "Since pretended instances of tradition's failing depend on history, and historical certainty cannot be built upon dead characters, but on living sense in men's hearts delivered from age to age, that those passages are true, that is, on tradition, it follows that if the way of tradition can fail, all history is uncertain, and consequently, all instances as being matters of fact depending on history." To this I answer; that it is true that there are many instances in which it is certain that tradition hath failed, as will appear in the following section; and it is as true, that the record of these instances is kept in books, which are very ancient, and written by authors so credible,

that no man questions the truth of these instances: now I grant that we are told by the words delivered by our forefathers, that these books were written by such men; but then, it may be, our forefathers, though they kept the books safe, yet knew not what was written in them; and if all the contents of the books had been left only to rely upon the living sense in their hearts, and the hearts of their posterity, we should have had but few books, and few instances of the failing of tradition, only one great one would have been left, that is, the losing of almost all: that that is now recorded would have been a fatal sign, that tradition's fail was the cause of so sad a loss. It is well tradition hath helped us to the dead characters; they bear their living sense so within themselves, that it is quickly understood when living men come to read them. But now I demand of J. S. whether or no historical certainty relies only on certain and indefectible tradition? If it does not, then a man may be certain enough of the sacred history, though there be no certain oral tradition "built on living sense in men's hearts, delivered from age to age." If he does, then I must ask whether J. S. does believe Tacitus; or that there was such a man as Agricola, or that the senate decreed that Nero should be punished "more majorum." If he does believe these stories, and these persons, then he must also conclude that there is an oral indefectible tradition that Tacitus wrote this book, and that every thing in that book was written by him, and it remains at this day as it was at first, and that all this was not conveyed by dead and unsensed characters, but by living sense in our hearts. But now it will be very hard for any man to say, that there is such an infallible tradition delivering all that Roman story which we believe to be true. No man pretends that there is: and therefore, 1. History may be relied on without a certain indefectible oral tradition. And, 2. The tradition that consigns history to after-ages may be, and is so most commonly, nothing but of a fame that such a book was written by such a famous person who lived in that age, and might know the truth of what he wrote, and had no reason to lie, but was in all regards a very worthy and a credible person. Now here is as much certainty as need to be; the thing itself will bear no more; and almost all human affairs are transacted by such an economy as this; and therefore, it is certain enough, and is so esteemed, because it does all its intentions, and loses no advantage, and persuades effectually, and regularly engages to all those actions and events, which history could do, if the certainty were much greater. For the certainty of persuasion, and prevailing upon the greatest parts of mankind, may be as great by history, wisely and with great probability transmitted, as it can be by any imaginary certainty of a tradition that any dreamer can dream of. Nay, it may be equal to a demonstration; I mean, as to the certainty of prevailing: for a little reason to a little understanding as certainly prevails, as a greater to a deep and inquisitive understanding; and mankind does not need demonstrations in any case, but where reason is puzzled with an "æquilibrium," and that there be great probabilities "hinc inde." And, therefore, in these cases where is a probability on one side, and no appearance of reason to the contrary, that probability does the work of a demonstration. "For a reason to believe a thing, and no reason to disbelieve it, is as proper a way to persuade and to lead to action as that which is demonstrated." And this is the case of history, and of instances; which though they cannot (no not by an oral tradition) be so certain, as that the thing could not possibly have been otherwise; yet when there is no sufficient cause of suspicion of fraud and imposture, and great reason from any topic to believe that it is true, he is a very fool that will forbear to act upon that account, only because it is possible that that instance might have been not true, though he have no reason to think it false. And yet this foolish sophism runs mightily along in J. S.'s demonstrations, he cannot for his life distinguish between credible and infallible; nothing by him can make faith unless it demonstrate; that is, nothing can make faith but that which destroys it, by turning it into science.

His last argument for his Second Way of mining is so like the other, that it is the worse for it: "Since reasons are fetched from the natures of things, and the best nature in what it is (abstracting from disease and madness) unalterable, is the ground of the human part of christian tradition, and most incomparable strength is superadded to it as it is christian, by the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost:—it is a wild conceit to think any piece of nature or discourse built on it can be held certain, if tradition (especially christian tradition) may be held uncertain."

In this jargon,—for I know not what else to call it,—there are a pretty company of nothings put together; that indeed they are "ink varied in divers figures, and unsensed characters," they are nothing else. For, 1. It is false that all "reason" (for so he must mean, if he would speak to any purpose) "is fetched from the natures of things;" some rely upon concessions and presuppositions only; some upon the state of exterior affairs, and introduced economies, or accidental mesnage of things, some upon presumptions, and some even upon the weaknesses of men, upon contingencies, and some which pretend to be reasons rely upon false grounds, and such are J. S.'s demonstrations.

But suppose they did, as indeed the best reasons do, what then? Why then, the "best nature," that is, I suppose he means (the human) "unalterable (abstracting from disease and madness) is the ground of the human part of christian tradition." This proposition hath in it something that is false, and something that is to no purpose. That which is false is, that "the nature of man, unless he be mad or diseased in his brain, is unalterable."—As if men could not be changed by interest or ambition, pride or prejudice, by weakness and false apostles, mistake or negligence. And by any of these a man, that naturally hath faculties to understand, and capacity of learning and speaking truth, may be so changed, that he is very alterable from good to bad, from

wise to foolish, from the knowledge of the truth to believe a lie, and be transported by illusions of the devil: every man naturally loves knowledge, that is his nature; and it is the best nature; but yet it is so alterable, that some men who from the principles of this best nature are willing to learn, and they "are ever learning," yet they are so "altered," that "they never come to the knowledge of truth."

But supposing that this best nature is the ground of the human part of tradition, yet it is not the ground of the human part of tradition, as it is unalterable; but as it hath a defectible understanding, and a free and a changeable will, and innumerable weaknesses, for these are so in this best nature, that it can never be without them. And, therefore, because this ground may be slippery, there will be no "Sure Footing" here; especially since it is but the ground of the human part of tradition; for which cause it can be no more ground of truth in religion, than the Roman story, than Plutarch or Livy, is of infallible, indefectible truth in history; and, therefore, J. S. does very wisely add to this, "The incomparable strengths of the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost." But these alone can be sufficient, if they could be proved to be given infallibly, absolutely, and without the altering condition of our making right use of them, without grieving the Holy Spirit; of which because there is no promise, and no experience, it is no wild conceit to think tradition may be uncertain, and yet our discourses in religion by other principles be certain enough. But now I perceive that J. S. is no such implacable man, for all that seeming fierceness of his persuasion in his new mode of oral tradition, but that in time he may be reduced to the old way of this church; and ground (as he does mainly here) her infallibility not upon new demonstrations taken from the nature of things, but upon the continual "assistances and helps of the only infallible Spirit of God." That indeed is a way possible, if it were to be had; but this new way hath neither sense nor reason; and, therefore, in this place he wisely puts the greatest stress upon the other. I should have proceeded a little further, if I could have understood what J. S. means by "any piece of nature built on tradition;" and if he had not here put in the phrase of a "wild conceit," I should have wanted a name for it; but because it is no other, I shall now let it alone, and dig into the other mines, and see if they be more dangerous than these bugbears.

The Third Way.

The Third Way I must needs say is a fine one. He offers to prove my Dissuasive to be no dissuasive, no, nor can it be a dissuasive. And why? because "to dissuade, is to unfix the understanding from what it held before; which includes to make it hold or assent, that what it held before certain is false, or at least uncertain." And here, before I proceed further, it is fit we acknowledge, that we owe to J. S. the notice of these two mysteries. 1. What is meant by dissuading, and that it is "making a man to change his opinion, an unfixing of his mind:" And the second, that this unfixing the mind makes the mind to "shake, or to be changed, to be uncertain, or to think the proposition fit to be held:" we being thus instructed in these grounds of some new designed demonstration, may the surer proceed: for wisely he adds a conjecture, that surely by my Dissuasive from Popery, I intend "to oblige men to assent to the contrary." I do believe indeed I did; but my first aim was to dissuade, that is, to unfix them, and afterwards to establish them in the contrary. Well! thus far we are agreed; but for all this, "The thing I intend cannot be done by me; I cannot dissuade; because I have no peculiar method of my own;" but I use those means which others use to prove errors by, and if the way I take be common to truth and error, it is good for nothing, error shall pretend to it as well as truth: I must have a "particularity of method above what is in others." Now this is strange, that I should be so severely dealt with. Why is more required of me than of others? I take the same way that the writers of books of controversy used to take; I quote Scriptures, and fathers, and histories, and instances, and I use reason as well as I can: I find that Bellarmine and Baronius, Cardinal Perron and Gregory de Valentia, Stapleton and Hart, Champian and Reynolds, use the same dull way as I do; and yet they hope to persuade and dissuade according to the subject matter, and why my penny should not be as good silver as theirs I know not; but I hope I shall know by and by, why, the true reason why I cannot dissuade, and that "I miscall my book 'a Dissuasive' is, because the method which I take is common to those discourses which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those who have no such power." But herein is a wonderful thing; my book cannot dissuade, because I take a way which is taken in discourses which can satisfy the understanding. For if some discourses proceeding my way can satisfy the understanding, as J. S. here confesses, then it is to be hoped, so may mine; at least there is nothing in my method to hinder it, but it may: yea, but this method is also used in discourses which have no such power. Well! and what then? Is not, therefore, my method as good a method as can be, when it is the method that all men use; they that can satisfy the understanding, and they that cannot. And is there any thing more ignorant than to think a method or way of proof is nought, because some men use it to good purposes, and some to bad? And is not light a glorious covering, because the evil spirit sometimes puts it on? Was not our Saviour's way of confuting the devil by Scripture very good, because the devil used the same way, and so it was a "way common to discourses that have in them the power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power." —Titius is sued by Sempronius for a farm which he had long possessed, and to which Titius proves his title by indubitable records, and laws, and patents. Sempronius pretends to do so too; and tells the judge that he ought not to regard any proof of Titius's offering, because he goes upon grounds which himself also goes upon; and so they are not apt to be a ground

of determining any thing, because they are common to both sides. The judge smiles and inquires who hath most right to the pretended grounds, but approves the method of proceeding, because it is common to the contrary pretenders: and this is so far from being an argument against my method, that in the world nothing can be said greater in allowance of it; even because I proved upon principles allowed by both sides, that is, I dispute upon principles upon which we are agreed to put the cause to trial. Did the primitive fathers refuse to be judged by or to argue from Scriptures, because the heretics did argue from thence too? Did not the fathers take from them their armour in which they trusted? And did not David strike with the sword of Goliath, because that was the sword which his enemy had used? David proved that way apt to prevail by cutting off the giant's head. But what particularly of method would J. S. have me to use? Shall I use reason? To that all the world pretends, and it is the sword that cuts on both sides, and it is used in discourses that can, and that cannot satisfy. Shall I use the Scriptures? in that J. S. is pleased to say the quakers outdo me. Shall I use the fathers? The Smectymnuans bring fathers against episcopacy. What shall I bring? I know not what yet, but it ought to be something very particular; that is certain. Shall I then bring tradition? will oral tradition do it? I hope J. S. will, for his own and his three or four friends' sake, like that way. But if I should take it, J. S. might very justly say, that I take a method that is common to those discourses which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power: whether this method is used or no in discourses satisfactory, let J. S. speak; but I am sure it is used of late in some discourses which are not satisfactory, and the name of one of them is "Sure Footing." And do not the Greeks pretend tradition against the Roman doctrine of purgatory, the procession of the Holy Ghost, the supremacy of the bishop of Rome? whether right or wrong I inquire not here, but that they do so is evident; and, therefore, neither is it lawful for me to proceed this way, or even then to call my book "A Dissuasive."—"For it is plain to common sense, that it can have in it no power of moving the understanding one way or other, unless there be some particularity in the method above what is in others:" which it is certain can never be, because there is no method but some or other have already taken it. And, therefore, I perceive plainly, my book is not any more to be called a Dissuasive, till I can find out some new way and method, which as yet was never used in christendom. And, indeed, I am to account myself the more unsuccessful in my well-meant endeavours, because J. S. tells us "that he sees" plainly, that, in the pursuit of truth, "method is in a manner all;" J. S. hath a method new enough, not so old as Mr. White, and he desires me to get such another; but "nobis non licet esse tam beatis;" and I am the less troubled for it, because J. S.'s method is "new," but not "right," and I prove it from an argument of his own; "For," saith he, "it is impossible any controversy should hover long in debate, if a right method of concluding evidently were carefully taken, and faithfully held to." Now because I see that J. S.'s method, or new way, hath made a new controversy, but hath ended none,—but what was before, and what is now is as likely as ever, still "to hover in debate;" J. S. must needs conclude, that either he hath not faithfully held to it, or his way is good for nothing.

Other things he says here, which though they be rude and uncivil, yet because he repeats them in his Sixth Way, I shall there consider them altogether, if I find cause.

The Fourth Way.

This fourth mine hath, as good luck would have it, nothing of demonstration, nor is his reason founded upon the nature of the thing, as before he boasted, but only "ad hominem." But such as it is, it must be considered. The argument is this, "That though I produce testimony from fathers, yet I do not allow them to be infallible, nor yet myself in interpreting Scripture; nor yet do I, with any infallible certainty, see any proposition I go about to deduce by reason, to be necessarily consequent to any first or self-evident principle, and therefore I am certain of nothing I allege in my whole book." The sum is this, "No man is certain of any thing, unless he be infallible." I confess I am not infallible, and yet I am certain this must be his meaning, or else his words have no sense; and if I say true in this, then fallibility and certainty are not such incompossible and inconsistent things. But what does J. S. think of himself? is he infallible? I do not well know what he will answer, for he seems to be very near it, if we may guess by the glorious opinion he hath of himself; but I will suppose him more modest than to think he is, and yet he talks at that rate, as if his arguments were demonstrations, and his opinions certainties. Suppose his grounds he goes upon are as true, as I know they are false; yet is he infallible in his reasoning, and deducing from those principles such feat conclusions, as he offers to obtrude upon the world? If his reason be infallible, so, it may be, mine is for aught I know, but I never thought it so yet; and yet I know no reason to the contrary, but it is as infallible as his: but if his be not, it may be all that he says is false; at least he is not sure any thing of it is true; and then he may make use of his own ridiculous speech he[h] made for me, "I know not certainly that any thing I say against your religion is true, &c." All the men that tell us that Cardinal Chigi is now pope, are fallible, they may be deceived, and they may deceive; and yet I suppose Mr. White, though he also be fallible, is sufficiently certain he is so; and if he did make any doubt, if he would sail to Italy, he would be infallibly assured of it by the executioners of the pope's censures, who yet are as fallible as any the officers of Montfalcon.

But J. S. however says, I ought to confess that I ought not to dissuade from any thing, "in case neither the fathers nor myself be infallible in any

[h] Page 258.

saying or proof of theirs." For the infallibility of the fathers, I shall have a more convenient time to consider it under its Eighth Way. But now I am to consider his reason for this pretty saying, which he says, "he evinces thus :"—"Since to be infallible in none, 'hic et nunc,' (taking in the whole complexion of assisting circumstances,) is the same as to be 'hic et nunc,' fallible in all or each : and if they be fallible, or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none, it follows that who professes the fathers and himself (though using all the means he can to secure him from error) fallible in each, must, if he will speak out like an honest man, confess he is sure of none." This is the evident demonstration, and indeed there are in it some things evidently demonstrative. The first is, that to be infallible in none, is the same as to be fallible in all. Indeed I must need say, that he says true and learnedly, and it being a self-evident principle, he might, according to his custom, have afforded demonstrations enough for this ; but I shall take it upon his own word at this time, and allow him the honour of first communicating this secret to the ignorant world ; that "he that is not infallible, is fallible." Another deep note we have here ; his words laid plain, without their parentheses, can best declare the mystery ; "If they be infallible, or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none ; it follows that they that profess they are fallible in each, must confess they are sure of none." If J. S. always writes thus subtilely, no man will ever be able to resist him : for indeed this is a demonstration, and therefore we hope it may be "æternæ veratis," for it relies upon this first and self-evident principle, "idem per idem semper facit idem." Now having well learned these two deep notes out of the school, and deep discourses of J. S., let us see what the man would be at for himself ; and though we find it in his parentheses only, yet they could not be left out, and sense be entire without them.

When he talks of being infallible, if the notion be applied to his church, then he means an infallibility antecedent, absolute, unconditionate, such as will not permit the church ever to err. And because he thinks such an infallibility to be necessary, for the settling the doubting minds of men ; he affirms roundly, if "infallibility be denied, then no man can be sure of any thing."—But then when he comes to consider the particulars, and cannot but see, a man may be certain of some things, though he have not that antecedent infallibility, that quality and permanent grace ; yet because he will not have his dear notion lost, that "infallibility and certainty live and die together," he hath now secretly put in a changeling in the place of the first, and hath excogitated an infallibility "consequent, conditionate, circumstantiate," which he calls "hic et nunc," "taking in the whole complexion of assisting circumstances;" now because the first is denied by us to be in any man or company of men, and he perceives, that to be uncertain in every thing, will not be consequent to the want of this first sort, he secretly slides into the second, and makes his consequent to rely upon this deceitfully. And if the argument be put into intelligible terms, it runs thus : If when a whole complexion of assisting circumstances are present ; that is, a proposition truly represented, apt to be understood, necessary to be learned, and attended to by a person desirous to learn, when it is taught by sufficient authority, or proved by evidence, or confirmed by reason ; when a man hath his eyes and his wits about him, and is sincerely desirous of truth, and to that purpose himself considers, and he confers with others and prays to God ; and the thing itself is also plain and easy ; then if a man can be deceived, he is sure of nothing ; and this is "infallibility hic et nunc." But this is not that which he and his parties contend to be seated in his church ; for such a one as this we allow to her, if she does her duty, if she prays to God, if she considers as well as she can, and be no way transported with interest or partiality ; then in such propositions which God hath adopted into the christian faith, and which are plain and intended to be known and believed by all, there is no question but she is infallible, that is, she is secured from error in such things. But then every man also hath a part of this infallibility. Some things are of their own nature so plain, that a man is infallible in them, as a man may infallibly know that two and two make four. And a christian may be infallibly sure that the Scriptures say, that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God," and that "there shall be a resurrection from the dead," and "that they who do the works of the flesh, shall not inherit the kingdom of God ;" and as fallible as I, or any protestant is, yet we cannot be deceived in this ; if it be made a question whether fornication be a thing forbidden in the New Testament, we are certain, and infallibly so, that in that book it is written, "flee fornication." And infallibility "hic et nunc," if that will serve J. S.'s turn, we have it for him ; and he cannot say, that we protestants affirm that we are fallible when we do our duty, and when all the assisting circumstances, which God hath made sufficient and necessary, are present : we are as certain as infallibility itself, that among the ten commandments, one is, "Thou shalt not worship any graven images :" and another, "Thou shalt not commit adultery :" and so concerning all the plain sayings in Scripture, we are certain that they carry their meaning on their forehead, and we cannot be deceived, unless we please not to make use of all "the complexion of assisting circumstances." And this certainty or circumstantiate infallibility we derive from self-evident principles ; such as this, "God is never wanting to them that do the best they can ;" and this, "In matters which God requires of us, if we fail not in what is on our part, God will not fail on his."[i] And this infallibility is just like to what is signified by what God promised to Joshua ;[k] "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee, only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law." Nothing was more certain, than that Joshua should be infallibly conducted into the land of promise,

[i] Deus neminem deserit nisi prius deserentem.

[k] Josh. i. 5, 7.

and yet it was required of him to be courageous, and to keep all the law of Moses; and because Joshua did so, the promise had an "infallibility, hic et nunc:" and so it is in the finding out the truths of God, so said our blessed Saviour; "If ye love me, keep my commandments, and I will pray to the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive."[1] If we open our eyes, if we suffer not a veil to be over them, if we inquire with diligence and simplicity, and if we live well, we shall be infallibly directed, and upon the same terms it is infallibly certain that every man shall be saved. "And the gospel is not hid, but to them that are lost," saith the apostle; "in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them."—So that it is certain that, in things necessary, a man need not be deceived unless he be wanting to himself; and therefore "hic et nunc" he is infallible: but if a man will lay aside his reason, and will not make use of it, if he resolves to believe a proposition in defiance of all that can be said against it; if when he sees reason against his proposition, he will call it a temptation, which is like being hardened by miracles, and slighting a truth, because it is too well proved to him; if he will not trust the instruments of knowledge that God gives him; if he sets his face against his reason, and think it meritorious to distrust his sense, and "seeing will not see, and hearing he will not understand," (and all this is every day done in the church of Rome,) then there is nothing so certain, but it becomes to him uncertain; and it is no wonder if he be given over to believe a lie. It is not confidence that makes a man infallibly certain; for then J. S. were the most infallible person in the world; but the way to "make our calling and election sure," is to "work out our salvation with fear and trembling." Modesty is the way to knowledge; and by how much more a man fears to be deceived, by so much the more will he walk circumspectly and determine warily, and take care he be not deceived; but he that thinks he cannot be deceived, but that he is infallible, as he is the more liable to error, because by this supposed infallibility he is tempted to a greater inconsideration, so if he be deceived, his recovery is the more desperate. And I desire that it be here observed, that it is one thing to say, "I cannot be deceived," and another to say, "I am sure I am not deceived." For the first no man can say; but the latter every wise and good man may say if he please: that every man is certain of very many things is evident by all the experience of mankind; and in many things this certainty is equivalent to an infallibility, that is, "hic et nunc:" and that relies upon this ground, (for I must be careful to go upon grounds, for fear of J. S.'s displeasure,) "Quicquid est, quamdiu est, necesse est esse;" while a truth prevails, and is invested with the "whole complexion of assisting circumstances," it is an actual infallibility, that is, such a certainty "cui falsum subesse non potest;" for else no man could tell certainly and infallibly, when he is hungry or thirsty, awake or weary; when he hath committed a sin against God, or when he hath told a lie; and he that says a fallible christian is not infallibly certain, that it is a good thing to say his prayers, and to put his trust in God, and to do good works, knows not what he says.

But besides this, it were well if J. S. would consider what kind of certainty God requires of us in our faith; for I hope J. S. will then require no more. Our faith is not science, and yet it is certainty; and if the assent be according to the whole design of it, and effects all its purposes and the intention of God, it cannot be accepted, though the ways of begetting that faith be not demonstrative arguments. There had but five or six persons seen Christ after his resurrection, and yet he was pleased to reprove their unbelief, because the disciples did not believe those few who said they had seen him alive. Faith is the foundation of good life; and if a man believe so certainly that he is willing to live in it, and die for it, God requires no more, and there is no need of more; and if a little thing did not do that, what shall become of those innumerable multitudes of christians, who believe upon grounds which a learned man knows are very weak, but yet are to those people as good as the best, because they are not only the best they have, but they are sufficient to do their work for them. Nay, God is so good, and it is so necessary, in some affairs, to proceed so, that a man may be certain he does well, though in the proposition, or subject matter, he be deceived. Is not a judge infallibly certain that he does his duty, and proceeds wisely, if he gives sentence "secundum allegata et probata," though he be not infallibly certain that the witnesses depose truth. Was not St. Paul in the right, and certainly so, when he said, "it was better for the present necessity, if a virgin did not marry;" and yet he had no revelation, and no oral infallible tradition for it; "this speak I," saith he, "not the Lord;" and he did not talk confidently of his grounds, but said modestly, "I think I have the Spirit of God;" and yet all christians believe that what he then said was infallibly enough true. "We see here through a glass darkly," saith the apostle, and yet we see; and what we see we may be certain of, I mean we protestants may; indeed the papists may not, for they denying what they see, call bread a God: so that they do not so much as see darkly, they see not at all; or what is as bad, they will not believe the thing to be that which their eyes, and three senses more, tell them that it is. But it is a wonder that they who dare not trust their senses, should talk of being infallible in their argument.

And now to apply this to the charge J. S. lays on me, "Because I do not profess to be infallible. I am certain in nothing; and without an infallible oral tradition, it is impossible I should be certain of any thing." In answer to this, I demand why I may not be as certain of what I know or believe, as Mr. White or J. S.? Is the doctrine of purgatory-

[1] John xiv. 15—17.

fire between death and the day of judgment, and of the validity of the prayers and masses said in the church of Rome to the freeing of souls from purgatory long before the day of judgment, is this doctrine, I say, delivered by an infallible oral tradition, or no? If no, then the church of Rome either is not certain it is true, or else she is certain of it by some other way than such a tradition. If yea, then how is Mr. White certain that he speaks true in his book "de statu animarum;" where he teaches that prayers of the church do no good, and free no souls before the day of judgment, for he hath no oral tradition for his opinion; for two oral traditions cannot be certain and infallible, when they contradict one another; and if the traditions be not infallible, as good for these men that they be none at all. So that either Mr. White cannot be certain of any thing he says, by not relying on oral tradition, or the church of Rome cannot be certain; and therefore he or she may forbear to persuade their friends to any thing. And for my present adversary J. S., who also affirms, that oral tradition of the present church is the whole rule of faith, how can he trust himself or be certain of any thing, or teach any thing, when his church says otherwise than he says, and makes tradition to be but a part of the rule of faith, as is to be seen in the council of Trent itself in the first decree of the fourth session.[m] So that in effect here are two rules of faith, and therefore two churches; Mr. J. S.'s is the "traditionary" church, so called from relying solely on tradition; the other, (what shall we call it for distinction's sake?) the "purgatorian" church, from purgatory, or, if you will, the "imaginary" church, from worshipping images: and since they do not both follow the same rule of faith, the one making tradition alone to be the ground, the other not so; it will follow by Mr. J. S.'s argument, that either the one or the other, missing the true ground of faith, cannot be certain of any thing that they say. And now when he hath considered these things, let him reckon the advantage which his "catholic faith gains by the opposition from her adversaries if they be rightly handled," as Mr. S. hath handled them, and brought to his grounds. But however the opposition which I have now made, hath its advantages upon the weakness of Mr. White's grounds, and J. S.'s demonstrations, yet I shall, without relation to them, but upon the account of other grounds which his wiser and more learned brethren of the other church do lay, make it appear that there is indeed in the church of Rome no sure footing, no foundation of faith upon which a man can with certainty rely, and say, Now I am infallibly sure that I am in the right.

The Fifth Way.

The Fifth Way, J. S. says, "is built on the fourth;" which being proved to be a ruinous foundation, I have the less need to trouble myself about that which will fall of itself, but because he had no reason to trust that foundation, for all his confidence he is glad to build his Fifth Way on the "Protestants' voluntary concession; for they, granting they have no demonstration for the ground of their faith, must say they have only probability." But I pray, who told J. S. that we grant we have no demonstration for the ground of our faith? Did ever any protestant say, that there is no moral demonstration of his faith? or that it cannot be proved so certain, so infallible, that "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it?" If J. S. will descend so low as to look upon the book of a protestant, besides many better, he may find in my Cases of Conscience a demonstration of christian religion;[n] and although it consists of probabilities, yet so many, so unquestioned, so confessed, so reasonable, so uncontradicted, pass into an argument of as much certainty, as human nature without a miracle is capable of; as many sands, heaped together, make a bank strong enough to resist the impetuosity of the raging sea. But I have already shown, upon what certainties our faith relies; and if we had nothing but high probabilities, it must needs be as good as their prudential motives: and, therefore, I shall not repeat any thing, but pass on, to consider what it is he says of our high probabilities, if they were no more: "If there be probabilities on both sides, then the greatest must carry it;"—so he roundly professes; never considering that the latter casuists of his church, I mean those who wrote since Angelus, Silvester, Cordubensis, and Cajetan, do expressly teach the contrary, viz. that of two probabilities, the less may be chosen; and that this is the common and more received opinion. But since J. S. is in the right, let them and he agree it, as we do, if they please. I hope he relates this only to the questions between us and Rome, and not to the christian faith; well, but if the matter be only between us, I am well enough content, and the greater probability, that is, the better argument, shall carry it; and I will not be asking any more odd questions, as why J. S. having so clearly demonstrated his religion, by grounds firm as the land of Delos, or Old Brasil, he should now be content to argue his cause at the bar of probability? Well; but let us see what he says for his party: "That there is no probability for our side (says J. S.) is very hard to be said; since the whole world sees plainly we still maintain the field against them, nay dare pretend without fearing an absolute baffle, which must needs follow, (had we not at least probabilities to befriend us,) that our grounds are evidently and demonstrably certain." Here J. S. seems to be afraid again of his probabilities, that he still runs to covert under his broad shield of demonstration: but his "postulatum" here is indeed very modest: he seems to desire us to allow that there are some probable things to be said for his side, and indeed he were very hard-hearted that should say, there are none at all; some probabilities we shall allow, but no grounds evidently and demonstratively certain: good sir, and yet let me tell you this, there are some

[m] Perspiciensque hanc veritatem, et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus—omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, necnon traditiones, ipsas, &c. pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suspicit et veneratur.

[n] Book i.

of your propositions, for which there is no probable reason or fair pretence in the world: nothing that can handsomely or ingeniously deceive a man: such as is your half-communion, worship of images, prayers not understood, and some others. And, therefore, you may be ashamed to say, you still maintain the field against us; for if you do not, why do you say you do? But if you still maintain the field, you may be more ashamed, for why will you stand in a falsehood, and then call yourselves equal combatants, if not conquerors? But you may, if you please, look after victory; I am only in the pursuit of truth.

But to return; it seems he knows my mind for this, and in my liberty of prophesying, "my own words will, beyond all confute, evince it, that they have probabilities, and those strong ones too." But now (in my conscience) this was unkindly done, that when I had spoken for them what I could, and more than I knew that they had ever said for themselves, and yet to save them harmless from the iron hands of a tyrant and unreasonable power, to keep them from being persecuted for their errors and opinions, that they should take the arms I had lent them for their defence, and throw them at my head. But the best of it is, though J. S. be unthankful, yet the weapons themselves are but wooden daggers, intended only to represent how the poor men are cozened by themselves, and that, under fair and fraudulent pretences, even pious, well-meaning men, and men wise enough "in other things," may be abused: and though what I said was but tinsel and pretence, imagery and whipt cream, yet I could not be blamed to use no better than the best their cause would bear; yet, if that be the best they have to say for themselves, their probabilities will be soon outbalanced by one Scripture testimony, urged by protestants; and "Thou shalt not worship any graven images," will outweigh all the best and fairest imaginations of their church. But since from me they borrow their light armour, which is not pistol-proof,—from me, if they please, they may borrow a remedy to undeceive them, and that in the same kind and way of arguing. If J. S. please to read a letter or two of mine to a gentlewoman, not long before abused in her religion by some Roman emissaries, there he shall see so very much said against the Roman way, and that in instances evident and notorious, that J. S. may, if he please, (he hath my leave,) put them in balance against one another, and try which will preponderate. They are printed now in one volume,[o] and they are the easier compared. But then J. S. might, if he had pleased, have considered, that I did not intend to make that harangue to represent, that the Roman religion had probabilities of being true, but probabilities that the religion might be tolerated, or might be endured, that is, as I there expressed it, whether the doctrines be commenced upon design, and managed with impiety, and have effects not to be endured; and, concerning these things, I amassed a heap of considerations, by which it might appear probable, that they were not so bad as to be intolerable; and if I was deceived, it was but a well-meant error, hereafter they shall speak for themselves; only for their comfort, this they might have also observed in that book, that there is not half so much excuse for the papists, as there is for the anabaptists; and yet it was but an excuse at the best, as appears in those full answers I have given to all their arguments, in the last edition of that book, amongst the polemical discourses in folio.

[o] Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses, p. 703.

I shall need to say no more for the spoiling this mine; for J. S. hath not so much as pretended, that the probabilities, urged for them, can outweigh or come to equal what is said against them; and I humbly suppose, that the difficulties will be increased by the following book.

The Sixth and Seventh Ways.

The Sixth mine is most likely at the worst to prove but a squib. J. S. says, "I should have made a preface, and beforehand have proved that all the arguments I used were unanswerable and convictive;" which indeed were a pretty way of making books; to make a preface to make good my book, and then my book cannot, but in thankfulness, make good the preface; which, indeed, is something like the way of proving the Scriptures by the church, and then back again proving the church by the Scriptures. But he adds, that I was bound to say, "That they were never pretended to be answered, or could not, or that the protestants had the last word." But on the contrary I acknowledge, that "the evidences on both sides have been so often produced, that it will seem almost impossible to bring in new matter, or to prevail with the old." This is the great charge, the sum of which is truly this. I have spoken modestly of my own undertaking, and yet I had so great reason to deplore the obstinacy of the Roman priests, their pertinacy, and incorrigible resolution of seeming to say something, when they can say nothing to the purpose, that I had cause to fear the event would not be so successful as the merit of our cause and the energy of the arguments might promise. I confess, I did not rant as J. S. does, and talk high of demonstrations, and unmistakable grounds, and scientifical principles, and metaphysical nothings; but according as my undertaking required, I proceeded upon principles agreed on both sides. If Scripture and fathers, councils and reasons, the analogy of faith, and the doctrines of the primitive church, (from which I proved, and shall yet more clearly prove, the church of Rome hath greatly revolted,) will not prevail, I have done; I shall only commit the cause to God, and the judgment of wise and good men, and so sit down in the peace of my own persuasions, and in a good conscience, that I have done my endeavour to secure our own people from the temptation, and to "snatch" others as brands from the fire!

Only I wish here I had found a little more worthiness in J. S., than to make me speaking that I have brought nothing but common objections, or nothing new: I suppose they that are learned know this to be a calumny; and by experience they and

I find, that whether the objections be new or old, it is easier to rail at them all, than answer any. To this, as it is not needful to say any more, so there cannot any thing else well be said, unless I should be vain, like the man whom I now reprove, and go about to commend myself, which is a practice I have neither reason nor custom for.

But the Seventh Way is yet worse. For it is nothing but a direct declamation against my book, and the quotations of it, and having made a ridiculous engine of corollaries in his "Sure Footing" against the quotations in Dr. P.'s sermon, without meaning my book, for that came out a pretty while after; he does like the twopenny almanack makers, though he calculated it for the meridian of the court sermon, (as he calls it,) yet, without any sensible error, it may serve for Ireland: it may be, J. S. had an oral tradition for this way of proceeding, especially having followed so authentic a precedent for it, as the author of the two sermons called "the primitive rule before the reformation," who goes upon the same infallible and thrifty way, saying, "These two tracts, as they are named sermons, are an answer to Dr. Pierce; but as they may better be styled two common places, so they are a direct answer to Dr. Taylor." So that here are two things which are sermons and no sermons as you please, not sermons, but common places; and yet they are not altogether common places, but they, in some sense are sermons; unless "sermon" and "common place" happen to be all one; but how the same thing should be an answer to Dr. P., as he gives them one name,—and by giving them another name, to the same purpose should be a direct answer to me, who speak of other matters, and by other arguments, and to other purposes, and in another manner,—I do not yet understand. But I suppose it be meant as in J. S.'s way, and that it relies upon this first, and a self-evident principle, "That the same thing, when called by another name, is apt to do new and wonderful things." It is a piece of Mr. White's and J. S.'s new metaphysics, which we silly men have not the learning to understand. But it matters not what they say, so they do but stop the mouths of the people, that call upon them to say something to every new book,—that they may, without apparent lying, tell them the book is answered. For, "to answer or confute," means nothing with them but "to speak the last word."

Well! but so it is, J. S. hath ranged a great many of my quotations under heads, and says, "so many are confuted by the first corollary, and so many by the second, and so on to the ninth and tenth, and some of them are raw and unapplied, some set for show, and some not home to the point, and some wilfully represented, and these come under the second or third head, and perhaps of divers of the others."—To all this I have one short answer; that the quotations which he reduces under the first head, or the second, or the third, might, for aught appears, be ranked under any other, as well as these; for he hath proved none to belong to any; but magisterially points with his finger, and directs them to their several stations of confutation. Thus he supposes I am confuted, by an argument of his, next to that of "Mentiris, Bellarmine." And, indeed, in this way, it were easy to confute Bellarmine's three volumes with the labour of three pages' writing. But this way was most fit to be taken by him, who quotes the fathers by oral tradition, and not ocular inspection; however, if he had not particularly considered these things, he ought not generally to have condemned them, before he tried. But this was an old trick, and noted of some by S. Cyprian,[p] "Viderint autem qui vel furori suo vel libidini servientes, et divinæ legis ac sanctitatis immemores, jactitare interim gestiunt quæ probare non possunt, et cum innocentiam destruere atque expugnare non valeant, satis habent fama mendacii et falsorum ore maculas inspergere." I have neither will nor leisure to follow him in this extravagancy; it will, I hope, be to better purpose, that, in the following sections, I shall justify all my quotations, against his, and the calumnies of some others; and press them and others beyond the objections of the wiser persons of his church, from whence these new men have taken their answers, and made use of them to little purposes; and, therefore, I shall now pass over the particulars of the quotations, referring them to their places, and consider if there be any thing more material in his Eighth Way, by which he pretends to blow up my grounds and my arguments, derived from reason.

The Eighth Way.

The Eighth Way is to pick out the principles I rely on, and to show their weakness. It is well this eighth way is a great distance off from his first way, or else J. S. would have no excuse for forgetting himself so palpably, having at first laid to my charge that I went upon "no grounds, no principles." But, I perceive, principles might be found in "The Dissuasive," if the man had a mind to it; "nay, main and fundamental principles, and self-evident" to me. And yet such is his ill luck, that he picks out such which he himself says I do not call so: and even here also he is mistaken too; for the first he instances is "Scripture;" and this, not only I, but all protestants, acknowledge to be the foundation of our whole faith. But of this, he says, we shall discourse afterwards.

The second principle I rely upon, at least, he says I seem to do so, is, "We all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to after-ages the whole faith." Well, what says he to this principle? He says, this principle, as to the positive part, is good, and assertive of tradition: it is so of the apostolical tradition; for they delivered the doctrine of Christ to their successors, both by preaching and by writing. And what hath J. S. got by this? Yes, give him but leave to suppose that this delivery of the doctrine of Christ was only by oral tradition for the three first ages, (for he is pleased so to understand the extent of the primitive church,) and then he will infer "that the third age could deliver it to the fourth, and that to the fifth, and so to us: if they were able,

[p] Cornelio Fr. epist. 42. edit. Rigalt. Paris. 1648.

there is no question but they were willing, for it concerned them to be so, and, therefore, it was done." Though all this be not true, for we see, by a sad experience, that too few in the world are willing to do what it concerns them most to do,—yet, for the present, I grant all this. And what then? "Therefore oral tradition is the only rule of faith." Soft and fair;—therefore the third age delivered it to the fourth, and so on; but not all the particulars by oral tradition, but by the Holy Scriptures, as I shall largely prove in the proper place. But to J. S. the bells ring no tune but Whittington.

A third principle he says is this, "The present Roman doctrines, which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity." I know not why he calls this one of my principles, unless all my propositions be principles, as all his arguments are demonstrations. It is, indeed, a conclusion which I have partly, and shall, in the sequel, largely make good. In the mean time, whether it be principle or conclusion, let us see what is objected against it, or what use is made of it: for J. S. says it is "an improved and a main position." But then he tells us, the reason of it is, because "no heretic had arisen in those days denying those points; and so the fathers set not themselves to write expressly for them, but occasionally only." Let us consider what this is; "No heretic had arisen in those days denying these points."—True; but many catholics did, and the reason why no heretics did deny those things, was, because neither catholic nor heretic ever affirmed them. Well! but however, "the Roman controvertists are frequent for citing them for divers points." Certainly not for making vows to saints; not for the worship of images; not for the half communion; for these they do not frequently cite the fathers of the first three hundred years: it may be not:—"but for the ground of our faith, the church's voice or tradition they do, to the utter overthrow of the protestant cause."—They do, indeed, sometimes cite something from them for tradition; and wherever the word "tradition" is in Scripture, or the primitive fathers, they think it is an argument for them, just as the covenanters, in the late wars, thought all Scripture was their plea, wherever the word covenant was named. But to how little purpose they pretend to take advantage of any of the primitive fathers speaking of tradition, I shall endeavour to make apparent in an inquiry made on purpose, Sect. 3. In the mean time, it appears, that this conclusion of mine was to very good purpose, and, in a manner, confessed to be true in most instances; and that it was so in all, was not intended by me.

Well! but however it might be in the three first ages, yet he observes that I said, that "in the succeeding ages secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, and many things more, that both sides, eternally and inconfutably, shall bring sayings for themselves respectively."—And is not all this very true? He cannot deny it; but what then? Why, then he says, "I may speak out and say, all the fathers, after the first three hundred years, are not worth a straw in order to decision or controversy; and the fathers of the first three hundred years spoke not of our points in difference; and so there is a fair end of all the fathers, and of my own 'Dissuasive' too, for that part which relies on them, which looks like the most authoritative piece of it:" there is no great hurt in this; if the fathers be gone, my "Dissuasive" may go too: it cannot easily go in better company, and I shall take the less care of it, because I have J. S.'s word, that there is a part of it which relies upon the fathers. But if the fathers be going, it is fit we look after them, and see which way they go: for if they go together, as in many things they do, they are of very good use in order to decision of controversy; if they go several ways, and, consequently, that controvertists may "eternally and irrefutably bring sayings out of them against one another,"—who can help it? No man can follow them all; and then it must be tried by some other topic, which is best to follow; but then that topic, by itself, would have been sufficient to have ended the question. Secondly; If a disputer of this world pretends to rely upon the authority of the fathers, he may by them be confuted or determined. The church of Rome pretends to this, and, therefore, if we perceive the fathers have condemned doctrines which they approve of, or approve what they condemn, which, we say, in many articles is the case of that church, then "The Dissuasive" might be very useful, and so might the fathers too for the condemnation of such doctrines, in which the Roman church is, by that touchstone, found to blame.

And whereas J. S. says, that the three first ages of christianity meddled not with the present controversies; it is but partly true, for although many things are, now-a-days, taught, of which they never thought, yet some of the errors which we condemn were condemned then; very few, indeed, by disputation, but not a few by positive sentence, and in explications of Scripture, and rational discourses and by parity of case, and by catechetical doctrines. For "rectum est index sui et obliqui:" they have without thinking of future controversies and new emergent heresies, said enough to confute many of them when they shall arise. The great use of the fathers, especially of the first three hundred years is to tell us what was first, to consign Scripture to us, to convey the creed, with simplicity and purity to preach Christ's gospel, to declare what is necessary, and what not: and whether they be fallible or infallible; yet if we find them telling and accounting the integrity of the christian faith, and treading out the paths of life; because they are persons whose conversation, whose manner and time of living whose fame and martyrdom, and the venerable testimony of after-ages, have represented to be very credible,—we have great reason to believe that alone to be the faith, which they have described and, consequently, that whatever comes in afterwards, and is obtruded upon the world, as it was not their way of going to heaven, so it ought not to be ours. So that here is great use of the fathers' writings, though they be not infallible, and, therefore, I wonder at the prodigious confidence (to say

no worse) of J. S. to dare to say, that, " as appears by the Dissuader, the protestants neither acknowledge them infallible nor useful; nay, that this is my fourth principle." He that believes transubstantiation, can believe any thing; and he that says this, dares say every thing; for as that is infinitely impossible to sense and reason, so this is infinitely false in his own conscience and experience. And the words, which, in a few lines of his bold assertion, he hath quoted out of my book, confute him but too plainly. " He tells us," so saith J. S., " the fathers are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation." Do not I also (though he is pleased to take no notice of it) say, that " although we acknowledge not the fathers ' as the authors and finishers of our faith,' yet we own them as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical; that we make use of their testimonies as being (as things now stand) to the sober and the moderate, the peaceable and the wise, the best, the most certain, visible, and tangible, most humble and satisfactory, to them that know well how to use it." Can he, that says this, not acknowledge the fathers useful? I know not whether J. S. may have any credit as he is one of the fathers, but as he is a witness, no man hath reason to take his word.

But to the thing in question: Whatever we protestants think or say, yet J. S. saith, " Our constant and avowed doctrine," meaning of the church of Rome, " is, that the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible." If this be the avowed doctrine of the Roman church, then I shall prove, that one of the avowed doctrines of that church is false: and, secondly, I shall also prove, that many of the most eminent doctors of the church are not of that mind; and, therefore, it is not the constant doctrine, as, indeed, amongst them, few doctrines are.

1. It is false that " the testimony of the fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible." For " God only is true, and every man a liar;" and since the fathers never pretended to be assisted by a supernatural miraculous aid, or inspired by an infallible spirit; and infallibility is so far beyond human nature and industry, that the fathers may be called angels much rather than infallible; for if they were assisted by an infallible spirit, what hinders but that their writings might be canonical Scriptures? And if it be said they were assisted infallibly in some things, and not in all, it is said to no purpose; for unless it be infallibly known where the infallibility resides, and what is so certain as it cannot be mistaken, every man must tread fearfully, for he is sure the ice is broken in many places, and he knows not where it will hold. It is certain St. Austin did not think the fathers before him to be infallible, when it is plain that in many doctrines, as in the damnation of infants dying unbaptized, and especially in questions occurring in the disputes against the Pelagians about free-will and predestination, without scruple he rejected the doctrines of his predecessors. And when, in a question between himself and St. Jerome, about St. Peter and the second chapter to the Galatians, he was pressed with the authority of six or seven Greek fathers, he roundly answered, that he gave no such honour to any writers of books, but to the Scriptures only, as to think them not to have erred; other authors he read so as to believe them, if they were proved by Scriptures or probable reason. Not because they thought so, but because he thought them proved. And he appeals to St. Jerome,[q] whether he were not of the same mind concerning his own works. And for that St. Jerome hath given satisfaction to the world, in divers places of his own writings: " I suppose Origen is, for his learning, to be read as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and some writers, Greek and Latin, that we choose out that which is good, and avoid the contrary."[r] So that it is evident the fathers themselves have no conceit of the infallibility of themselves or others,—the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists only excepted; and, therefore, if this be an avowed doctrine of the Roman church, there is no oral tradition for it, no first and self-evident principle to prove it; and either the fathers are deceived in saying they are fallible, or they are not: if they be deceived in saying so, then that sufficiently proves that they can be deceived, and, therefore, that they are not infallible; but if they be not deceived in saying that they are fallible, then it is certain that they are fallible, because they say they are, and in saying so are not deceived. But then, if in this the fathers are not deceived, then the church of Rome, in one of her avowed doctrines, is deceived, saying otherwise of the fathers than is true, and contrary to what themselves said of themselves.

But, 2. If it be the avowed doctrine of the church of Rome, (as J. S. says it is,) yet, I am sure, it is not their constant doctrine. Certain it is, St. Austin was not infallible, for he retracted some things he had said; and in Gratian's time neither St. Austin nor any of the fathers were esteemed infallible, and this appears in nine chapters together of the ninth distinction of Gratian's decree;[s] but because this truth was too plain to serve the interest of the following ages; the gloss upon cap. " Nolo meis," tells us plainly, " That this was to be understood according to those times, when the works of St. Austin and of the other holy fathers were not authentic, but now all of them are commanded to be held to the last tittle; and a marginal note upon the gloss says, " Scripta Sanctorum sunt ad unguem observanda." So that here is a plain variety, and no constant oral tradition from St. Austin's time downwards, that his and the fathers' writings were infallible; till Gratian's time it was otherwise, and

[q] Ep. S. Aug. ad Hieron. quæ est 19.: inter opera Hieron. 97.; et multis aliis locis.

[r] S. Hieron. lib. ii. Apolog. contr. Ruff.; epist. 62. ad Theoph. Alex. Epist. 65. ad Pammach. et Ocean.; et epist. 76. ad Tranquil. epist. 13. ad Paulinum; et Præfat. in lib. de Hebr. Nomin.

[s] Dist. 9. Decret. cap. Nolo meis.

after him, till the gloss was written. It is, as Solomon says, "There is a time for every thing under the sun." There is a time in which the writings of the fathers are authentic, and a time in which they are not: but then this is not settled, no constant business. Now, I would fain know, whether Gratian spake the sense of the church of his age or no? If no, then the fathers were of one mind, and the church of his age of a contrary; and then which of them was infallible? But if yea, then how comes the present church to be of another mind now? And which of the two ages, that contradict each other, hath got the ball? Which of them carries the infallibility? Well, however it comes to pass,—yet the truth is, J. S. does wrong to his own church, and they never decreed or affirmed the fathers to be infallible. And, therefore, the glossator upon Gratian was an ignorant man, and his gloss ridiculous, "Ecce quales sunt decretorum glossatores, quibus tanta fides adhibetur;" said A. à Castro;—and Duns Scotus gave a good character of them; "Mittunt et remittunt, et tandem nihil ad propositum." But the mistake of this ignorant glossator is apparent to be upon the account of the words of Gelasius, "in dist. 15. cap. Sancta Rom. Eccl.;" where, when he had reckoned divers of the fathers' writings, which the church receives, he hath these words, "Item epistola B. Leonis papæ ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum destinatum, cujus textum aut unum iota si quisquam idiota disputaverit, et non eam in omnibus venerabiliter acceperit, anathema sit."—Now although this reaches not near to infallibility, but only to a "non disputare," and a "venerabiliter accipere," and that by idiots only, and, therefore, can do J. S. no service; yet this, which Gelasius speaks of, St. Leo's epistle to Flavianus, the glossator falsely applies to all the works of the fathers, against the mind of the fathers themselves, quoted by Gratian in the ninth distinction, and against the sense of Gelasius himself, in that very chapter which he refers to in the fifteenth distinction. It may be, J. S. had not so much to say for his bold proposition as this itself comes to, which if he had ever seen, he must needs have seen, in the same place, very much to the contrary. But that not only the fathers themselves have taught him to speak more modestly of them than he does, and that divers leading men of his church have reproved this foolish affirmative of his, he may be satisfied, if he please to read Aquinas:[t] "Auctoritatibus canonicæ Scripturæ utitur sacra doctrina ex necessitate argumentando, auctoritatibus autem aliorum doctorum ecclesiæ quasi arguendo ex propriis sed probabiliter." Now I know not what hopes of escaping J. S. can have by his restrictive terms, "the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such:" for besides that the words mean nothing, and the testimony of fathers is the testimony of "fathers as such," or it is just nothing at all: besides this, I say, that Aquinas affirms that their whole authority (and, therefore, of fathers as such) is only probable, and, therefore, certainly not infallible. But this is so fond a proposition of J. S. that I am ashamed to speak any more of it; and if he were not very ignorant of what his church holds, he would never have said it. But for his better information, I desire the gentleman to read Alphonsus à Castro,[u] Melchior Canus,[x] and Bellarmine.[y]

It is not, therefore, the constant doctrine of the Romanists, that the fathers are infallible; for I never read or heard any man say it but J. S.; and neither is it the avowed doctrine of that church, unless he will condemn all them for heretics that deny it; some of which I have already named, and more will be added upon this occasion.

Well! but how shall we know that the fathers' testimony is a testimony of "fathers, speaking properly as such?" for this doughty question we are to inquire after in the pursuit of J. S.'s mines and crackers: he says, in two cases they speak as fathers. 1. "When they declare it the doctrine of the present church of their time. 2. When they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy." It seems then, in these the fathers' testimony is infallible. Let us try this: 1. All or any thing of this may be done by fathers supposed such, but really not so: and if it be not infallibly certain which are and which are not the writings of the fathers, we are nothing the nearer, though it were agreed that the true fathers' testimony is infallible. Or, 2. If the book alleged was the book of the father pretended, and not of an obscure or heretical person; yet, it may be, the words are interpolated, or the testimony some way or other corrupted; and then the testimony is not infallible, when there is no absolute certainty of the witnesses themselves, or the records: and what causes there are of rejecting very many, and doubting more, and, therefore, in matters of present interest and question of uncertainty and fallibility in too many, is known to every learned man, and confessed by writers of both sides. 2. It is very seldom that any of the fathers do use that expression of saying, "This or this is the doctrine of the church;" and, therefore, if they speak as fathers never but when these two cases happen, the writings of the fathers will be of very little use in J. S.'s way. 3. And yet, after all this, if we shall descend to instances, J. S. will not dare to justify what he says. Was Justin Martyr infallible, when he said, that all christians, who were pure believers, did believe the millenary doctrine? Certainly they were the church, for the others, he says, were such as denied the resurrection. But was Gennadius or else St. Austin fathers? and they infallible, in the book "De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis," in which he intends to give an account of the doctrine of the church? J. S. seems to acknowledge it, by affirming a saying out of that book to have been then "de fide;" which because it had been opposed by very many of the fathers, he had no reason to affirm, but upon the witness of Gennadius putting it into his book of Ecclesiastical Doctrines; and he afterwards calls it the "testimony of Gennadius delivering the doctrine of the catholic

[t] Primâ parte q. 1. art. 8. ad 2. arg.
[u] Lib. i. adv. Hæres. c. 7.
[x] Lib. vii. Loc. Theol. c. 3. n. 4. &c.
[y] De Verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 10. sect. Dices.

church."[z] It is there said, "That all men shall die, (Christ only excepted,) that death might reign from Adam upon all." "Hanc rationem, maximâ patrum turbâ tradente, suscepimus:" "This account we have received from the tradition of the greatest company of the fathers."—If this be a tradition delivered by the greatest number of the fathers, then, 1. Tradition is not a sure rule of faith; for this tradition is false, and expressly against Scripture: and, 2. It follows that tradition was not then esteemed a sure rule of a faith; for although this was a tradition from so great a troop of fathers, as he says it was, yet there were, in his time, "alii æque catholici et eruditi viri," "others, as good catholics and as learned," that believed, as St. Paul believed, that "we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed;" and however it be, yet all that troop of fathers he speaks of, from whence the tradition came, were not infallible, for they were actually deceived. Now this instance is of great consideration and force against J. S.'s first and self-evident principle concerning oral tradition. For all that number of fathers, if the rule of faith had been only oral tradition, would horribly have disturbed the pure current of tradition, and, of necessity, must have prevailed in J. S.'s way, or at least the contrary (which is the truth, and expressly affirmed in Scripture) could never have had the irrefragable testimony of oral tradition. But, thanks be to God, in this the church adhered to "the surer word of prophecy," the Scripture proved the surer rule of faith. But again St. Austin or Gennadius says, "That, after Christ's resurrection, the souls of all the saints are with Christ; and that going forth from the body, they go to Christ expecting the resurrection of their bodies." This he delivers as the ecclesiastical doctrine; and do the patrons of purgatory believe him in this to be infallible? For my part, I think St. Austin is in the right; but I think J. S. will not grant this to be the avowed and constant doctrine of his church.

The second case, in which they speak as fathers, is when they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy. But this is so notoriously false, as nothing is more; and it is infinitely confuted by all the catalogues and books of the fathers reckoning the heresies; where they are pleased to call all opinions they like not by the names of heresy. Philastrius[a] writes against them as heretics, and puts them in his black catalogue, who expounds that of making man in the image and likeness of God spoken of in Genesis, to signify the reasonable soul, and not rather the grace of the Holy Spirit. He also accounts them heretics who rejected the Seventy, and followed the translation of Aquila, which, in the ancient church, was in great reputation. Some there were who said that "God hardened the heart of Pharaoh;"[b] and these he calls heretics, and yet this heresy is the very words of Scripture: and some are reckoned heretics for saying that the deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha was before Noah's flood.[c] But more considerable is that heresy,[d] which affirmed that "Christ descended into hell, and there preached to the detained, that they who would confess him, might be saved." Now if Philastrius, or any other writer of heretics, were, in this case, infallible, what shall become of many of the orthodox fathers, who taught this now condemned doctrine? So did Clemens Alexandrinus, Anastasius Sinaita, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and divers others of the most eminent fathers; and St. Austin affirmed that Christ did save some; but whether all the damned then or no, he could not resolve Euodius, who asked the question.[e] That it was not lawful for christians to swear at all upon any account, was unanimously taught by St. Hilary and St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and Theophylact,[f] no, not "cum exigitur jus-jurandum, aut cum urget necessitas;" and that it is "crimen gehennâ dignum," "a damnable sin." Whether that was the doctrine of the church of Rome in those days, I say not; but if it were, why is the church of Rome of a contrary judgment now? If it were not, then a consenting testimony of many fathers, even of the greatest rank, is no irrefragable argument of the truth, or catholic tradition; and from so great an union of such an authority, it was not very hard to imagine, that the opinion might have become catholic; from a lesser spring greater streams have issued; but it is more than probable, that there was no catholic oral tradition concerning this main and concerning article; and I am sure J. S. will think, that all these fathers were not only fallible, but deceived actually in this point.

By these few instances we may plainly see, what little of infallibility there is in the fathers' writings, when they write against heretics or heresies, or against any article; and how then shall we know that the fathers are at all or in any case infallible? I know not from any thing more that is said by J. S. But this I know, that many chief men of his side do speak so slightly, and undervalue the fathers so pertly, that I fear it will appear that the protestants have better opinion of them, and make better use of the fathers than themselves. What think we of the saying of Cardinal Cajetan?[g] "If you chance to meet with any new exposition which is agreeable to the text, &c., although perhaps it differ from that which is given by the whole current of the holy doctors, I desire the readers that they would not too hastily reject it." And again; "Let no man therefore reject a new exposition of any passage of Scripture, under pretence that it is contrary to what the ancient doctors gave."—What think we of those words of Petavius? "There are many things by the most holy fathers scattered, especially St. Chrysostom in his homilies, which if you would accommodate to the rule of exact truth, they will seem to be void of good sense."[h]—And again; "there is cause why the authority of certain fathers should be objected, for they can say nothing

[z] Page 315. [a] Hæres. 90. [b] Hæres. 77. [c] Hæres. 71. [d] Hæres. 74. [e] Vide Jacob. Usser. Primat. Hibern. cap. de Limbo Pontif.

[f] Vide Erasmum in Declarat. ad Censuras Facult. Theol. Paris. p. 52. edit. Froben. A. D. 1532. [g] Præfat. in Pentateuch. [h] In Epiph. p. 244.

but what they have learned from St. Luke; neither is there any reason why we should rather interpret St. Luke by them, than those things which they say by St. Luke."[i]—And Maldonate[k] does expressly reject the exposition, which all the authors which he had read, except St. Hilary, give of those words of Christ, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—Michael Nedina[l] accuses St. Jerome as being of the Arian heresy in the question of episcopacy, and he proceeds further to accuse St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, of the same heresy. And Cornelius Mussus, the bishop of Bitonto, expressly affirms, that he had rather believe one single pope, than a thousand Austins, Jeromes, or Gregories. I shall not need any further to instance how the council of Trent hath decreed many things against the general doctrines of the fathers; as in the placing images in churches; the denying of the eucharist to infants; the not including the blessed Virgin Mary in the general evil of mankind in the imputation of Adam's sin; denying the chalice to the laity, and priests not officiating; the beatification and divine vision of saints before the day of judgment. If it were not notorious, and sometimes confessed, that these things are contrary to the sense of a troop of fathers, there might be some excuse made for them, who give them good words, and yet reject their authorities so freely, that it sometimes seems to pass into scorn. But now it appears to be to little purpose, that the council of Trent[m] enjoins her clergy, that they offer not to expound Scripture against the unanimous consent of the fathers; for,—though this amounts not to the height of J. S.'s saying, it is their avowed and constant doctrine, that they are infallible, but "ad coercenda petulantia ingenia,"—the contrary is done and avowed every day. And as the fathers proved themselves fallible, both as such in writing against heretics, and in testifying concerning the church's doctrine in their age; so in the interpretations of Scripture, in which, although there be no universal consent of fathers in any interpretation of Scripture, concerning which questions moved; so the best and most common consent that is, men of great note recede from it with the greater boldness, by how much they hope to raise to themselves the greater reputation for wit and learning. And, therefore, although in the sixth general council,[n] the Origenists were condemned, for bringing in interpretations differing from those that went before them; and in the synod in Trullo,[o] all curates of souls were commanded to interpret Scriptures, so as not to transgress the bounds and tradition of the fathers; and the same was the way taken in the council of Vienna, and commanded since in the Lateran under Leo X., and at last in Trent,—yet all this was but good advice, which when the following doctors pretended to follow, they nevertheless still took their liberty, and went their own way, and if they followed some of the fathers, they receded from many others; for none of them esteemed the way infallible; but they that did not think their own way better, left their own reason and followed their authority. But of late "knowledge is increased,"—at least many writers think so; and though the ancient interpretations were more honoured than new; yet Salmeron[p] says plainly, "that the younger doctors are better sighted and more perspicacious." And the question being about the conception of the blessed Virgin, without original sin; against which a multitude of fathers are brought: the Jesuit answers the argument with the words in Exodus xxiii. "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to sin." And to the same purpose St. Austin[q] answered the Donatists. But of this I shall afterwards have occasion to speak more particularly. In the mean time, it must needs be acknowledged, that the protestants cannot more slight the fathers, than the Jesuits do, and divers other doctors of the church of Rome; though I think both of them do equally think them to be fallible.

Well! but at last, of what use are the fathers to protestants in their writings? And what use do I or can I make of them in my "Dissuasive?" First for the protestants, the church of England can very well account by her canon, in which she follows the council in Trullo, and the sixth general synod, and ties her doctors, as much as the council of Trent does, to expound Scriptures according to the sense of the ancient fathers; and indeed it is the best way for most men, and it is of great use to all men so to do. For the fathers were good men and learned; and interest, and partiality, and error had not then invaded the world so much, as they have since done. The papacy, that great fountain of error and servile learning, had not so debauched the world; and all that good which can be supposed could be ministered by the piety and learning of so many excellent persons, all that we can use, and we do make use of it upon all just occasions. They speak reason and religion in their writings; and when they do so, we have reason to make use of the good things which by their labours God intended to convey to us. They were better than other men, and wiser than most men, and their authority is not at all contemptible, but in most things highly to be valued; and is at the worst a very probable inducement. Are not the books of the canonists and casuists, in a manner, little else than a heap of quotations out of their predecessors' writings? Certainly we have much more reason to value the authority of the ancient fathers.

And now since J. S. requires an account from me in particular, and thinks I have no right to use them; I shall render him an account of this also. But first let us see what his charge is.[r] He says, indeed, I tell him, that the "fathers are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them of what the church esteemed

[i] P. 110.
[k] In Matt. xvi. 13.
[l] De Sacr. Tom. Orig. et Continentiâ, apud Bellar. de Cler. lib. i. c. 15. Vide etiam Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. vii. In Epist. ad Rom. c. 14.
[m] Sess. 4.
[n] Sess. 11.
[o] Canon. 19. ex Divinâ Scripturâ colligentes intelligentias.
[p] In Epist. ad Rom. v. disp. 51. p. 468.
[q] Lib. contr. Donat.
[r] Page 312.

the way of salvation." I did tell them so indeed; and in the same place I said, "That we admit the fathers, as admirable helps for the understanding of the Scriptures." I told them both these things together; and therefore J. S. may blush with shame for telling us, that it "appears by 'the Dissuader,' that the protestants do not acknowledge the fathers infallible or useful." But then in what degree of usefulness the fathers are admitted by us, we may perceive by the instances, of which the one being the interpretation of Scriptures, it is evident, because of their great variety and contrariety of interpretations, we do not admit them as infallible, but yet of admirable use; so in the testimony which they give of the doctrines of their forefathers concerning the way of salvation, we give as great credit as can be due to any relator, except him that is infallible.

———Pro magno teste vetustas
Creditur: acceptam parce movere fidem. OVID.

Nay, we go something further; for though in asserting and affirming, in teaching and delivering positively, we do believe them with great veneration, but not without liberty and inquiry; yet when we make use of them in a negative way, we find use of them, much nearer to infallibility, than all the demonstrations of "Sure Footing." For the argument lies thus:[t] "In the ages succeeding the three first, secular interest did much prevail; the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions and such variety of sayings, that both sides eternally and inconfutably shall bring sayings for themselves respectively." This ground I lay of the ensuing argument, and upon this I build immediately; that things being thus, that is, in the ages succeeding the first three (the primitive and purest) the case being so vastly changed, the books so vast, the words so many, the opinions so proper, the contrariety so apparent; it is very possible that two litigants shall from them pretend words serving their distinct hypotheses, especially when they come to wrangle about the interpretations of ambiguous sayings; and of things so disputed there can be no end, no determination. And therefore it will be impossible for the Roman doctors to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers, (viz. in the latter and succeeding ages of the church; for of them only the argument does treat,) that their doctrine which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the church. And the reason of this is derived from the ground I laid for the argument, because these fathers are oftentimes "gens contra gentem;" and sometimes one man against himself, and sometimes changing his doctrine, and sometimes speaking in heat, and disputing fiercely, and striving by all means to prevail and conquer heretics; and therefore a testimony of many of them consenting, is not a sufficient argument to prove a doctrine catholic; unless all consent in this case, the major part will not prove a doctrine catholic: of this I have given divers instances already, and shall add more in the section of tradition; for the present I shall only recite the words of the bishop of the Canaries,[u] a great man amongst them, to attest what I say: "Tertia conclusio. Plurium sanctorum auctoritas, reliquis licèt paucioribus reclamantibus, firma argumenta theologo sufficere et præstare non valet." If the major part of fathers consenting be not a sufficient argument, (as Canus here expressly says,) then no argument from the authority of fathers can prove it catholic, unless it be universal. Not that it is required, that each single point be proved by each single father, as J. S. most weakly would infer; for that indeed is morally impossible; but that when the fathers of the later ages of whom we speak, are divided in sentence and interest, neither from the lesser number nor yet from the greater can you conclude any catholic consent. "Ecclesia universalis nunquam errat, quia nunquam tota errat;" it is not to be imputed to the universal church, unless all of it agree; and by this, Abulensis[x] asserts the indefectibility of the church of God; "it never errs, because all of it does never err."

And therefore here is wholly a mistake; for to prove a point "de fide" from the authority of the fathers, we require a universal consent. Not that it is expected that every man's hand that writes, should be at it, or every man's vote that can speak, should be to it, for this were unreasonable; but a universal consent is so required, that is, that there be no dissent by any fathers equally catholic and reputed. "Reliquis licèt paucioribus reclamantibus;" "if others, though the fewer number, do dissent," then the major part is not testimony sufficient. And therefore when Vincentius Lirinensis and Thomas of Walden affirmed, that the consent of the major part of fathers, from the apostles downwards, is catholic; Canus expounds their meaning to be, in case that the few dissentients have been condemned by the church, then the major part must carry it: thus when some of the fathers said that Melchisedec was the Holy Ghost, here the major part carried it, because the opinion of the minor part was condemned by the church. But let me add one caution to this, that it may pass the better. Unless the church of that age, in which a minor part of fathers contradicts a greater, do give testimony in behalf of the major part,—which thing I think never was done, and is not indeed easy to be supposed,—though the following ages reject the minor part, it is no argument that the doctrine of the major part was the catholic doctrine of that age. It might, by degrees, become universal, that was not so at first; and therefore, unless the whole present age do agree, that is, unless of all that are esteemed orthodox, there be a present consent, this broken consent is not an infallible testimony of the catholicism of the doctrine. And this is plain in the case of St. Cyprian and the African fathers, denying the baptism of heretics to be valid:[y] supposing a greater number of doctors did at that time

[t] Chap. i. sect. 1. Dissuasive.
[u] Melch. Canus loc. Theol. lib. vii. c. 3. n. 8.
[x] Abulens. Præf. in Matt. q. 3.
[y] J. S. p. 3, 4.

believe the contrary; yet their testimony is no competent proof, that the church of that age was of their judgment; no, although the succeeding ages did condemn the opinion of the Africans; for the question now is, not whether St. Cyprian's doctrine be true or no, but whether it was the catholic doctrine of the church of that age. It is answered, it was not, because many catholic doctors of that age were against it, and for the same reason, neither was their doctrine the catholic, because as wise and as learned men opposed them in it; and it is a frivolous pretence to say, that "the contrary (viz. to St. Cyprian's doctrine) was found and defined to be the faith and the sense of the church;" for suppose it was, but then it became so by a new and later definition, not by the oral tradition of that present age; and, therefore, this will do J. S. no good, but help to overthrow his fond hypothesis. This or that might be a true doctrine, but not the doctrine of the then catholic church, in which the catholics were so openly and with some earnestness divided. And, therefore, it was truly said in "The Dissuasive," "That the clear saying of one or two of those fathers truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics do deny, was not then a matter of faith or a doctrine of the church: if it had, these dissentients publicly owning and preaching that doctrine, would have no catholics but heretics."

Against this J. S. hath a pretty sophism, or, if you please, let it pass for one of his demonstrations. "If one or two denying a point, which many (others) affirm, argues that it is not of faith; then, 'à fortiori,' if one or two affirm it to be of faith, it argues it is of faith, though many others deny it."[z] This consequent is so far from arising from the antecedent, that nothing in the world destroys it more. For, because the denial of one or two argues a doctrine is not catholic, though affirmed by many, therefore it is impossible that the affirmation of one or two (when there be many dissentients) should sufficiently prove a doctrine to be catholic. The antecedent supposes that true which therefore concludes the consequent to be false; for, therefore, the affirming a thing to be catholic, by two or three, or twenty, does not prove it to be so, unless all consent, because the denying it to be catholic (which the antecedent supposes) by two or three, is a good testimony that it is not catholic. J. S.'s argument is like this; if the absence of a few makes the company not full, then the presence of a few when more are absent, "à fortiori" makes the company to be full. But because I must say nothing but what must be reduced to grounds, I have to show the stupendous folly of this argument, a self-evident principle, and that is, "Bonum," and so, "Verum" is "ex integrâ causâ, malum ex qualibet particulari;" and a cup is broken, if but one piece of the lip be broken; but it is not whole, unless it be whole all over. And much more is this true, in a question concerning the universality of consent, or of tradition. For J. S. does prevaricate in the question, which is, whether the testimony be universal, if the particulars be not agreed; and he instead of that thrusts in another word which is no part of the question: for so he changes it, by saying, "The dissent of a few does not make but that the article is a point of faith;" for though it cannot be supposed a point of faith, when any number of the catholic fathers do profess to believe a proposition contrary to it; yet possibly it will by some of his side be said to be a point of faith, "upon other accounts;" as upon "the church's definition," or the "authority of plain Scriptures;" but this will be nothing to J. S.'s hypothesis; for if a part of the catholic fathers did deliver the contrary, there was no irrefragable, catholic, oral tradition of the church, when so considerable a part of the church delivered the contrary as their own doctrine, which is not to be imagined they would have done, if the consent of the church of that age was against it. And if we can suppose this case that one part of the fathers should say, "this is the doctrine of the church," when another part of the fathers are of a contrary judgment,—either they did not say true, and then the fathers' testimony, speaking as witnesses of the doctrine of the church of their age, is not infallible;—or if they did say true, yet their testimony was not esteemed sufficient; because the other fathers, who must needs know it, if it was the catholic doctrine of the church then, do not take it for truth or sufficient. And that maxim which was received in the council of Trent, that "a major part of voices was sufficient for decreeing in a matter of reformation; but that a decree of faith could not be made, if a considerable part did contradict," relies upon the same reason; faith is every man's duty, and every man's concern, and every man's learning; and, therefore, it is not to be supposed that any thing can be an article of faith, in which a number of wise and good men are at difference, either as doctors, or as witnesses. And of this we have a great testimony from Vincentius Lirinensis:[a] "In ipsâ item ecclesiâ magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est: hoc est enim verè proprièque catholicum." Not that which a part of the fathers, but "that which is said every where, always, and by all, that is truly and properly catholic; and this (says he) is greatly to be taken care of in the catholic church."

From all these premises it will follow, that "The Dissuasive" did, or might to very good purpose, make use of the fathers; and if I did there, or shall, in the following sections, make it appear, that in such an age of the ancient church, the doctrines which the church of Rome at this day imposes on the world as articles of faith, were not then accounted articles of faith; but either were spoken against, or not reckoned in their canon and confessions; it will follow that either they can make new articles of faith, or at least cannot pretend these to be articles of faith upon the stock of oral catholic tradition; for this cannot be at all, if the catholic fathers were (though unequally) divided in their testimony.

The rest of J. S.'s last Way or mine is but brag-

[z] J. S. p. 3, 4.

[a] Common. c. 3.

ging, and indeed this whole Appendix of his is but the dregs of his "Sure Footing," and gives but very little occasion of useful and material discourse. But he had formerly promised that he would give an account of my relying on Scripture, and here was the place reserved for it; but when he comes to it, it is nothing at all, but a reviling of it, calling of it "A bare letter, unsensed outward characters, ink thus figured in a book;" but whatsoever it is, he calls it my main, most fundamental, and in a manner my only principle;" though he, according to his usual method of saying what comes next, had said before that I had "no principle," and that "I had many principles." All that he adds afterwards is nothing but the same talk over again concerning the fathers, of which I have given an account I hope full enough; and I shall add something more when I come to speak concerning the justification of the grounds of the protestant and christian religion. Only that I may be out of J. S.'s debt, I shall make it appear that he and his party are the men that go upon no grounds; that in the church of Rome there is no "Sure Footing," no certain acknowledged rule of faith; but while they call for an assent above the nature and necessity of the thing, they have no warrant beyond the greatest uncertainty,—and cause their people to wander (that I may borrow J. S.'s expression) "in the very sphere of contingency."

BOOK I.

SECTION I.

Of the Church: showing that the Church of Rome relies upon no certain Foundation for their faith.

That the Scriptures are infallibly true, though it be acknowledged by the Roman church, yet this is not an infallible rule to them, for several reasons: 1. Because it is imperfect and insufficient (as they say) to determine all matters of faith. 2. Because it is not sufficient to determine any that shall be questioned: not only because its authority and truth are to be determined by something else that must be before it; but also because its sense and meaning must be found out by something after it. And not he that writes or speaks, but he that expounds it, gives the rule; so that Scripture no more is to rule us, than matter made the world: until something else gives it form, and life, and motion, and operative powers, it is but "iners massa," not so much as a clod of earth. And they, who speak so much of the obscurity of Scripture, of the seeming contradictions in it, of the variety of readings, and the mysteriousness of its manner of delivery, can but little trust that obscure, dark, intricate, and at last, imperfect book, for a perfect clear rule. But I shall not need to drive them out of this fort, which they so willingly of themselves quit. If they did acknowledge Scripture for their rule, all controversies about this would be at an end, and we should all be agreed; but because they do not, they can claim no title here.

That which they pretend to be the infallible judge, and the measure of our faith, and is to give us our rule, is the church; and she is a rock; "The pillar and ground of truth;" and, therefore, here they fix. Now how little assurance they have by this confidence, will appear by many considerations.

1. It ought to be known and agreed upon, what is meant by this word "church," or "ecclesia." For it is a *πολύσημον*; and the church cannot be a rule or guide if it be not known what you mean when you speak the word. *Σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς*, said Suidas; "His body," viz. mystical, "Christ calls his church." Among the Greeks, it signifies a convention or assembly met together for public employment and affairs; *συναγωγὴν ὄχλου*: so Aristophanes understands it; *Ἐκκλησία δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον γίνεται;* "Is there not a convocation or an assembly called for this Plutus?" Now, by translation this word is used among christians to signify "all them, who, out of the whole mass of mankind, are called and come, and are gathered together by the voice and call of God, to the worship of God through Jesus Christ, and the participation of eternal good things to follow:" so that "the church" is "a company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ." This is the church "in sensu forensi," and in the sight of men; but because "glorious things are spoken of the city of God," the professors of Christ's doctrine are but imperfectly and inchoatively the church of God; but they who are indeed holy and obedient to Christ's laws of faith and manners,—that live according to his laws, and walk by his example; these are truly and perfectly "the church," and they have this signature, "God knoweth who are his." These are the church of God in the eyes and heart of God. For the church of God are the body of Christ; but the mere profession of christianity makes no man a member of Christ; "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing in Christ Jesus; nothing but a new creature;" nothing but "a faith working by love;" and "keeping the commandments of God." Now they that do this, are not known to be such by men; but they are only known to God; and, therefore, it is in a true sense "the invisible church;" not that there are two churches, or two societies, in

separation from each other; or that one can be seen by men, and the other cannot: for then either we must run after the church, whom we ought not to imitate; or be blind in pursuit of the other that can never be found; and our eyes serve for nothing but to run after false fires. No, these two churches are but one society; the one is within the other; "They walk together to the house of God as friends, they take sweet counsel together," and eat the bread of God in common: but yet though the men be visible, yet that quality and excellency by which they are constituted Christ's members, and distinguished from mere professors and outsides of christians, this, I say, is not visible. All that really and heartily serve Christ "in abdito," do also profess to do so; they serve him in the secret of the heart, and in the secret chamber, and in the public assemblies, unless by an intervening cloud of persecution they be for a while hid, and made less conspicuous: but the invisible church ordinarily and regularly is part of the visible, but yet that only part that is the true one; and the rest but by denomination of law, and in common speaking, are the church,—not in mystical union, not in proper relation to Christ; they are not the house of God, not the temple of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ; and no man can deny this. Hypocrites are not Christ's servants, and therefore not Christ's members, and therefore no part of the church of God, but improperly and equivocally, as a dead man is a man; all which is perfectly summed up in those words of St. Austin,[a] saying, "that the body of Christ is not 'bipartitum,' it is not a 'double body:' 'non enim revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum:' 'all that are Christ's body, shall reign with Christ for ever.'" And therefore, they who are of their father the devil, are the synagogue of Satan, and of such is not the kingdom of God: and all this is no more than what St. Paul said; "They are not all Israel, who are of Israel:"[b] and, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly."[c] Now if any part of mankind will agree to call the universality of professors by the title of the "church," they may if they will; any word, by consent, may signify any thing: but if by "church" we mean that society which is really joined to Christ, which hath received the Holy Spirit, which is heir of the promises and the good things of God, which is the body of which Christ is head; then the invisible part of the visible church, that is, the true servants of Christ only, are the church; that is, to them only appertain the Spirit and the truth, the promises and the graces, the privileges and advantages of the gospel: to others they appertain, as the promise of pardon does; that is, when they have made themselves capable.

For since it is plain and certain, that Christ's promise of giving the Spirit to his apostles was merely conditional, "if they did love him," "if they did keep his commandments:"[d] since it is plainly affirmed by the apostle, that, by reason of wicked lives, men and women did turn apostates from the faith, since nothing in the world does more quench the Spirit of wisdom and of God than an impure life; it is not to be supposed that "the church," as it signifies "the professors" only of christianity, can have an infallible spirit of truth. If the church of Christ have an indefectibility, then it must be that which is in the state of grace, and the Divine favour. They whom God does not love, cannot fall from God's love; but the faithful only and obedient are beloved of God: others may believe rightly; but so do the devils, who are no parts of the church, but princes of "ecclesia malignantium;" and it will be a strange proposition which affirms any one to be of the church, for no other reason but such as qualifies the devil to be so too. For there is no other difference between the devil's faith and the faith of a man that lives wickedly, but that there are hopes the wicked man may, by his faith, be converted to holiness of life, and, consequently, be a member of Christ and the church,—which the devils never can be. To be converted from gentilism, or Judaism, to the christian faith, is an excellent thing; but it is therefore so excellent, because that is God's usual way, by that faith to convert them unto God, from their vain conversation unto holiness. That was the conversion which was designed by the preaching of the gospel; of which, to believe merely, was but the entrance and introduction.

Now besides the evidence of the thing itself, and the notice of it in Scripture,[e] let me observe, that this very thing is, in itself, a part of the article of faith; for if it be asked, "What is the catholic church?"—the apostle's creed defines it; it is "communio sanctorum," "I believe the holy catholic church," that is, "the communion of saints," the conjunction of all them who heartily serve God through Jesus Christ; the one is indeed exegetical of the other, as that which is plainer is explicative of that which is less plain; but else they are but the same thing: which appears also in this, that in some creeds the latter words are left out, and particularly in the Constantinopolitan, as being understood to be in effect but another expression of the same article. To the same sense exactly Clemens of Alexandria[f] defines the church to be "the congregation of the elect;" *οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ·* "By the church I do not mean the place, but the gathering or heap of the elect; for this is the better temple for the receiving the greatness of the dignity of God. For that living thing which is of great price, to him who is worthy of all price, yea, to whose price nothing is too great, *δι' ὑπεροχὴν ἁγιότητος καθιέρωται,* 'is consecrated by the excellency of holiness.'" But more full is that of St. Austin,[g] who spends two chapters in affirming, that only they who serve God faithfully, are the church of God: "'The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.' For this is in the good and faithful, and the holy servants of God, scattered every

[a] De Doctr. Christ. lib. iii. c. 22.
[b] Rom. ix. 6.
[c] Rom. ii. 28, 29.
[d] John xiv. 15, 16.
[e] Ephes. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
[f] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 715. edit. Paris. A. D. 1629.
[g] De Bapt. contr. Donatist. lib. vii. c. 51 et 52.

where, and combined by a spiritual union in the same communion of sacraments, whether they know one another by face or no. Others, it is certain, are so said to be in the house of God, that they do not pertain to the structure of the house, nor to the society of fructifying and peace-making justice, but are as chaff in the wheat. For we cannot deny that they are in the house, the apostle Paul saying, 'That in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but wood and earth, some for honour and some for dishonour.'"—And a little before:[h] "I do not speak rashly, when I say, some are so in the house of God, that they also are that very house of God, which is said to be built upon a rock, which is called the only dove, the fair spouse, without spot or wrinkle, the garden shut up, a fountain sealed, a pit of living water, a fruitful paradise. This is the house which hath received the keys, and the power of loosing and binding; whosoever shall despise this house, reproving and correcting him, he saith, 'let him be as a heathen and a publican.'" And then he proceeds to describe who are this house, by the characters of sanctity, of charity, and unity. "Propter malam pollutamque conscientiam damnati à Christo, jam in corpore Christi non sunt, quod est ecclesia; quoniam non potest Christus habere damnata membra:" "Those who are condemned by Christ for their evil and polluted consciences, are not in Christ's body, which is the church; for Christ hath no damned members."

And this, besides that it is expressly taught in the Augustan confession, it is also the doctrine of divers Roman doctors, that wicked men are not true members of the body of the church, but equivocally. So Alexander of Ales, Hugo, and Aquinas, as they are quoted by Turrecremata; so Petrus à Soto, Melchior Canus, and others, as Bellarmine himself confess;[i] so that if it be said that evil men are in the church, it is true, but they are not of the church; as St. John's expression is, "for if they had been of us, they would have tarried with us:" which words seem to be of the same sense with those fathers, who affirm the church to be "the number of the predestinate, whom God loves to the end." But however, "the wicked are only in the body of the church, as peccant humours, and excrements, and hair, and putrefaction;" so said St. Austin, as Bellarmine quotes him: and the same thing, in almost the same words, is set down by Coster, the Jesuit:[k] and when Bellarmine[l] attempts to answer this saying of St. Austin, he says, he means that "the wicked are not in the church in the same manner as the godly are:" that is, not as living members: which, though it be put in the place of an answer, to amuse the young fellows that are captivated with the admirable method of "objectio" and "solutio;" yet it plainly confesses the point in question, viz. that the wicked are not members of Christ's body; and if they be not, then to them belong not the privileges and promises which God gave and promised to his church: for they were given for the sake of the saints only, saith St. Austin; and Bellarmine confesses it.[m] But I need not be digging the cisterns for this truth; Christ himself hath taught it to us very plainly;[n] "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you;" not upon any other terms; and I hope none but friends are parts of Christ's mystical body, members of the church whereof he is head; and the only condition of this is, "if we do whatsoever Christ commands us."[o] And that this very blessing and promise of knowing and understanding the will of God appertains only to the godly, Christ declares in the very next words; "Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends, for all things I have heard from my Father I have made known unto you." So that, being the friends of God is the only way to know the will of God; none are infallible but they that are holy; and they shall certainly be directed by Christ, and the Spirit of Christ. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself," said our blessed Lord.[p] And St. John said, "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things."[q] The Spirit of God is the great teacher of all truth to the church; but they that "grieve the Holy Spirit of God," they that "quench the Spirit," they that "defile his temple," from these men he will surely depart: that "he shall abide with men unto the end of the world," is a promise not belonging to them, but to them "that keep his commandments." The external parts of religion may be ministered by wicked persons, and by wicked persons may be received; but the secrets of the kingdom, the spiritual excellencies of the gospel, that is, truth and holiness, a saving and an unreprovable faith, and an indefectible love; to be united to Christ, and to be members of his body; these are the portions of saints, not of wicked persons, whether clergy or laity. "The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom, and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable," said Solomon:[r] but when we consider those men who "detain the faith in unrighteousness," it is no wonder that God leaves them, and gives them over to believe a lie, and delivers them to the spirit of illusion: and, therefore, it will be ill to make our faith to rely upon such dangerous foundations. As all the principles and graces of the gospel are the propriety of the godly; so they only are the church of God, of which glorious things are spoken, and it will be vain to talk of the infallibility of God's church: the Roman doctors either must confess it subjected here,

[h] S. Aug. lib. ii. contr. Crescon. c. 21. Vide Eund. lib. ii. contr. Petit. c. ult. lib. iv. de Bapt. c. 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

[i] Mali quidem sunt in ecclesiâ, sed non de ecclesiâ; quia mali non sunt de regno Dei, sed de regno diaboli. Vide etiam Greg. M. lib. xxviii. gor. Moral. c. 9. Lib. i. c. 57. apud. Bell. lib. ii. c. 9. De Ecclesiâ Militante. Tract. 2. in epist. Johan. Bellar. ubi suprà sect. Idem Augustinus.

[k] Coster Apolog. pro parte 36.

[l] Enchirid. c. 12. sect. Qui non.

[m] Ibid. sect. Respondeo, Augustinum.

[n] John xiv. 21. and xv. 14.

[o] John xv. 14.

[p] John vii. 17.

[q] 1 John ii. 27.

[r] Prov. x. 31.

that is, in the church in this sense, or they can find it no where. In short, this is the church (in the sense now explicated) which is the "pillar and ground of truth;" but this is not the sense of the church of Rome; and, therefore, from hence they, refusing to have their learning, can never pretend wisely, that they can be infallibly directed.

We have seen what is the true meaning of the church of God, according to the Scriptures, and fathers, and sometimes persons formerly in the church of Rome. In the next place, let us see what, now-a-days, they mean by the church, with which name or word they so much abuse the world.

1. Therefore, by church sometimes they mean the whole body of them that profess christianity: "Greges pastoribus adunatos," priest and people, bishops and their flocks, all over the world, upon whom the name of Christ is called, whether they be dead in sins or alive in the Spirit, whether good christians or false hypocrites: but all the number of the baptized, except excommunicates, that are since cut off, make this body.

Now the word "church," I grant, may and is given to them, by way of supposition and legal presumption; as a jury of twelve men are called "good men and true;" that is, they are not known to be otherwise, and, therefore, presumed to be such; and they are the church in all human accounts; that is, they are the congregation of all that profess the name of Christ; of whom every particular that is not known to be wicked, is presumed to be good; and, therefore, is still part of the external church,[s] in which are the wheat and the tares; and they are bound up in common by the union of sacraments and external rites, name, and profession; but by nothing else. This doctrine is well explicated by St. Austin: "That is not the body of Christ, which shall not reign with him for ever."—And yet we must not say it is bipartite; but it is either true or mixed, or it is either true or counterfeit; or some such thing. "For not only in eternity, but even now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with Christ, although they may seem to be of his church. But the Scripture speaks of those and these as if they were both of one body, 'propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem sacramentorum:' they are only combined 'by a temporal mixtion, and united by the common use of the sacraments.'" And this, to my sense, all the churches of the world seem to say; for when they excommunicate a person, then they throw him out of the church; meaning, that all his being in the church of which they could take cognizance, is but by the communion of sacraments and external society. Now, out of this society no man must depart; because, although a better union with Christ and one another is most necessary, yet even this cannot, ought not, to be neglected; for by the outward, the inward is set forward and promoted; and, therefore, to depart from the external communion of the church, upon pretence that the wicked are mingled with the godly, is foolish and unreasonable;[t] for by such departing, a man is not sure he shall depart from all the wicked, but he is sure he shall leave the communion of the good, who are mingled in the common mass with the wicked; or else, all that which we call the church is wicked. And what can such men propound to themselves of advantage, when they certainly forsake the society of the good, for an imaginary departure from the wicked; and after all the care they can take, they leave a society in which are some intemperate, or many worldly men, and erect a congregation, for aught they know, of none but hypocrites?

So that which we call the church is "permixta ecclesia," as St. Austin[u] is content it should be called, "a mixed assembly;" and for this mixture's sake, under the cover and knot of external communion, the church that is, all that company, is esteemed one body; and the appellatives are made in common, and so are the addresses, and offices and ministries; because of those that are not now, some will be good; and a great many that are evil, are undiscernibly so; and in that communion are the ways, and ministries and engagements of being good; and above all, in that society are all those that are really good; therefore it is no wonder, that we call this great mixtion by the name of "ecclesia," or the "church:" but then since the church hath a more sacred notion, it is the spouse of Christ, his dove, his beloved, his body, his members, his temple, his house in which he loves to dwell, and which shall dwell with him for ever; and this church is known, and discerned and loved by God, and is united unto Christ: therefore, although, when we speak of all the acts and duties of the judgments and nomenclatures, of outward appearances and accounts of law, we call the mixed society by the name of the church: yet when we consider it in the true, proper, and primary meaning, by the intention of God, and the nature of the thing, and the intercourses between God and his church; all the promises of God, the Spirit of God, the life of God, and all the good things of God, are peculiar to the church of God, in God's sense, in the way in which he owns it, that is, as it is holy, united unto Christ, like to him, and partaker of the Divine nature. The other are but a heap of men keeping good company, calling themselves by a good name, managing the external parts of union and ministry; but because they otherwise belong not to God, the promises no otherwise belong to them, but as they may, and when they do, return to God.

Here then are two senses of the word "church," God's sense and man's sense: the sense of religion, and the sense of government; common rites, and spiritual union.

II. Having now laid this foundation, that none but the true servants[x] of Christ make the true

[s] De Doctr. Christ. lib. iii. c. 32.

[t] Impediri non debet fides aut caritas nostra, ut, quoniam zizania esse in ecclesiâ cernimus, ipsi de ecclesiâ recedamus. —S. Cypr. lib. iii. ep. 3. ad Maximum. Scil. ep. 51. edit. Rigaltianæ.

[u] Ubi supra.

[x] In ecclesiâ non est macula aut ruga; quia peccatores, donec non pœnitet eos vitæ prioris, non sunt in ecclesiâ: cum autem pœnitet, jam sani sunt. Patiam ep. 3. ad Sympronium.

Idem ait S. Hieron. comment. in Ephes. c. 5. Maculati ab eâ [ecclesiâ] alieni esse censentur, nisi rursum per pœnitentiam fuerint expurgati.

church of Christ, and have title to the promises of Christ, and particularly of the Spirit of truth; and having observed that the Roman church relies upon the church under another notion and definition: the next inquiry is to be, What certainty there is of finding truth in this church, and in what sense and meaning it is, that in the church of God we shall be sure to find it.

Of the church, in the first sense, St Paul affirms; it is "the pillar and ground of truth."[y] He spake it of the church of Ephesus, or the holy catholic church over the world; for there is the same reason of one and all; if it be, as St. Paul calls it, "Ecclesia Dei vivi," if it be united to the head Christ Jesus, every church is as much the "pillar and ground of truth," as all the church; which that we may understand rightly, we are to consider that what is commonly called the "church," is but "domus ecclesiæ veræ," as the "ecclesia vera" is "domus Dei:" it is the school of piety, the place of institution and discipline. Good and bad dwell here; but God only and his Spirit dwell with the good. They are all taught in the church; but the good only are θεοδίδακτοι, "taught by God," by an infallible Spirit, that is, by a Spirit which neither can deceive nor be deceived; and therefore by him the good, and they only, are led into all saving truth; and these are the men that preserve the truth in holiness. Without this society, the truth would be hidden and held in unrighteousness; so that all good men, all particular congregations of good men, who, upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, build the superstructure of a holy life, "are the pillar and ground of truth;" that is, they support and defend the truth, they follow and adorn the truth; which truth would in a little time be suppressed, or obscured, or varied, or concealed, and misinterpreted, if the wicked only had it in their conduct. That is, amongst good men we are most like to find the ways of peace and truth, all saving truth, and the proper spiritual advantages and loveliness of truth. Now then, this does no more relate to all churches, than to every church. God will no more leave or forsake any one of his faithful servants, than he will forsake all the world. And therefore here the notion of catholic is of no use: for the church is the communion of saints, wherever it be, or may be; and that this church is catholic, it does not mean by any distinct existence; but by comprehension and actual and potential enclosure of all communions of holy people "in the unity of the Spirit, and in the band of peace;" that is, both externally and internally: "Externally" means the common use of the symbols and sacraments; for they are the band of peace; but the unity of the Spirit is the peculiar of the saints, and is the internal confederation and conjunction of the members of Christ's body in themselves, and to their head. And by the energy of this state, wherever it happens to be, all the blessings of the Spirit are entailed; every man hath his share in it, he shall never be left or forsaken; and the Spirit of God will never depart from him, as long as he remains in, and is of, the communion of saints. But this promise is made to him only as he is part of this communion, that is, of the body of Christ; "Membrum divulsum," if a limb be cut off from the union of the body, it dies. No man belongs to God but he that is of this communion; but therefore the greater the communion is, the more abundance of the Spirit they shall receive; as there is more wisdom in many wise men than in a few: and since every single church or convention receives it in the virtue of the whole church, that is, in conjunction with the body of Christ; it is the whole body to whom this appellative belongs, that she is the "pillar and ground of truth." But as every member receives life and nourishment, and is alive, and is defended and provided for, by the head and stomach, as truly and really as the whole body: so it is in the church; every member preserves the saving truth, and every member lives unto God, and so long as they do so they shall never be forsaken by the Spirit of God; and this is to every man as really as to every church; and therefore every good man hath his share in this appellative: and the saints of Vienna and Lyons called Attalus the martyr, "a pillar and ground of the churches;"[z] and truly he seems to have been a man that was fully grounded in the truth, one that hath built his house upon a rock, one with whom truth dwells, to whom Christ, the fountain of truth, will come and dwell with him; for he hath built upon the foundation, Christ Jesus being the chief corner-stone: and thus Attalus was a pillar, one upon whose strength others were made more confident, bold, and firm in their persuasion; he was one of the pillars that helped to[a] support the christian faith and church; and yet no man supposes that Attalus was infallible: but so it is in the case of every particular church as really as of the catholic, that is, as to all churches; for that is the meaning of the word catholic; not that it signifies a distinct being from a particular church; and if taken abstractly, nothing is effected by the word; but if taken distributively, then it is useful, and material, for it signifies, that in every congregation, "where two or three are gathered in the name of Christ, God is in the midst of them" with his blessing and with his Spirit; it is so "in all the churches of the saints;" and in all of them, as long as they remain such, the truth and faith is certainly preserved. But then that in the apostolical creed the church is recommended under the notion of catholic, it is of great use and excellent mystery, for by it we understand, that in all ages there is, and in all places there may be, a church or collection of true christians; and this catholic church cannot fail; that is, all particular churches shall not fail; for still it is to be observed, there is no church catholic really distinct from all particular churches; and therefore there is no promise made to a church in the capacity of being catholic or universal; for that which

[y] 1 Tim. iii. 15, 16.
[z] Apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. c. 1.
[a] Puto quod convenienter hi, qui episcopatum bene administrant in ecclesiâ, "trabes" dici possunt, quibus sustentatur et tegitur omne ædificium.—ORIGEN. Homil. in Canticâ.

hath no distinct being can have no distinct promises, no distinct capacities, but the promises are made to all churches and to every church: only there is this in it, if any church of one denomination shall be cut off, other branches shall stand by faith, and still be in the vine; the church of God cannot be without Christ their head, and the head will not suffer his body to perish. Thus I understand the meaning of the church's being "the pillar and ground of truth." Just as we may say, human understanding, and the experience of mankind, is the pillar and ground of true philosophy; but there is no such abstracted being as human understanding, distinct from the understanding of all individual men. Every universal is but an intentional or notional being: so is the word catholic relating to the church, if it be understood as something separated from all particular churches; and I do not find that it is any other ways used in Scripture than in the distributive sense. So St. Paul, "The care of all the churches is upon me:" that is, he was the apostle of the catholic church of the gentiles: and so "I teach in all the churches of the saints:" and in this sense it is, that I say, the apostles have, in the creed, comprehended all the christian world, all the congregations of Christ's servants, in the word "catholic."

But then, 2. It is to be considered that this epithet of the church to be the "pillar and ground of truth" is to be understood, to signify in opposition to all religions that were not christian. The implied antithesis is not of the whole to its parts, but of kind to kind; it is not so called to distinguish it from conventions of those who disagree in the house of God, but from those that are out of the house; meaning that whatever pretences of religion the gentile temples or the Jewish synagogues could make, truth could not be found among them, but only in those who are assembled in the name of Christ, who profess his faith, and are of the christian religion: for they alone can truly pretend to be the conservers of truth; to them only now are committed the oracles of God, and if these should fail, truth would be at a loss, and not be found in any other assemblies. In this sense St. Paul spake usefully and intelligibly; for if the several conventions of separated and disagreeing christians should call themselves, as they do and always did, the "church;" the question would be, which were the church of God; and by this rule you were never the nearer to know where truth is to be found: for if you say, "in the church of God,"—several pretend to it, who yet do not teach the truth: and then you must find out what is truth, before you find the church. But when the churches of christians are distinguished from the assemblies of Jews, and Turks, and heathens; she is visible, and distinguishable, and notorious: and, therefore, they that love the truth of God, the saving truth that makes us wise unto salvation, must become christians; and in the assemblies of christians they must look for it as in the proper repository, and there they shall find it.

3. But then it is also considerable, what truth that is, of which the church of the living God is the pillar and ground? It is only of the saving truth of the gospel, that whereby they are made members of Christ, the house of God, the temples of the Holy Spirit. For the Spirit of God being the church's teacher, he will teach us to avoid evil and to do good, to be wise and simple, to be careful and profitable, to know God, and whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ,—to increase in the knowledge and love of them, to be peaceable and charitable, but not to entertain ourselves and our "weak brethren with doubtful disputations," but to keep close to the foundation, and to superstruct upon that a holy life; that is, God teaches his church the way of salvation, that which is necessary, and that which is useful εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, that "which will make us wise unto salvation." But in this school we are not taught curious questions, unedifying notions, to untie knots which interest and vanity, which pride and covetousness have introduced; these are taught by the devil, to divide the church, and by busying them in that which profits not, to make them neglect the wisdom of God and the holiness of the Spirit. And we see this truth by the experience of above 1500 years. The churches have troubled themselves with infinite variety of questions, and divided their precious unity, and destroyed charity, and instead of contending against the devil and all his crafty methods, they have contended against one another, and excommunicated one another, and anathematized and damned one another; and no man is the better after all, but most men are very much the worse; and the churches are in the world still divided about questions that commenced twelve or thirteen ages since; and they are like to be so for ever, till Elias come; which shows plainly, that God hath not interested himself in the revelations of such things; and that he hath given us no means of ending them, but charity, and a return to the simple ways of faith. And this is yet the more considerable, because men are so far from finding out a way to end the questions they have made, that the very ways of ending them, which they propounded to themselves, are now become the greatest questions; and consequently themselves, and all their other unnecessary questions, are indeterminable: their very remedies have increased the disease. And yet we may observe, that God's ways are not like ours, and that his ways are the ways of truth and everlasting; he hath by his wise providence preserved the plain places of Scripture, and the apostle's creed, in all churches, to be the rule and measure of that faith, by which the churches are saved, and which is only that means of the unity of spirit, which is the band of peace in matters of belief. And what have the churches done since? To what necessary truths are they, after all their clampers, advanced, since the apostles left to them that τύπος διδαχῆς, that sound "form of" words and "doctrine?" What one great thing is there beyond this, in which they all agree, or in which they can be brought to agree? He that wisely observes the ways of God, and the ways of man, will easily perceive that God's goodness prevails over all the malice and all the follies

of mankind; and that nothing is to be relied upon as a rule of truth, and the ways of peace, but what Christ hath plainly taught, and the apostles from him; for he alone "is the author and finisher of our faith;" he began it, and he perfected it; and unless God had mightily preserved it, we had spoiled it.

Now, to bring all this home to the present inquiry. The event and intendment of the premises is this. They who, slighting the plain and perfect rule of Scripture, rely upon the church as an infallible guide of faith, and judge of questions; either by the church, mean the congregation and communion of saints, or the outward church mingled of good and bad; and this is intended either to mean a particular church of one name; or by it they understand the catholic church. Now, in what sense soever they depend upon the church for decision of questions, expecting an infallible determination and conduct; the church of Rome will find she relies upon a reed of Egypt, or at least a staff of wool. If by the church they mean the communion of saints only, though the persons of men be visible, yet, because their distinctive cognizance is invisible, they can never see their guide; and, therefore, they can never know whether they go right or wrong. And the sad pressure of this argument Bellarmine saw well enough: "It is necessary (saith he[b]) it should be infallibly certain to us, which assembly of men is the church. For, since the Scriptures, traditions, and plainly all doctrines, depend on the testimony of the church, unless it be most sure which is the true church, all things will be wholly uncertain. But it cannot appear to us which is the true church, if internal faith be required of every member or part of the church." Now, how necessary true saving faith or holiness is, (which Bellarmine calls "internal faith,") I refer myself to the premises. It is not the church, unless the members of the church be members of Christ, living members; for the church is truly Christ's living body. And yet, if they by church mean any thing else, they cannot be assured of an infallible guide; for all that are not the true servants of God, have no promise of the abode of the Spirit of truth with them: so that the true church cannot be a public judge of questions to men, because God only knows her numbers and her members: and the church, in the other sense, if she be made a judge, she is very likely to be deceived herself; and therefore cannot be relied upon by you; for the promise of an infallible Spirit, the Spirit of truth, was never made to any but to the communion of saints. 3. If by the church you mean any particular church, which will you choose; since every such church is esteemed fallible? But if you mean the catholic church; then, if you mean her, an abstracted separate being, from all particulars, you pursue a cloud, and fall in love with an idea, and a child of fancy: but if by "catholic" you mean all particular churches in the world; then, though truth does infallibly dwell amongst them, yet you can never go to school to them all to learn it,—in such questions, which are curious and unnecessary, and by which the salvation of souls is not promoted, and on which it does not rely; not only because God never intended his saints and servants should have an infallible spirit, so to no purpose; but, also, because no man can hear what all the christians of the world do say, no man can go to them, nor consult with them all; nor ever come to the knowledge of their opinions and particular sentiments. And, therefore, in this inquiry, to talk of the church in any of the present significations, is to make use of a word that hath no meaning, serving to the end of this great inquiry.

III. The church of Rome, to provide for this necessity, have thought of a way to find out such a church as may salve this phenomenon: and by church they mean the "representation of a church:" the "church representative" is this infallible guide; the clergy, they are the church,—the teaching and the judging church. And of these, we may better know what is truth in all our questions; for their lips are to preserve knowledge; and they are to rule and feed the rest; and the people must require the law from them; "and must follow their faith."[c]— Indeed, this was a good way once, even in the days of the apostles, who were faithful stewards of the mysteries of God. And the apostolical men, the first bishops who did preach the faith and lived accordingly, these are to be remembered, that is, their lives to be transcribed, their faith, and perseverance in faith, is to be imitated. To this purpose is that of St. Irenæus to be understood:[d] "Tantæ ostensiones cum sint, non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesiâ sumere: cum apostoli, quasi in repositorium dives, plenissimè in eâ contulerint omnia, quæ sint veritatis, ubi omnis, quicunque velit, sumat ex eâ potum vitæ. Hæc est enim vitæ introitus. Omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones, propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos." As long as the apostles lived, as long as those bishops lived, who, being their disciples, did evidently and notoriously teach the doctrine of Christ, and were of that communion; so long they, that is, the apostolical churches, were a sure way to follow; because it was known and confessed, these clergy guides had an infallible, unerring spirit. But as the church hath decayed in discipline, and charity hath waxen cold, and faith is become interest and disputation, this counsel of the apostle, and these words of St. Irenæus, come off still the fainter. But now here is a new question, viz. whether the rulers of the church be the church, that church which is "the pillar and ground of truth;" whether, when they represent the diffusive church, the promises of an indeficient faith, and the perpetual "abode of the Holy Spirit," and his "leading into all truth," and "teaching all things," does in propriety belong to them? For, if they do not, then we are yet to seek for an infallible judge, a church on which our faith may rely with certainty and infallibility.

In answer to which I find, that, in Scripture, the word "ecclesia" or "church" is taken in contradistinction from the clergy; but never that it is used to signify them alone. "Then it pleased the apos-

[b] Lib. iii. de Eccl. milit. cap. 10. Sect. Ad hoc, necesse est.

[c] Heb. xiii. 7.

[d] Lib. iii. cap. 3. in principio.

tles and the elders with the whole church, to choose men of their own company,"[e] &c. And "the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the church of God."[f] And Hilarius Diaconus observes,[g] that the apostle to the church of Colosse sent by them a message to their bishop: "Præpositum illorum per eos ipsos commonet, ut sit sollicitus de salute ipsorum; et quia plebis solius scribitur epistola, ideò non ad rectorem ipsorum destinata est, sed ad ecclesiam:" observing that the bishop is the ruler of the church, but his flock is that, which he intended only to signify by "the church." The clergy, in their public capacity, are not "the church," but the "rulers of the church;" "ecclesiastici," but not "ecclesia;" they are denominatives of the church; bishops and pastors of the church: and in their personal capacity, are but parts and members of the church; and are never in the New Testament called "the church" indefinitely; and this is so notorious and evident in Scripture, that it is never pretended otherwise, but in xviii. of St. Matthew, "Die ecclesiæ;" "If thy brother offend thee, rebuke him; and then, before two or three;" and, if he neglect them, "tell it unto the church;" that is, to "the rulers of the church," say the Roman doctors.

But this cannot be directly so, for ecclesia or church is the highest degree of the same ascent; first in private, to one of the church surely, for they had no society with any else, especially in the matter of fraternal correption: then in the company of some few, of the church still; for "not to heathens:" and at last, "of the whole church;" that is, of all the brethren in your public assembly: this is a natural climax; and it is made more than probable, by the nature of the punishment of the incorrigible; they become as heathen, because they have slighted the whole church; and, therefore, are not to be reckoned as any part of the church. And, then, lastly, this being an advice given to St. Peter, and the other apostles; that they, in this case, should "tell the church;" by the church, must be meant something distinct from the clergy, who are not here commanded to tell themselves alone, but the whole congregation of elders and brethren, that is, of clergy and people. It is not to be denied, but every national church, whereof the king is always understood to be the supreme governor, may change their form of judicature, in things (I mean) "that are without;" that is, such things which are not immediately by Christ, intrusted to the sole conduct of the bishops and priests, such as are the ministry of the word and sacraments, and the immediate cure of souls. Concerning other things, St. Paul gave order to the Corinthians, that in the cases of law, and matters of secular division upon interest, which the apostle[h] calls βιωτικὰ κριτήρια, "those who are least esteemed in the church" should be appointed to judge between them by way of reference; but, by the way, this does not authorize the rulers of churches, the pastors and bishops, to intermeddle; for they are "most esteemed," that is, the "principals" in the church: but then this very thing proves, that the κριτήριον, or the duty and "right of judging," is in the whole church of the saints: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι κοσμὸν κρινοῦσι; "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" that is, the church hath the power of judging: and it is yet more plain, because he calls upon the church of Corinth to delegate this judicature, this κριτήριον ἐλάχιστον, this little, "this least judgment," though now it is esteemed the greatest; but little or great, καθίζετε, "do you appoint" the judges; those that are least esteemed. And for other things they may appoint greater judges, and put their power in execution by such ministries, which are better done by one or by a few persons, than by a whole multitude; who, in the declension of piety, would rather make tumults than wise judgments. And upon this account, though for a long time the people did interest themselves in public judicatures, and even in elections of bishops, which were matters greater than any of the βιωτικὰ κριτήρια, and this, St. Cyprian said,[i] was their due by Divine right, (let him answer for the expression,) yet, in these affairs, the people were also conducted, and so ought to be, by their clergy-guides, who, by their abilities to persuade and govern them, were the fittest for the execution of that power. But then, that which I say is this, that this word "ecclesia," or "church," signifying this judicatory, does not signify the clergy, as distinct from their flocks; and there is not any instance in the New Testament to any such purpose; and yet, that the clergy may also reasonably, but, with a metonymy, be represented by the word "church," is very true; but this is only by the change of words and their first signification. They are the fittest to order and conduct the ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κριτήρια, "the whole ecclesiastical judicature." "Ut omnis actus ecclesiæ per præpositos guberneter," it is St. Cyprian's[k] expression; "That whatever act the church intends to do, it should be governed by their rulers;" viz. by consent, by preaching, by exhortation, by reason, and experience, and better knowledge of things: but the people are to stand or fall by these judicatories, not because God hath given them the judgment of an infallible spirit, more than to the whole church or congregation; but because they are fittest to do it, and for many other great reasons. And this appears, without contradiction, true; because, even the decrees of general councils bind not, but as they are accepted by the several churches in their respective districts and dioceses: of which I am to give an account in the following periods.

But if this thing were otherwise; yet if by the church they understand the clergy only, it must be all the clergy that must be the judge of spiritual questions; for no example is offered from the New Testament, no instance can be produced, that by "ecclesia" is meant the "clergy," and by "clergy" is meant only "a part of the clergy;" these cannot in any sense be the catholic church; and then, if this sense were obtained by the church of Rome, no

[e] Acts xv. 22. [f] Acts xx. 28. [g] In Col. iv. 16.

[h] 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, 4. [i] Vide S. Cypr. ep. 68. 32. 28. [k] Epist. 27.

man were the better, unless all the bishops and priests of the world were consulted in their questions.

4. They, therefore, think it necessary to do as God did to Gideon's army; they will not make use of all, but send away the multitude, and retain the 10,000; and yet because these are too many to overthrow the Midianites, they reduce them to 300. The church must have a representative; but this shall be of a select number: a few, but enough to make a council; a general council is the church representative;[l] and it is pretended here, they can set their foot, and stand fast upon infallibility; for all the promises made to the church are crowded into the tenure and possession of a general council: and, therefore, "Dic ecclesiæ" is "Tell it to the council," that is the church, said a great expositor of the canon law.

This indeed is said by very many of the Roman doctors, but not by all; and, therefore, this will at first seem but a trembling foundation, and themselves are doubtful in their confidences of it; and there is an insuperable prejudice laid against it, by the title of the first general council that ever was; that, I mean, of Jerusalem,[m] where the apostles were presidents, and the presbyters were assistants, but the church was the body of the council, "When they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders."—And again; "then it pleased the apostles and elders with the church to send chosen men:" and they did so, they sent a decretal with this style; "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting to the brethren which are of the gentiles."—Now no man doubts but the spirit of infallibility was in the apostles; and yet they had the consent of the church in the decree; which church was the company of the converted brethren; and by this it became a rule: certainly, it was the first precedent, and therefore ought to be the measure of the rest, and this the rather because from hence the succeeding councils have derived their sacramental sanction of "Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis:" now as it was the first, so it was the only precedent in Scripture; and it was managed by the apostles, and, therefore, we can have no other warrant of an authentic council but this; and to think that a few of the rulers of churches should be a just representation of the church, for infallible determination of all questions of faith, is no way warranted in Scripture: and there is neither here, nor any where else, any word or commission, that the church ever did, or could, delegate the Spirit to any representatives, or pass infallibility by a commission, or letter of attorney: and, therefore, to call a general "council" the church, or to think that all the privileges and graces given by Christ to his church is there in a part of the church, is wholly without warrant or authority.

But this is made manifest by matter of fact; and the church never did intend to delegate any such power, but always kept it in her own hand; I mean the supreme judicature, both in faith and discipline. I shall not go far for instances, but observe some in the Roman church itself, which are therefore the more remarkable, because in the time of her reign, general councils[n] were arrived to great heights and the highest pretensions. Clement VII. calls the council of Ferrara, "the eighth general synod," in his bull of the 22d of April, 1527, directed to the bishop of Fernasia, who it seems had translated it out of Greek into Latin: yet this general council is not accepted in France; but was expressly rejected by King Charles VII., and the instance of the cardinals who came from Pope Eugenius, to desire the acceptation of it, was denied. This council was, it seems, begun at Basil; and though the king did then, and his great council and parliament, and the church of France then assembled at Bruges,[o] accept it; yet it was but in part; for of 45 sessions of that council, France hath received only the first 32, and those not entirely as they lie, but with certain qualifications: "Aliqua simpliciter ut jacent, alia verò cum certis modificationibus et formis;" as is to be seen in the pragmatic sanction. To the same purpose is that which happened to the last council of Lateran, which was called to be a countermine to the second council of Pisa, and to frustrate the intended reformation of the church in head and members: this council excommunicated Lewis XII. of France, repealed the pragmatical sanction, and condemned the second council of Pisa. So that here was an end of the council of Pisa, by the decree of the Lateran; and on the other side, the Lateran council had as bad a fate; for, besides that it was accounted in Germany, and so called by Paulus Langius,[p] a monk of Germany, "A pack of cardinals;" it is wholly rejected in France: and an appeal to the next council put in against it by the university of Paris. And as ill success hath happened to the council of Trent; which, it seems, could not oblige the Roman catholic countries without their own consent: but, therefore, there were many pressing instances, messages, petitions, and artifices, to get it to be published in France. First to Charles IX. by Pius Quartus, A. D. 1563; then by Cardinal Aldobrandino, the pope's nephew, 1572; then by the French clergy, 1576, in an assembly of the states of Blois, Peter Espinac, archbishop of Lyons, being speaker for the clergy; after this, by the French clergy, at Melun, 1579, the bishop of Bazas making the oration to the king; and after him, the same year they pressed it again, Nicolas Angelier, the bishop of Brien, being speaker.[q] After this, by Renald of Beaune, archbishop of Bruges, 1582, and the very next year by the pope's nuncio to Henry III. And in A. D. 1583, and 88, and 93, it was pressed again and again; but all would not do: by which it appears, that even in the church of Rome, the authority of general councils is but precarious; and that the last resort is to the respective churches, who did or did not send their delegates to consider and

[l] Archidiac. in cap. Præcipuè 11. q. 3.
[m] Acts xv. 4, 22, 23.
[n] Vide edit. Roman. Actorum Generalis octavæ Synodi per Anton. Bladium, 1516.
[o] A. D. 1431.
[p] In Chron. Sitizensi, A. D. 1513.
[q] Vide Thuan. hist. lib. 105. et revue du Concile de Trente, lib. i.

consent. Here then is but little ground of confidence in general councils; whom surely the churches would absolutely trust, if they had reason to believe them to be infallible.

But there are many more things to be considered. For there being many sorts of councils;[r]—general, provincial, national, diocesan;—the first inquiry will be which of all these, or whether all of these, will be an infallible guide, and of necessity to be obeyed. I doubt not but it will be roundly answered; "that only the general councils are the last and supreme judicatory, and that alone which is infallible." But yet how uncertain this rule will be, appears in this, that the gloss of the canon law[s] says, "Non videtur, metropolitanos posse condere canones in suis conciliis;" at least not in great matters, "imò non licet:" yet the 7th synod allows the decrees, "Decisiones localium conciliorum," "the definitions of local councils." But I suppose it is in these as it is in the general: they that will accept them, may; and if they will approve the decrees of provincial councils, they become a law unto themselves; and without this acceptation, general councils cannot give laws to others.

2. It will be hard to tell, which are general councils, and which are not; for, the Roman councils under Symmachus, all the world knows, can but pretend to be local or provincial, consisting only of Italians, and yet they bear universal in their style; and it is always said, (as Bellarmine[t] confesses,) "Symmachus concilio generali præsidens;" and the third council of Toledo, in the 18th chapter, uses this mandatory form, "Præcipit hæc sancta et universalis synodus."

3. But if we will suppose a catachresis in this style; and that this title of "universal" means but a "particular," that is, a universal of that place; though this be a hard expression; because the most particular or local councils are or may be universal to that place; yet this may be pardoned; since it is like the catholic Roman style, that is, the manner of speaking in the universal particular church; but after all this, it will be very hard in good earnest to tell which councils are indeed universal, or general councils. Bellarmine reckons eighteen from Nicene to Trent inclusively; so that the council of Florence is the sixteenth; and yet Pope Clement VII. calls it the eighth general; and is reproved for it by Surius, who, for all the pope's infallibility, pretended to know more than the pope would allow. The last Lateran council, viz. the fifth, is at Rome esteemed a general council; in Germany and France it passes for none at all, but a faction and "pack of cardinals."

4. There are divers general councils, that, though they were such, yet they are rejected by almost all the christian world. It ought not to be said, that these are not general councils, because they were conventions of heretical persons; for if a council can consist of heretical persons, (as by this instance it appears it may,) then a general council is no sure rule or ground of faith. And all those councils which Bellarmine calls "reprobate," are as so many proofs of this. For whatever can be said against the council of Ariminum; yet they cannot say but it consisted of 600 bishops: and, therefore, it was as general as any ever was before it, but the faults that are found with it, prove indeed that it is not to be accepted: but then they prove two things more: first that a general council binds not, till it be accepted by the churches; and, therefore, that all its authority depends on them; and they do not depend upon it: and secondly, that there are some general councils which are so far from being infallible, that they are directly false, schismatical, and heretical. And if when the churches are divided in a question, and the communion, like the question, is in flux and reflux; when one side prevails greatly, they get a general council on their side, and prevail by it; but lose as much, when the other side play the same game in the day of their advantages. And it will be to no purpose to tell me of any collateral advantages, that this council hath more than another council; for though I believe so, yet others do not; and their council is as much a general council to them as our council is to us. And, therefore, if general councils are the rule and law of faith in those things they determine, then all that is to be considered in this affair, is, whether they be general councils. Whether they say true or no, is not now the question, but is to be determined by this, viz. Whether are they general councils or no? for relying upon their authority for the truth, if they be satisfied that they are general councils; that they speak and determine truth will be consequent and allowed. Now then if this be the question, then, since divers general councils are reprobated, the consequent is, that although they be general councils, yet they may be reproved. And if a catholic, producing the Nicene council, be rencountered by an Arian producing the council of Ariminum, which was far more numerous; —here are "aquilis aquilæ, et pila minantia pilis;" but who shall prevail? If a general council be the rule and guide, they will both prevail; that is, neither. And it ought not to be said by the catholic; "Yea, but our council determined for the truth, but yours for error;" for the Arian will say so too. But whether they do or no, yet it is plain, that they may both say so: and if they do, then we do not find the truth out by the conduct and decision of a general council; but we approve this general, because upon other accounts we believe that what is there defined is true. And, therefore, St. Austin's way here is best; "Neque ego Nicenum concilium, neque tu Ariminense," &c.; both sides pretend to general councils; that which both equally pretend to, will help neither; therefore, let us go to Scripture. But there are amongst many others two very considerable instances, by which we may see plainly at what rate councils are declared general. There was a council[u] held at Constantinople under Constantinus Copronymus, of 338 bishops. It was in that unhappy time, when the question of worshipping or breaking images was disputed. This council com-

[r] Gratian. dist. 3. can. Porrò.
[s] Ubi suprà, act. 3.
[t] Lib. i. c. 4. de Concil. et Eccles. Sect. Vocantur enim.
[u] A. D. 755.

manded images to be destroyed out of churches; and this was a general council: and yet 26, or, as some say, 31 years after,[x] this was condemned by another general council, viz. the second at Nice, which decreed images to be worshipped; not long after, about five years, this general council of Nice, for that very reason, was condemned by a general council of Frankfort, and generally by the western churches. Now of what value is a general council to the determination of questions of faith, when one general council condemns another general council with great liberty, and without scruple? And it is to no purpose to allege reasons or excuses, why this or that council is condemned; for if they be general, and yet may, without reason, be condemned, then they have no authority; but if they be condemned with reason, then they are not infallible. The other instance is in those councils, which were held when the dispute began between the council and the pope. The council of Constance, consisting of almost a thousand fathers, first and last, defined the council to be above the pope: the council of Florence, and the fifth council in the Lateran, have condemned this council so far, as to that article. The council of Basil, all the world knows how greatly they asserted their own authority over the pope; but therefore, though in France it is accepted, yet in Italy and Spain it is not.

But what is the meaning that some councils are partly approved and partly condemned, the council of Sardis, that in Trullo, those of Frankfort, Constance, and Basil; but that every man, and every church, accepts the general councils, as far as they please and no further? The Greeks receive but seven general councils, the Lutherans receive six, the Eutychians in Asia receive but the first three, the Nestorians in the east receive but the first two, the antitrinitarians in Hungary and Poland receive none. The church of England receives the four first generals as of highest regard, not that they are infallible, but that they have determined wisely and holily. "Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata."—It is as every one likes: for the church of Rome that receives sixteen, are divided; and some take in others, and reject some of these, as I have shown.

5. How can it be known which is a general council, and how many conditions are required for the building such a great house? The question is worth the asking, not only because the church of Rome teaches us to rely upon a general council, as the supreme judge and final determiner of questions, but because I perceive that the church of Rome is at a loss concerning general councils. "The council of Pisa," Bellarmine says, "is neither approved nor reproved;"[y] for Pope Alexander VI. approved it, because he acknowledged the election of Alexander V. who was created pope by that council: and yet Antonius called it "conciliabulum illegitimum," "an unlawful conventicle." But here Bellarmine was a little forgetful; for the fifth Lateran council, which they in Rome will call a general, hath condemned this Pisan, with great interest and fancy; and, therefore, it was "both approved and reproved."

But it is fit that it be inquired, how we shall know which, or what, is a general council, and which is not. 1. If we inquire into the number of the bishops there present, we cannot find any certain rule for that: but be they many or few, the parties interested will, if they please, call it a general council. And they will not, dare not, I suppose, at Rome, make a quarrel upon that point; when, in the sixth session of Trent, as some printed catalogues inform us,[z] they may remember there were but thirty-eight persons in all, at their first sitting down, of which number some were not bishops: and at last, there were but fifty-seven archbishops and bishops in all. In the first session were but three archbishops and twenty-three bishops; and in all the rest, about sixty archbishops and bishops was the usual number, till the last; and yet there are some councils of far greater antiquity, who are rejected, although their number of bishops very far surpass the numbers of Trent: in Nice were three hundred and eighteen bishops; in that of Chalcedon were six hundred; and in that of Basil were above four hundred bishops; and in that of Constance were three hundred, besides the other fathers (as they call them). But this is but one thing of many; though it will be very hard to think, that all the power and energy, the virtual faith, and potential infallibility of the whole christian church, should be in eighty or ninety bishops, taken out of the neighbour-countries.

6. But then if we consider, upon what pitiful pretences the Roman doctors do evacuate the authority of councils; we shall find them to be such, that by the like, which can never be wanting to a witty person, the authority of every one of them may be vilified, and, consequently, they can be infallible security to no man's faith. Charles VII. of France, and the French church assembled at Bruges, rejected the latter sessions of the council of Basil, because they deprived Pope Eugenius, and created Felix V., and because it was doubtful, whether that assembly did sufficiently represent the catholic church. But Bellarmine says, "that the former sessions of the council of Basil are invalid and null; because certain bishops fell off there, and were faulty." Now if this be a sufficient cause of nullity, then if ever there be a schism, or but a division of opinions, the other party may deny the authority of the council; and especially if any of them change their opinion, and go to the prevailing side, the other hath the same cause of complaint: but this ought not at all to prevail, till it be agreed how many bishops must be present; for if some fail, if enough remain, there is no harm done to the authority. But because any thing is made use of for an excuse, it is a sure sign they are but pretended more than regarded, but just when they serve men's turns. The council of Constantinople, under Leo Isaurus, is rejected by the Romanists, because there was no patriarch present but St. German; though all the world knows the reason is, because they decreed against images. But if the other were a good reason, then it is necessary that all the old patriarchs

[x] A. D. 786. aut 789.

[y] A. D. 1409. De Concil. et Eccles. lib. i. c. 8. [z] 1546.

should be present; and if this be true, then the general council of Ephesus is null, because all the patriarchs were not present at it, and particularly the patriarch of Antioch; and in that of Chalcedon there wanted the patriarch of Alexandria. And the first of Constantinople could not have all the patriarchs, neither could it be representative of the whole church, because, at the same time, there was another council at Rome; and, which is worse to the Romanists than all that, the council of Trent, upon this and a thousand more, is invalid: because themselves reckon but three patriarchs there present; one was of Venice, another of Aquileia, and the third was only a titular of Jerusalem; none of which were really any of the old patriarchs, whose authority was so great in the ancient councils.

7. It is impossible, as things are now,[a] that a general council should be a sure rule or judge of faith, since it can never be agreed who of necessity are to be called, and who have decisive voices in councils. At Rome they allow none but bishops to give sentence, and to subscribe; and yet anciently, not only the emperors and their ambassadors did subscribe, but lately at Florence, Lateran, and Trent, cardinals and bishops, abbots and generals of orders, did subscribe; and in the council of Basil priests had decisive voices, and it is notorious that the ancient councils were subscribed by the archimandrites, who were but abbots, not bishops: and Cardinal Jacobatius affirms,[b] that sometimes laymen were admitted to councils, to be judges between those that disputed some deep questions. Nay, Gerson says, that controversies of faith were sometimes referred to pagan philosophers, who though they believed it not, yet, supposing it such, they determined what was the proper consequent of such principles, which the christians consented in: and, he says, it was so in the council of Nice, as is left unto us upon record. And Eutropius, a pagan,[c] was chosen judge between Origen and the Marcionites; and against these he gave sentence, and in behalf of Origen. Certain it is, that the states of Germany, in their diet at Nuremberg, propounded to Pope Adrian VI., that laymen might be admitted as well as the clergy, and freely to declare their judgments without hinderance. And this was no new matter; for it was practised in all nations; in Germany, France, England, and Spain itself; as who please may see in the sixth, eighth, and twelfth councils of Toledo. So that it is apparent that the Romanists, though now they do not, yet formerly they did;[d] and were certainly in the right: and if any man shall think otherwise, he can never be sure that they were in the wrong; especially when he shall consider, that the council of the apostles not only admitted presbyters, but the laity, who were parties in the decree; as is to be seen in the "Acts of the Apostles:"[e] and that for this there was also a very great precedent in the Old Testament, in a case perfectly like it; when Elijah appealed to the people to judge between God and Baal, which of them was the Lord, by answering by fire.[f]

8. But how if the church be divided in a question, which hath caused so great disturbances, that it is thought fit to call a council? here will be an eternal uncertainty. If they call both sides, they will never agree: if they call but one, then they are parties and judges too. In the general council of Sardis,[g] by command of the two emperors, Constans and Constantius, all bishops, catholic and Arians, were equally admitted; so it was also both at Ariminum and Seleucia; and so it was at Ferrara, where the Greeks and Latins sat together. But if one side only exclude all the adversaries, and declare them criminals beforehand, as it happened at Trent and Dort, how is that one party a representative of the church, when so great a part of christendom is not consulted, not heard, not suffered?

9. Suppose, a council being called, the bishops be divided in their opinion, how shall the decision be? By the major number of voices surely. But how much the major? Shall one alone above the equal number carry it? That were strange that one man should determine the faith of christendom! Must three be two-thirds, as it was propounded in Trent, in some cases; but if this be, who shall make any man sure, that the Holy Spirit of God shall go over to those two-thirds, and leave the remaining party to themselves? And who can ascertain us that the major part is the more wise and more holy; or, if they be not, yet that they shall speak more truth? But in this also, the doctors are uncertain and divided; and how little truth is to be given to the major part in causes of faith, the Roman doctors may learn from their own abbot of Panormo,[h] and the chancellor of Paris. The first saying, "The opinion of one godly man ought to be preferred before the pope's, if it be grounded upon better authorities of the Old and New Testament;" and the latter saying, "Every learned man may and ought to withstand a whole council, if he perceive it errs of malice or ignorance."

10. The world is not yet agreed in whose power it is to call the councils; and if it be done by an incompetent authority, the whole convention is schismatical; and, therefore, not to be trusted as a judge of consciences and questions of faith. The emperors always did it of old; and the popes of late: but let this be agreed first, and then let the other questions come before them; till then, we cannot be sure.

11. Lastly; If general councils be supposed to be the rule and measure of faith, christendom must needs be in a sad condition and state of doubt for ever; not only because a council is not called, it may be, in two or three ages, but because no man can be sure that all things are observed, which men say are necessary: neither did the several churches ever agree what was necessary, nor did they ever agree to set down the laws and conditions requisite to their being such; and, therefore, they have well

[a] Bellarm. lib. i. de Concil. et Eccles. c. 15. sect. At Catholicorum.
[b] De Concil. lib. ii. act. 6.
[c] Socrat. lib. i. c. 5. Eccles. Hist.
[d] Vide Marsil. Patav. in Defens. Pacis. part. 2. c. 20.
[e] Cap. xv. 22, 23.
[f] 1 Kings xviii.
[g] Socrat. lib. ii. c. 16. Sozomen. lib. iii. c. 10.
[h] Panorm. in Corp. Significasti de Elect.

and wisely comported themselves in this; that never any general council did declare that a general council is infallible. Indeed Bellarmine labours greatly to prove it out of Scripture: his best argument is the promise that Christ made, that "when two or three are gathered in my name, I will be in the midst of them;" and, "I will be with you to the end of the world." Now, to these authorities I am now no other way to answer but by observing, that these arguments do as much prove every christian meeting, of any sort of good christians, to be as infallible as a council, and that a diocesan council is as sure a guide as a general; and it is impossible, from those, or any other like words of Christ, to prove the contrary; and, therefore, gives us no certainty here.

5. But if general councils, in themselves, be so uncertain, yet the Roman doctors now, at last, are come to some certainty; for if the pope confirm a council, then it is right and true, and the church is a rule which can never fail, and never can deceive, or leave men in uncertainty; for a spirit of infallibility is then in the church's representative, when head and members are joined together. This is their last stress; and if this cord break they have nothing to hold them.

Now for this there are divers great considerations, which will soon put this matter to issue. For although this be the new device of the court of Rome, and the pope's flatterers, especially the Jesuits, and that this never was so much as probably proved, but boldly affirmed and weakly grounded; yet this is not defined as a doctrine of the Roman church. For, 1. We find Bellarmine[i] reckoning six cases of necessity or utility of calling general councils; and four of them are of that nature, that the pope is either not in being, or else is a party, the person to be judged: as, 1. If there be a schism amongst the popes of Rome, as when there happen to be two or three popes together; which happened in the councils of Constance and Basil. Or, 2. If the pope of Rome be suspected of heresy. Or, 3. When there is great necessity of reformation of manners in head and members; which hath been so notoriously called for above four hundred years. Or, 4. If the election of the pope be questioned. Now, in these cases, it is impossible, that the consent of the pope should be necessary to make up the authority of the council, since the pope is the "pars rea," and the council is the only judge. And of this there can be no question: and, therefore, the pope's authority is not necessary, nor of avail, to make the council valid.

2. If the pope's approbation of the council make it to be an infallible guide, then since, without it, it is not infallible, not yet the supreme judicatory, it follows that the pope is above the council; which is a thing very uncertain in the church of Rome; but it hath been denied in divers general councils, as by the first Pisan; by the council of Constance, the fourth and fifth sessions; by the council of Basil, in the second, the sixteenth, and eighteenth, and thirty-third sessions; by the council of Bruges under Charles VII., and by the pragmatic sanction; all which have declared, that "a general council hath its authority immediately from Christ," (and consequently not depending on the pope,) "and that it is necessary that every person, in what dignity soever, though papal, should be obedient to it, in things that concern faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church of God, both in head and members." This is the decree of the council of Constance; which also adds further, "That whosoever shall neglect to obey the commands, statutes, ordinances, and decrees of this or any other general council, lawfully assembled, in the things aforesaid, or thereunto pertaining," (viz. in matters of faith or manners,) "made or to be made, if he do not repent of it, he shall undergo a condign penance; yea, and with recourse to other remedies of law against him, of what condition, estate, or dignity soever he be, though he be the pope." The same was confirmed in the council of Lausanne, and the second Pisan, in the third session: so that here are six general councils, all declaring the pope to be inferior and submitted to a council; they created popes in some of them; they decreed when councils should be called, they judged popes, they deposed them, they commanded their obedience, they threatened to impose penances if they obeyed not, and to proceed to further remedies in law; and the second Pisan, beside the former particulars, declared that the synod neither could nor should be dissolved without their universal consent; nevertheless, by the common consent it might be removed to a place of safety, especially with the pope, if he could be got to consent thereunto; always provided it be not at Rome. And yet this very council was approved and commended by Pope Alexander V., as both Platina and Nauclerus witness:[k] and the council of Constance was called by Pope John XXIII. He presided in it, and was for his wicked life deposed by it; and yet Platina, in his life, says, he approved it; and after him so did Pope Martin V. (as is to be seen in the last session of that council) and Eugenius IV.; and the council of Basil and Lausanne was confirmed by Pope Nicholas V.,[l] as is to be seen in his bull; and not only Pope Martin V., but Pope Eugenius IV. approved the council of Basil. It were a needless trouble to reckon the consenting testimonies of many learned divines and lawyers, bearing witness to the councils' superiority over popes. More material it is that many famous universities, particularly those of Paris, Erfurt, Cologne, Vienna, Cracow; all unanimously did affirm the power of general councils over popes; and, principally for this thing, relied upon the authority of the general councils of Constance and Basil.

Now if a general council, confirmed by a pope, be a rule or judge of faith and manners; then this is an article of faith, that the authority of a general council does not depend upon the pope, but on Christ immediately; and then the pope's confirmation does not make it valid, any more than the con-

[i] De Concil. et Eccles. lib. iii. c. 9.
[k] Platina in Alex. Quinto.—Naucl. tom. 2. generat. 47.
[l] Vide 16. c. 18. Session.

firmation or consent of the other patriarchs for their respective provinces. For here are many councils, and they confirmed by divers popes.

But that it may appear how uncertain all, even the greatest, things are at Rome, Cardinal Cajetan[m] wrote a book against this doctrine, and against the councils of Constance, Basil, and Pisa, and Gerson, the chancellor of Paris: which book King Lewis XII. of France required the university of Paris to examine; which they did to very good purpose. And the latter popes of Rome have used their utmost diligence to disgrace and nullify all these councils, and to stifle the voice and consciences of all men, and to trample general councils under their feet. Now how can the souls of christian people put their questions and differences to their determination, who themselves are biting and scratching one another? He was likely to prove but an ill physician, who gave advices to a woman that had gotten a cold, when himself could scarce speak for coughing. I am not concerned here to say what I think of the question, or whether the council or the pope be in the right; for I think, as to the power of determining matters of faith infallibly, they are both in the wrong. But that which I observe is, that the church of Rome is greatly divided about their judge of controversies, and are never like to make an end of it, unless one party be beaten into a good compliant belief with the other. I shall only add a conclusion to these premises in the words of Bellarmine;[n] "Si concilia generalia possent errare, nullum esset in ecclesiâ firmum judicium, quo controversiæ componi, et unitas in ecclesiâ servari possit;" "If a general council can err, there is no sure judgment in the church for composing controversies, and preserving unity." I shall not need to take advantage of these words, by observing, that Bellarmine hath by them evacuated all the authority of the pope's defining question "in cathedrâ;" for if a general council can fail, nothing amongst them can be certain. This is that which I observe; that since this thing is rendered so uncertain upon the stock of their own wranglings, and not agreeing upon which are general councils; one part condemning some, which very many others among them acknowledge for such; it is impossible, by their own doctrine, that they can have any place where to set their foot, and say, "Here I fix upon a rock, and cannot be moved." And there being so many conditions required, and so many ways of failing laid to their charge, and many more that may be found out; and it being impossible that we can be infallibly assured that none of them hath happened in any general council that comes to be questioned; how can any man rely upon the decision of a council as infallible, of which he cannot ever be infallibly assured that it hath proceeded "concilialiter," (as Bellarmine's new word is,) or that it hath in it nothing that does evacuate or lessen its authority? And after all this, suppose we are all agreed about any convention, and allow it to be a general council; yet they do not always end the questions when they have defined them; and the decrees themselves make a new harvest of uncertainties: of this we have too many witnesses, even all the questions which in the world are made concerning the sense and meaning of the decrees and canons in the respective councils. And when Andreas Vega,[o] and Dominicus à Soto, and Soto, and Catarinus, (who were all present at the council of Trent, and understood the meaning of the council as well as any, except the legates and their secret junto,) wrote books against one another, and both sides brought the words of the council for themselves, and yet neither prevailed; Santa Croce the legate, who well enough understood that the council intended not to determine the truth, yet, to silence their wranglings in the council, let them dispute abroad; but the council would not end it by clearing the ambiguity. And since this became the mode of christendom to do so upon design, it can be no wonder that things are left uncertain for all the decrees of councils.

It is well, therefore, that the church of Rome requires faith to her conclusions, greater than her premises can persuade. It is the only way of escaping that is left them, as being conscious that none of their arguments can enforce what they would have believed. And to the same purpose it is, that they teach the conclusions and definitions of councils to be infallible, though their arguments and proceedings be fallible, and pitiful, and false. If they can persuade the world to this, they have got the goal; only it ought to be confessed by them that do submit to the definition, that they do so, moved to it by none of their reasons, but they know not why.

I do not here enter into the particular examination of the matters determined by many councils; by which it might largely and plainly appear, how greatly general councils have been mistaken. This hath been observed already by many very learned men: and the council of Trent is the greatest instance of it in the world, as will be made to appear in the procedure of this book. But the Romanists themselves, by rejecting divers general councils, have, as I have above observed, given proof enough of this. That all things are here uncertain, I have proved; and that if there be error here, there can be no certainty any where else, Bellarmine confesses: so that I have thus far discharged what I undertook.

But beyond this, there are some other particulars fit to be considered, by which it will yet further appear that in the church of Rome, unless they will rely upon the plain Scriptures, they have no sure foundation: instance in those several articles, which some of the Roman doctors say are "de fide;" and others of their own party, when they are pressed with them, say they are not "de fide," but the opinions of private doctors; that, if a prince turn heretic, that is, be not of the Roman party, he presently loses all right to his temporal dominions; that the pope can change kingdoms, taking from one, and giving to another, this is esteemed by the

[m] De Comparatione auctoritatis Papæ et Concilii.
[n] De Concil. Autor. lib. ii. c. 21. Sect. Accedit.

[o] A. D. 1546.

Jesuits a matter of faith. It is "certa, indubitata, definita virorum clarissimorum sententia;" said Creswell the Jesuit, in his "Philopater."—F. Garnet said more, it is "Totius ecclesiæ et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina."—"It is received," saith Creswell, "by the whole school of divines and canon-lawyers;" nay, it is "certum et de fide," "It is matter of faith." I know that the English priests will think themselves injured, if you impute this doctrine to them, or say, it is the catholic doctrine: and yet, that this power in temporals, that he can depose kings sometimes, is in the pope, "Non opinio, sed certitudo apud catholicos est," said Bellarmine;[p] "it is more than an opinion, it is certain amongst the catholics." Now since this is not believed by all that call themselves catholics, and yet by others of greatest note it is said to be the catholic doctrine, to be certain, to be a point of faith; I desire to know, where this faith is founded, which is the house of faith, where is their warrant, their authority, and foundation of their article? For if an English scholar in the college at Rome, had, in confession to Friar Parsons, Creswell, Garnet, Bellarmine, or any of their parties, confessed that he had spoken against the pope's power of deposing kings in any case, or of any pretence of killing kings, it is certain they could not have absolved him till he had renounced his heresy; and they must have declared, that if he had died in that persuasion, he must have been damned; what rest shall this poor man have, or hope for? He pretends that the council of Constance had declared for his opinion; and, therefore, that his, and not theirs, is certain, and matter of faith: they tell him no; and yet for their article of faith, have neither father nor council, Scripture nor reason, tradition nor ancient precedent; where then is this foundation upon which the article is built? It lies low, as low as hell, but can never be made to appear: and yet amongst them articles of faith grow up without root and without foundation; but a man may be threatened with damnation amongst them for any trifle, and affrighted with clappers and men of clouts. If they have a clear and certain rule, why do their doctors differ about the points of faith? They say some things are articles of faith, and yet do not think fit to give a reason of their faith; for indeed they cannot. But if this be the way of it amongst Roman doctors, they may have many faiths, as they have breviaries in several churches; "Secundum usum Sarum," "secundum usum scholæ Romanæ;" and so, without ground or reason, even the catholics become heretics one to another: it is by chance if it happen to be otherwise.

2. What makes a point to be "de fide?" If it be said, "the decision of a general council;" then since no general council hath said so, this proposition is not "de fide." That "what a general council says is true, is to be believed as matter of faith;"—for if the authority be not "de fide," then how can the particulars of her determination be "de fide?" for the conclusion must follow the weaker part; and if the authority itself be left in uncertainty, the decrees cannot be infallible.

3. As no man living can tell that a council hath proceeded rightly; so no man can tell when an article of faith is firmly decreed, or when a matter is sufficiently propounded, or when the pope hath perfectly defined an article: of all this the canon law is the greatest testimony in the world, where there is council against council, pope against pope; and among so many decrees of faith and manners it cannot be told what is and what is not certain. For when the popes have sent their rescripts to a bishop, or any other prelate, to order an affair of life or doctrine; either he wrote that with an intent to oblige all christendom, or did not. If not, why is it put into the body of the laws; for what is a greater signature, or can pass a greater obligation, than the authentic code of laws? But if these were written with an intent to oblige all christendom, how come they to be prejudiced, rescinded, abrogated by contrary laws and desuetude, by change of times and changes of opinion? And in all that great body of laws registered in the decretum, and the decretals, Clementins, and extravagants, there is no sign or distinctive cognizance of one from another, and yet some of them are regarded, and very many are not. When Pope Stephen[q] decreed that those who were converted from heresy should not be re-baptized; and to that purpose wrote against St. Cyprian in the question, and declared it to be unlawful, and threatened excommunication to them that did it, as St. Austin tells; St. Cyprian regarded it not, but he and a council of fourscore bishops decreed it ought to be done, and did so to their dying day. Bellarmine admits all this to be true; but says, that Pope Stephen did not declare this "tanquam de fide;" but that after this definition it was free to every one to think as they list; nay, that though it was plain that St. Cyprian refused to obey the pope's sentence, yet "non est omninò certum," that he did sin mortally.[r] By all this he hath made it apparent, that it cannot easily be known, when a pope does define a thing to be "de fide," or when it is a sin to disobey him, or when it is necessary he should be obeyed. Now then, since, in the canon law, there are so very many decrees, and yet no mark of difference, of right or wrong, necessary or not necessary; how shall we be able to know certainly in what state or condition the soul of every of the pope's subjects is? especially since without any cognizance or certain mark, all the world are commanded, under pain of damnation, to obey the pope. In the extravagant "de Majoritate et Obedientiâ" are these words: "Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolutè necessarium ad salutem omni humanæ creaturæ, subesse Romano Pontifici." Now when can it be thought that a pope defines any article "in cathedrâ," if these words, "Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus, et necessarium ad salutem," be not sufficient to declare his intention? Now if this be true that the pope said this; he said true or false. If false, how sad is the con-

[p] Contr. Barclai. c. 3.
[q] Euseb. lib. vii. hist. 4. c. 3 et 4. lib. de unico Baptis. c. 14.
[r] Bellar. lib. iv. de Pont. Rom. c. 7. Sect. Et per hoc.

dition of the Romanists, who are affrighted with the terrible threatenings of damnation for nothing; and if it be true, what became of the souls of St. Cyprian and the African bishops, who did not submit to the bishop of Rome, but called him "proud, ignorant, and of a dark and wicked mind?"[s] "Seriò præcepit," said Bellarmine; "he seriously commanded it," but did not determine it as necessary; and how in a question of faith, and so great concern, this distinction can be of any avail, can never be known, and can never be proved; since they declare the pope sufficiently to be of that faith against St. Cyprian and the Africans, and that in pursuance of this his faith he proceeded so far and so violently. But now the matter is grown infinitely worse. For, 1. the popes of Rome have made innumerable decrees[t] in the decretum, decretals, bulls, taxes, constitutions, Clementins, and extravagants. 2. They, as Albericus de Rosate, a great canonist, affirms, sometimes exalt their constitutions, and sometimes abase them, according to the times. And yet, 3. All of them are verified and imposed under the same sanction by the council of Trent;[u] all, I say, which were ever made in favour of ecclesiastical persons, and the liberties of the church; which are indeed the greater part of all after Gratian's decree: witness the decretals of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., the "Collectio diversarum constitutionum et literarum Romanorum pontificum," and the "decretal epistles" of the Roman bishops in three volumes, besides the "ecloga bullarum et motuum propriorum." All this is not only an intolerable burden to the christian churches, but a snare to consciences, and no man can tell by all this that is before him, whether he deserve love or hatred, whether he be in the state of mortal sin, of damnation, or salvation. But this is no new thing: more than this was decreed in the ancient canon law itself.[x] "Sic omnes sanctiones apostolicæ sedis accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius Divinâ voce Petri firmatæ." And again, "Ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuò quidem et infragibiliter observandum est:" "All men must, at all times, with all submission, observe all things whatsoever are decreed or ordained by the Roman church." Nay, "licèt vix ferendum," although what that holy see imposes, be as yet "scarce tolerable," yet let us bear it, and with holy devotion suffer it, says the canon, "In memoriam."[y] And that all this might indeed be an intolerable yoke, the canon, "Nulli fas est," adds the pope's curse and final threatenings: "Sit ergo ruinæ suæ dolore prostratus, quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis:" and every one that obeys not the apostolical decrees, is "majoris excommunicationis dejectione adjiciendus." The canon is directed particularly against the clergy. And the gloss upon this canon affirms, that he who denies the pope's power of making canons, (viz. to oblige the church,) is a heretic. Now considering that the decree of Gratian is "concordantia discordantiarum," a heap or bundle of contrary opinions, doctrines, and rules; and they agree no otherwise than a hyena and a dog catched in the same snare, or put into a bag; and that the decretals and extravagants are, in very great parts of them, nothing but boxes of tyranny and error, usurpation and superstition; only that upon those boxes they write, "ecclesia catholica," and that all these are commanded to be believed and observed respectively; and all gainsayers to be cursed and excommunicated; and that the twentieth part of them is not known to the christian world, and some are rejected, and some never accepted, and some slighted into desuetude, and some thrown off as being a load too heavy, and yet that there is no rule to discern these things: it must follow that matters of faith determined and recorded in the canon law, and the laws of manners there established, and the matter of salvation and damnation consequent to the observation or not observation of them, must needs be infinitely uncertain, and no man can from their grounds know what shall become of him.

There are so very many points of faith in the church of Rome, and so many decrees of councils, which when they please make an article of faith, and so many are presumptuously by private doctors affirmed to be "de fide," which are not; that, considering that the common people are not taught to rely upon the plain words of Scripture, and the apostles' creed, for a sufficient rule of their faith, but are threatened with damnation if they do not believe whatever their church hath determined; and yet they neither do nor can know it but by the word of their parish priest or confessor; it lies in the hand of every parish priest to make the people believe any thing, and be of any religion, and trust to any article, as they shall choose, and find to their purpose. The council of Trent requires traditions to be added, and received equal with Scriptures; they both, not singly, but in conjunction, making up the full object of faith; and so the most learned, and indeed, generally their whole church, understands one to be incomplete without the other: and yet, Master White, who I suppose tells the same thing to his neighbours, affirms that it is not the catholic position, that all its doctrines are not contained in Scripture: which proposition being tied with the decree of the council of Trent, gives a very good account of it, and makes it excellent sense. Thus, "traditions must be received with equal authority to the Scripture," saith the council; and wonder not; for, saith Master White, "all the traditions of the church are in Scripture."—You may believe so, if you please; for the contrary is not a catholic doctrine. But if these two things do not agree better, then it will be hard to tell what regard will be had to what the council says: the people know not that, but as their priest teaches them. And though they are bound under greatest pains to believe the whole catholic religion, yet that the priests themselves do not know it, or wilfully misreport it,—and, therefore, that the people cannot tell it;—it is too evident in this instance, and in the multitude of disputes

[s] Ep. S. Cyprian. ad Pompeium.
[t] In lib. Bene à Zenone c. de quadrien. præscript.
[u] Sess. 25. c. 20.
[x] Decret. dist. 19. Sic omnes. c. Enimvero. [y] Ibid.

which are amongst themselves, about many considerable articles in their catholic religion. Pius V., speaking of Thomas Aquinas, calls his doctrine "the most certain rule of christian religion."[z] And divers particulars of the religion of the Romanists are proved out of the revelations of St. Bridget, which are contradicted by those of St. Catharine of Sienna. Now, they not relying on the way of God, fall into the hands of men, who teach them according to the interest of their order, or private fancy, and expound their rules by measures of their own; but yet, such which they make to be the measures of salvation and damnation. They are taught to rely for their faith upon the church; and this, when it comes to practice, is nothing but their private priest; and he does not always tell them the sense of their church, and is not infallible in declaring the sense of it, and is not always (as appears in the instance now set down) faithful in relating of it, but first cozens himself by his subtilty, and then others by his confidence; and, therefore, it is impossible there can be any certainty to them that proceed this way, when God hath so plainly given them a better, and requires of them nothing but to live a holy life, as a superstructure of christian faith, described by the apostles in plain places of Scripture, and in the apostolical creed; in which they can suffer no illusion, and where there is no uncertainty in the matters to be believed.

4. The next thing I observe is, that they all, talking of the church, as of a charm and sacred amulet, yet cannot, by all their arts, make us certain where, or how, infallibly to find this church. I have, already, in this section, proved this in the main inquiry, by showing that the church is that body which they do not rely upon: but now I shall show that the church which they would point out, can never be certainly known to be the true church, by those indications and signs which they offer to the world as her characteristic notes. St. Austin,[a] in his excellent book, "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," affirms, that the church is no where to be found, but in "Præscripto legis, in prophetarum prædictis, in psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius pastoris vocibus, in evangelistarum prædicationibus et laboribus; hoc est in omnibus sanctorum canonicis auctoritatibus;" in the Scriptures only. And he gives but one great note of it, and that is, "adhering to the head Jesus Christ; for the church is Christ's body, who by charity are united to one another, and to Christ their head; and he that is not a member of Christ cannot obtain salvation."—And he adds no other mark; but that Christ's church is not this, or that, viz., not of one denomination; but *καθ' ὅλον* dispersed over the face of the earth. The church of Rome makes adhesion to the head,[b] not Jesus Christ, but the bishop of Rome, to be of the essential constitution of the church. Now this being the great question between the church of Rome and the Greek church, and, indeed, of all other churches of the world; is so far from being a sign to know the church by, that it is apparent they have no ground of their faith; but the great question of christendom; and that which is condemned by all the christian world but themselves, is their foundation.

And this is so much the more considerable, because, concerning very many heads of their church, it was too apparent that they were not so much as members of Christ, but the basest of criminals, and enemies of all godliness. And concerning others that were not so notoriously wicked, they could not be certain that they were members of Christ; or that they were not of their father the devil. The spirit of truth was promised to the apostles upon condition; and Judas fell from it by transgression. But the uncertainties are yet greater.

Adhering to the pope cannot be a certain note of the church; because no man can be certain who is true pope. For the pope, if he be a simoniac, is "ipso facto" no pope: as appears in the bull of Julius II. And yet, besides that he himself was called a most notorious simoniac, Sixtus V. gave an obligation under his hand, upon condition that the Cardinal d'Este would bring over his voices to him, and make him pope, that he would never make Hierom Matthew a cardinal; which when he broke, the cardinal sent his obligation to the king of Spain, who intended to accuse him of simony; but it broke the pope's heart, and so he escaped here, and was reserved to be heard before a more unerring judicatory. And when Pius IV. used all the secret arts to dissolve the council of Trent, and yet not to be seen in it, and to that purpose despatched away the bishops from Rome, he forbid the archbishop of Turris to go, because he had been too free in declaring his opinion for the "Jus Divinum" of the residence of bishops;[c] he at the same time durst not trust the bishop of Cesena, for a more secret reason; but it was known enough to many. He was a familiar friend of the cardinal of Naples, whose father the count of Montebello had in his hand an obligation, which that pope had given to the cardinal for a sum of money, for his voice in the election of him to the papacy. And all the world have been full of noises and pasquils, sober and grave, comical and tragical accusations of the simony of the popes, for divers ages together; and since no man can certainly know that the pope is not simoniacal, no man can safely rely on him as a true pope, or the true pope for an infallible judge.

2. If the pope be a heretic, he is "ipso facto" no pope; now that this is very possible, Bellarmine supposes, because he makes that one of the necessary cases, in which a general council is to be called, as I have shown above. And this uncertainty is manifest in an instance that can never be wiped off; for when Liberius had subscribed Arianism and the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and the Roman clergy had deprived Liberius of his papacy, St. Felix was made pope; and then, either Liberius

[z] Vide Wadding of Immac. Concept. p. 282. et p. 334. et alibi.

[a] Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. 17. Ergo in Scripturis canonicis eam (ecclesiam) requiramus, cap. 3.

[b] Bellarm. de Eccles. Militant. lib. iii. cap. Sect. Nostra autem sententia.

[c] Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. vii. A. D. 1562.

was no pope, or St. Felix was not; and one was a heretic, or the other a schismatic: and then, as it was hard to tell who was their church's head, so it was impossible, that by adherence to either of them, their subjects could be proved to be catholics.

3. There have been many schisms in the church of Rome, and many antipopes, which were acknowledged for true and legitimate, by several churches and kingdoms respectively; and some that were chosen into the places of the deposed, even by councils, were, a while after, disowned, and others chosen; which was a known case, in the times of the councils of Constance and Basil. And when a council was sitting, and it became a question, who had power to choose, the council or the cardinals,—what man could cast his hopes of eternity upon the adherence to one, the certainty of whose legitimation was determined by power and interest, and could not by all the learning and wisdom of christendom?

4. There was one pope who was made head of the church before he was a priest: it was Constantine II., who certainly succeeded not in St. Peter's privileges, when he was not capable of his chair; and yet he was their head of the church for a year: but how adherence to the pope should then be a note of the church, I desire to know from some of the Roman lawyers; for the divines know it not. I will not trouble this account with any questions about the female head of their church; I need not seek for matter, I am pressed with too much; and, therefore, I shall omit very many other considerations about the nullities, and insufficiencies, and impieties, and irregularities of many popes; and consider their other notes of the church, to try if they can fix this inquiry upon any certainty.

Bellarmine reckons fifteen notes of the church. It is a mighty hue and cry after a thing that he pretends is visible to all the world. 1. The very name "catholic," is his first note: he might as well have said the word church is a note of the church; for he cannot be ignorant, but that all christians who esteem themselves members of the church, think and call themselves members of the catholic church; and the Greeks give the same title to their churches. Nay, all conventions of heretics anciently did so; and, therefore, I shall quit Bellarmine of this note, by the words of Lactantius, which himself[d] also (a little forgetting himself) quotes, "Sed tamen singuli quique hæreticorum cœtus, se potissimum christianos, et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant." 2. "Antiquity," indeed, is a note of the church, and Salmeron proves it to be so, from the example of Adam and Eve, most learnedly. But the certainty that God had a church in Paradise, is as good an argument for the church of England and Ireland, as for Rome; for we derive from them as certainly as do the Italians, and have as much of Adam's religion as they have. But a church might have been very ancient, and yet become no church; and without separating from a greater church. The church of the Jews is the great example; and the church of Rome, unless she takes better heed, may be another. St. Paul hath plainly threatened it to the church of Rome.[e] 3. "Duration" is made a note; now this respects the time past, or the time to come. If the time past, then the church of Britain was christian before Rome was; and, blessed be God, is so at this day. If duration means the time to come; for so Bellarmine says,[f] "Ecclesia dicitur catholica, non solùm quia semper fuit, sed etiam quia semper erit:" so we have a rare note for us who are alive, to discern the church of Rome to be the catholic church, and we may possibly come to know it by this sign, many ages after we are dead, because she will last always. But this sign is not yet come to pass; and when it shall come to pass, it will prove our church to be the catholic church, as well as that of Rome, and the Greek church as well as both of us; for these churches, at least some of them, have begun sooner, and for aught they or we know, they all may so continue longer. 4. "Amplitude" was no note of the church when the world was Arian, and is as little now, because that a great part of Europe is papal. 5. "Succession of bishops" is an excellent conservatory of christian doctrine, but it is as notorious in the Greek church as in the Roman; and, therefore, cannot signify which is the true church, unless they be both true; and then the church of England can claim by this tenure, as having, since her being christian, a succession of bishops never interrupted, but, as all others have been, in persecution. 6. "Consent in doctrine with the ancient church" may be a good sign or a bad, as it happens; but the church of Rome hath not, and never can prove the pure and prime antiquity to be of her side. 7. "Union of members among themselves, and with their head," is very good, if the members be united in truth, (for else it may be a conspiracy,) and if by head be meant Jesus Christ: and indeed this is the only true sign of the church: but if by head be meant the Roman pope, it may be "ecclesia malignantium," and antichrist may sit in the chair. But the uncertainty of this note, as it relates to this question, I have already manifested; and what excellent concord there is in the church of Rome, we are taught by the question of supremacy of councils or popes; and now also by the strict and loving concord between the Jansenists and Molinists; and the abettors of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mother, with their antagonists. 8. "Sanctity of doctrine" is an exeellent note of the church; but that is the question among all the pretenders, and is not any advantage to the church of Rome, unless it be a holy thing to worship images, to trample upon kings, to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven at the last minute, by the charm of external ministries; to domineer over consciences, to impose useless and intolerable burdens, to damn all the world that are not their slaves, to shut up the fountains of salvation from the people; to be easier in dispensing with the laws of God than the laws of the church; to give leave to princes to break their oaths, as Pope Clement VII.[g] did to Francis I. of France, to cozen

[d] Bellarm. lib. iv. de Notis Eccles. cap. 1. Lact. lib. iii. Divinar. Institut. cap. ult.

[e] Rom. xi. 20, 21. [f] De notis Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 6.
[g] Vid. The Legend of Flamens and Revieue.

the emperor; and as Pope Julius II.[h] did to Ferdinand of Arragon, sending him an absolution for his treachery against the king of France, not to keep faith with heretics; to find out tricks to entrap them that trusted to their letters of safe conduct; to declare that popes cannot be bound by their promises; for Pope Paul IV.[i] in a conclave, A. D. 1555, complained of them that said he could make but four cardinals, because (forsooth) he had sworn so in the conclave, saying, this was to bind the pope, whose authority is absolute; that it is an article of faith that the pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself; that to say otherwise was a manifest heresy; and against them that should obstinately persevere in saying so, he threatened the inquisition. These, indeed, are holy doctrines, taught and practised respectively by their holinesses at Rome, and, indeed, are the notes of their church; if by the doctrine of the head, to whom they are bound to adhere, we may guess at the doctrine of their body. 9. "The prevalency of their doctrine" is produced for a good note; and yet this is a greater note of Mahometanism, than of christianity, and was once of Arianism: and yet the argument is not now so good at Rome, as it was before Luther's time. 10. That "the chiefs of the pope's religion lived more holy lives than others," gives some light that their church is the true one. But I had thought that their popes had been the chiefs of their religion, till now,—and if so, then this was a good note, while they did live well; but that was before popery. Since that time, we will guess at their church by the holiness of the lives of those that rule and teach all; and then if we have none to follow amongst us, yet we know whom we are to fly amongst them. 11. "Miracles" were, in the beginning of christianity, a note of true believers; Christ told us so.[k] And he also taught us that antichrist should be revealed in lying signs and wonders; and commanded us, by that token, to take heed of them. And the church of Rome would take it ill, if we should call them, as St. Austin did the Donatists, "mirabiliarios," "miracle-mongers;" concerning which, he that pleases to read that excellent tract of St. Austin, "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," cap. 14. will be sufficiently satisfied in this particular, and in the main ground and foundation of the protestant religion. In the mean time it may suffice, that Bellarmine says,[l] "miracles are a sign of the true church;" and Salmeron says, that "they are no certain signs of the true church, but may be done by the false." 12. "The spirit of prophecy" is also a pretty sure note of the true church, and yet, in the dispute between Israel and Judah, Samaria and Jerusalem, it was of no force, but was really in both. And at the day of judgment Christ shall reject some, who will allege that they prophesied in his name. I deny not but there have been some prophets in the church of Rome: Johannes de Rupe Scissâ, Anselmus, Marsicanus, Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, St. Hildegardis, abbot Joachim, whose prophecies and pictures prophetical were published by Theophrastus Paracelsus, and John Adrasder, and by Paschalinus Regiselmus at Venice, 1589; but, (as Ahab said, concerning Micaiah,) these do not prophesy good concerning Rome, but evil: and that Rome should be reformed "in ore gladii cruentandi" was one of the prophecies; and, "universa sanctorum ecclesia abscondetur," "that the whole church of the saints shall be hidden," viz. in the days of antichrist; and that in the days of darkness, the elect of God shall have that faith, or wisdom to themselves, which they have, and shall not dare to preach it publicly, was another prophecy, and carries its meaning upon the forehead, and many more I could tell; but whether such prophecies as these be good signs that the church of Rome is the true church, I desire to be informed by the Roman doctors, before I trouble myself any further to consider the particulars. 13. Towards the latter end of this catalogue of wonderful signs, the "confession of adversaries" is brought in for a note; and no question they intended it so! But did ever any protestant, remaining so, confess the church of Rome to be the true catholic church? Let the man be named, and a sufficient testimony brought, that he was "mentis compos," and I will grant to the church of Rome this to be the best note they have. 14. But since "the enemies of the church have all had tragical ends," it is no question but this signifies the church of Rome to be the only church. Indeed, if all the protestants had died unnatural deaths; and all the papists, nay, if all the popes had died quietly in their beds, we had reason to deplore our sad calamity, and inquired after the cause; but we could never have told by this: for, by all that is before him, a man cannot tell whether he deserves love or hatred. And all the world finds, that, as dies the papist, so dies the protestant; and the like event happens to them all: excepting only some popes have been remarked by their own histories, for funest and direful deaths. 15. And lately, "temporal prosperity" is brought for a note of the true church; and for this there is great reason: because the cross is the highway to heaven, and Christ promised to his disciples, for their lot in this world, great and lasting persecutions, and the church felt his blessing for three hundred years together. But this had been a better argument in the mouth of a Turkish mufti than a Roman cardinal.

And now, if by all these things we cannot certainly know that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, how shall the poor Roman catholic be at rest in his inquiry? Here is in all this, nothing but uncertainty of truth, or certainty of error.

And what is needful to be added more? I might tire myself and my reader, if I should enumerate all that were very considerable in this inquiry. I shall not, therefore, insist upon their uncertainties in their great and considerable questions about the number of the sacraments: which to be seven is with them an article of faith; and yet since there is not amongst them any authentic definition of a sacrament; and

[h] De Concilo de Trente, lib. iv. c. 7. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. v.

[k] Mark xvi. 17.

[l] Tom. xiii. p. 193.

it is not, nor cannot be a matter of faith, to tell what is the form of a sacrament; therefore, it is impossible it should be a matter of faith, to tell how many they are: for in this case they cannot tell the number, unless they know for what reason they are to be accounted so. The fathers and schoolmen differ greatly in the definition of a sacrament; and consequently in the numbering of them. St. Cyprian and St. Bernard reckon "washing the disciples' feet" to be a sacrament; and St. Austin called "omnem ritum cultus Divini," a sacrament; and otherwhile he says there are but two: and the schoolmen dispute whether or no a sacrament can be defined. And by the council of Trent, clandestine marriages are said to be a sacrament; and yet that the church always detested them: which indeed might very well be, for the blessed eucharist is a sacrament, but yet private masses and communions the ancient church always did detest, except in the cases of necessity. But then, when at Trent they declared them to be nullities, it would be very hard to prove them to be sacraments. All the whole affair in their sacrament of order, is a body of contingent propositions. They cannot agree where the apostles received their several orders, by what form of words: and whether at one time, or by parts: and in the institution of the Lord's supper, the same words by which some of them say they were made priests, they generally expound them to signify a duty of the laity, as well as the clergy; "Hoc facite," which signifies one thing to the priest, and another to the people, and yet there is no mark of difference. They cannot agree where, or by whom, extreme unction was instituted. They cannot tell whether any wafer be actually transubstantiated, because they never can know by Divine faith whether the supposed priest be a real priest, or had right intention; and yet they certainly do worship it in the midst of all uncertainties. But I will add nothing more, but this; what wonder is it, if all things in the church of Rome be uncertain, when they cannot, dare not, trust their reason or their senses in the wonderful invention of transubstantiation? and when many of their wisest doctors profess that their pretended infallibility does finally rely upon prudential motives?

I conclude this, therefore, with the words of St. Austin:[m] "Remotis ergo omnibus talibus," &c. "All things, therefore, being removed, let them demonstrate their church if they can, not in the sermons and rumours of the Africans, (Romans,) not in the councils of their bishops, not in the letters of any disputers, not in signs and deceitful miracles; because against these things we are warned and prepared by the word of the Lord: but in the prescript of the law, of the prophets, of the psalms, of the evangelists, and all the canonical authorities of the holy books." And that is my next undertaking; to show the firmness of the foundation, and the great principle of the religion of the church of England and Ireland; even the Holy Scriptures.

[m] De Unit. Eccles. c. 16.

SECTION II.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to Salvation, which is the great Foundation and Ground of the Protestant Religion.

This question is between the church of Rome and the church of England; and, therefore, it supposes that it is amongst them who believe the Scriptures to be the word of God. The Old and New Testament are agreed upon to be the word of God; and that they are so, is delivered to us by the current descending testimony of all ages of christianity: and they who thus are first led into this belief, find, upon trial, great after-proofs by arguments both external and internal, and such as cause a perfect adhesion to this truth; that they are God's word: an adhesion (I say) so perfect, as excludes all manner of practical doubting. Now then amongst us so persuaded, the question is, whether or no the Scriptures be a sufficient rule of our faith, and contain in them all things necessary to salvation? Or, is there any other word of God besides the Scriptures, which delivers any points of faith or doctrines of life necessary to salvation? This was the state of the question till yesterday. And although the church of Rome affirmed tradition to be a part of the object of faith, and that without the addition of doctrine, and practices delivered by tradition, the Scriptures were not a perfect rule; but together with tradition they are: yet now two or three gentlemen have got upon the coach-wheel, and have raised a cloud of dust, enough to put out the eyes even of their own party, making them not to see, what till now all their seers told them; and tradition is not only a suppletory to the deficiencies of Scripture, but it is now the only record of faith.[n] But because this is too bold and impossible an attempt, and hath lately been sufficiently reproved by some learned persons of our church; I shall, therefore, not trouble myself with such a frontless error and illusion; but speak that truth which by justifying the Scripture's fulness and perfection will overthrow the doctrine of the Roman church denying it, and, "ex abundanti," cast down this new mud wall, thrown into a dirty heap by M. W. and his underdauber M. S., who with great pleasure behold and wonder at their own work, and call it a marble building.

I. That the Scripture is a full and sufficient rule to christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God, is therefore certain, because we have no other. For if we consider the grounds upon which all christians believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, the same grounds prove that nothing else is. These indeed have a testimony that is credible as any thing that makes faith to men, the universal testimony of all christians; in respect of which St. Austin said, "Evangelio non crederem," &c. "I should not believe the gospel, if the authority of the church" (that is, of the universal church) "did not move me." The apostles

[n] Vid. Hist. Concil. Trident. sub Paul. 3. A. D. 1546.

at first owned these writings; the churches received them; they transmitted them to their posterity; they grounded their faith upon them; they proved their propositions by them; by them they confuted heretics; and they made them the measures of right and wrong: all that collective body of doctrines, of which all christians consentingly made public confessions, and on which all their hopes of salvation did rely, were all contained in them; and they agreed in no point of faith, which is not plainly set down in Scripture. And all this is so certain, that we all profess ourselves ready to believe any other article, which can pretend and prove itself thus proved, thus descended. For we know, a doctrine is neither more nor less the word of God for being written or unwritten; that is but accidental and extrinsical to it; for it was first unwritten, and then the same thing was written; only when it was written it was better conserved, and surer transmitted, and not easily altered, and more fitted to be a rule. And indeed only can be so: not but that every word of God is as much a rule as any word of God; but we are sure that what is so written, and so transmitted, is God's word; whereas concerning other things which were not written, we have no certain records, no evident proof, no sufficient conviction; and, therefore, it is not capable of being owned as the rule of faith or life, because we do not know it to be the word of God. If any doctrine which is offered to us by the church of Rome, and which is not in Scripture, be proved as Scripture is, we receive it equally: but if it be not, it is to be received according to the degree of its probation; and if it once comes to be disputed by wise and good men, if it came in after the apostles, if it rely but upon a few testimonies, or is to be laboriously argued into a precarious persuasion, it cannot be the true ground of faith; and salvation can never rely upon it. The truth of the assumption in this argument will rely upon an induction, of which all churches have a sufficient experience, —there being in no church any one instance of doctrine of faith or life, that can pretend to a clear, universal tradition and testimony of the first and of all ages and churches, but only the doctrine contained in the undoubted books of the Old and New Testament. And in the matter of good life, the case is evident and certain; which makes the other also to be like it; for there is no original or primary commandment concerning good life, but it is plainly and notoriously found in Scripture: now faith being the foundation of good life, upon which it is most rationally and permanently built; it is strange that Scripture should be sufficient to teach us all the whole superstructure, and yet be defective in the foundation.

Neither do we doubt but that there were many things spoken by Christ and his apostles, which were never written; and yet those few only that were written, are, by the Divine providence, and the care of the catholic church of the first and all descending ages, preserved to us, and made our gospel. So that as we do not dispute, whether the words which Christ spake, and the miracles he did, and are not written, be as holy and as true as those which are written; but only say, they are not our rule and measures, because they are unknown: so there is no dispute, whether they be to be preferred or relied upon, as the written or unwritten word of God; for both are to be relied upon, and both equally; always provided that they be equally known to be so. But that which we say is, that there are many which are called traditions, which are not the unwritten word of God; at least not known so to be: and the doctrines of men are pretended and obtruded as the commandments of God; and the testimonies of a few men are made to support a weight as great as that which relies upon universal testimony; and particular traditions are equalled to universal, the uncertain to the certain; and traditions are said to be apostolical if they be but ancient; and if they come from we know not whom, they are said to come from the apostles; and if postnate, they are called primitive; and they are argued and laboriously disputed into the title of apostolical traditions, by not only fallible but fallacious arguments, as will appear in the following numbers. This is the state of the question; and, therefore, 1. It proves itself, because there can be no proof to the contrary; since the older the tradition is, the more likely it can be proved, as being nearer the fountain, and not having had a long current, which, as a long line is always the weakest, so in long descent is most likely to be corrupted, and, therefore, a late tradition is one of the worst arguments in the world; it follows that nothing can now, because nothing of faith yet hath been sufficiently proved.

2. But besides this consideration, the Scripture itself is the best testimony of its own fulness and sufficiency. I have already, in the introduction against J. S., proved from Scripture, that all necessary things of salvation are there abundantly contained; that is, I have proved that Scripture says so. Neither ought it to be replied here, that no man's testimony concerning himself is to be accepted. For here we suppose that we are agreed, that the Scripture says true, that it is the word of God, and cannot be deceived; and if this be allowed, the Scripture then can give testimony concerning itself: and so can any man, if you allow him to be infallible, and all that he says to be true; which is the case of Scripture in the present controversy. And if you will not allow Scripture to give testimony to itself, who shall give testimony to it? Shall the church, or the pope, suppose which we will? But who shall give testimony to them? Shall they give credit to Scripture, before it be known how they come themselves to be credible? If they be not credible of themselves, we are not the nearer for their giving their testimony to the Scriptures. But if it be said, that the church is of itself credible upon its own authority, this must be proved before it can be admitted, and then how shall this be proved? And, at least, the Scripture will be pretended to be of itself credible as the church. And since it is evident that all the dignity, power, authority, office, and sanctity, it hath, or pretends to

have, can no other way be proved but by the Scriptures, a conformity to them in all doctrines, laws, and manners, being the only charter by which she claims; it must needs be, that Scripture hath the prior right, and can better be primely credible than the church, or any thing else that claims from Scripture. Nay, therefore, "quoad nos," it is to be allowed to be primely credible, because there is no creature besides it that is so. Indeed God was pleased to find out ways to prove the Scriptures to be his word, his immediate word, by miraculous consignations, and sufficient testimony, and confession of enemies, and of all men that were fit to bear witness, that these books were written by such men, who, by miracle, were proved to be "Divini homines," men endued with God's Spirit, and trusted with his message; and when it was thus far proved by God, it became the immediate and sole ministry of entire salvation, and the whole repository of the Divine will: and when things were come thus far, if it be inquired whether the Scriptures were a sufficient institution to salvation, we need no other, we can have no better testimony than itself, concerning itself. And to this purpose I have already brought from it sufficient affirmation of the point in question, in the preceding answer to J. S.'s First Way, in his fourth appendix.

3. It is possible, that the Scriptures should contain in them all things necessary to salvation. God could cause such a book to be written. And he did so to the Jews; he caused his whole law to be written, he engraved in stones, he commanded the authentic copy to be kept in the ark, and this was the great security of the conveying it; and tradition was not relied upon; it was not trusted with any law of faith or manners. Now, since this was once done, and, therefore, is always possible to be done, why it should not be done now, there is no pretence of reason, but very much for it. For, 1. Why should the book of St. Matthew be called the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and this is also the very title of St. Mark's book: and St. Luke affirms the design of his book is "to declare the certainty of the things then believed," and in which his friend was instructed, which we cannot but suppose to be the whole doctrine of salvation? 2. What end could there be in writing these books, but to preserve the memory of Christ's history and doctrine? 3. Especially if we consider that many things which were not absolutely necessary to salvation, were set down; and, therefore, to omit any thing that is necessary, must needs be an unreasonable and unprofitable way of writing. 4. There yet never was any catholic father that did affirm in terms, or in full and equivalent sense, that the Scriptures are defective in the recording any thing necessary to salvation; but unanimously they taught the contrary, as I shall show by and by. 5. The enemies of christian religion opposed themselves against the doctrine contained in the Scriptures, and supposed, by that means, to conclude against christianity, and they knew no other repository of it, and estimated no other. 6. The persecutors of christianity, intending to destroy christianity, hoped to prevail by causing the Bibles to be burnt; which had been a foolish and unlikely design, if that had not been the ark that kept the records of the whole christian law. 7. That the revealed will of God, the law of Christ, was not written in his life-time, but preached only by word of mouth, is plain and reasonable; because all was not finished; and the salvation of man was not perfected till the resurrection, ascension, and descent of the Holy Ghost; nor was it done presently. But then it is to be observed, that there was a Spirit of infallible record put into the apostles, sufficient for its publication and continuance. But before the death of the apostles, that is, before this Spirit of infallibility was to depart, all was written that was intended; because nothing else could infallibly convey the doctrine. Now, this being the case of every doctrine as much as of any, and the case of the whole rather than of any part of it; it must follow, that it was highly agreeable to the Divine wisdom, and the very end of this economy, that all should be written; and for no other reason could the evangelists and apostles write so many books.

4. But of the sufficiency of Scripture we may be convinced by the very nature of the thing. For the sermons of salvation being preached to all, to the learned and unlearned, it must be a common concern, and, therefore, fitted to all capacities, and, consequently, made easy for easy learners. Now, this design is plainly signified to us in Scripture by the abbreviatures, the symbols and catalogues of "credenda;" which are short, and plain, and easy; and to which salvation is promised. Now if "he that believes Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, hath eternal life;"[o] that is, so far as the value and acceptability of believing does extend, this faith shall prevail unto salvation; it follows, that this being the affirmation of Scripture, and declared to be a competent foundation of faith; the Scripture that contains much more, even the whole economy of salvation by Jesus Christ, cannot want any necessary thing, when the absolute necessities are so narrow. Christ, the Son of God, is the great adequate object of saving faith; "to know God, and whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ, this is eternal life."[p] Now this is the great design of the gospel, and is revealed largely in the Scriptures; so that there is no adequate object of faith, but what is there. 2. As to the attributes of God, and of Christ, that is, all that is known of them, and to be known, is set down in Scripture; that "God is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him;" that he is the Fountain of wisdom, justice, holiness, power; that his providence is over all, and mercy unto all: and concerning Christ; all the attributes and qualifications, by which he is capable and fitted to do the work of redemption for us, and to become our Lord, and the great King of heaven and earth, able to destroy all his enemies eternally, and to reward his servants with a glorious and indefectible kingdom: all this is declared in Scripture. So that concerning the full object of faith manifested in the whole

[o] 1 John v. 10. John xvii. 3.

[p] John xvii. 3.

design of the gospel, the Scriptures are full, and whatever is to be believed of the attributes belonging to this prime and full object, all that also is, in Scripture, fully declared. And all the acts of faith, the antecedents, the formal, and the consequent acts of faith, are there expressly commanded; viz. to know God, to believe in his name and word, to believe in his Son; and to obey his Son, by the consequent acts of faith; all this is set down in Scripture: in which not only we are commanded to keep the commandments, but we are told which they are. There we are taught to honour and fear, to love and obey God and his holy Son; to fear and reverence him, to adore and invocate him, to crave his aid, and to give him thanks; not to trust in, or call upon, any thing that hath no Divine empire over us, or Divine excellence in itself. It is so particular in recounting all the parts of duty, that it descends specially to enumerate the duties of kings and subjects, bishops and people, parents and children, masters and servants; to show love and faithfulness to our equals; to our inferiors counsel and help, favour and good will, bounty and kindness, a good word and a good deed: the Scripture hath given us commandments concerning our very thoughts; to be thankful and hospitable, to be humble and complying; whatever good thing was taught by any or all the philosophers in the world, all that, and much more, is in the Scriptures, and that in a much better manner: and that it might appear that nothing could be wanting, the very degrees and the order of virtues is there provided for. And if all this be not the high-way to salvation, and sufficient to all intents of God and the souls of men, let any man come forth and say, as Christ said to the young man, "Restat adhuc unum," "there is one thing wanting yet,"—and let him show it. But let us consider a little further.

5. What is, or what can be wanting to the fulness of Scripture? Is not all that we know of the life and death of Jesus set down in the writings of the New Testament? Is there any one miracle that ever Christ did, the notice of which is conveyed to us by tradition? Do we know any thing that Christ did or said but what is in Scripture? Some things were reported to have been said by Christ secretly to the apostles, and by the apostles secretly to some favourite disciples: but some of these things are not believed; and none of the other is known: so that either we must conclude that the Scripture contains fully all things of faith and obedience, or else we have no gospel at all; for, except what is in Scripture, we have not a sufficient record of almost one saying, or one miracle. St. Paul quotes one saying of Christ, which is not in any of the four Gospels, but it is in the Scriptures, "It is better to give than to receive;" and St. Jerome records another, "Be never very glad, but when you see your brother live in charity."—If St. Paul had not written the first, and transmitted it in Scripture, we had not known it any more than those many other which are lost for not being written: and for the quotation of St. Jerome, it is true, it is a good saying; but whether they were Christ's words or no, we have but a single testimony. Now, then, how is it possible that the Scriptures should not contain all things necessary to salvation; when of all the words of Christ,—in which certainly all necessary things to salvation must needs be contained, or else they were never revealed,—there is not any one saying, or miracle, or story of Christ, in any thing that is material, preserved in any indubitable record, but in Scripture alone?

6. That the Scriptures do not contain in them all things necessary to salvation, is the fountain of many great and capital errors; I instance in the whole doctrine of the libertines, familists, quakers, and other enthusiasts, which issue from this corrupted fountain. For this, that the Scriptures do need a suppletory, that they are not perfect and sufficient to salvation of themselves, is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the great fundamental both of the Roman religion, and that of the libertines and quakers, and those whom in Germany they call "spirituales;" such as David George, Harry Nicholas, Swenckfeld, Sebastian Franck, and others. These are the men that call the Scriptures, "The letter of the Scripture, the dead letter, insufficient, inefficacious. This is but the sheath and the scabbard, the bark and the shadow, a carcass void of the internal light, not apt to imprint a perfect knowledge in us of what is necessary to salvation." But the Roman doctors say the same things. We know who they are that call the Scriptures[q] the "outward letter, ink thus figured in a book, unsensed characters, waxen-natured words not yet sensed, apt to blunder and confound, but to clear little or nothing:" these are as bad words as the other, and some of them the same; and all draw a long tail of evil consequents behind them. 1. From this principle, as it is promoted by the fanatics, they derive a wandering, unsettled, and a dissolute religion. For they, supplying the insufficiency of Scripture by an inward word, which being only within it is subject to no discipline, reducible into no order, not "submitted to the spirits of the prophets," and hath no rule by which it can be directed, examined, or judged: hence comes the infinite variety and contradictions of religion, commenced by men of this persuasion. A religion that wanders from day to day, from fancy to fancy, and alterable by every new illusion. A religion in which some man shall be esteemed an infallible judge to-day, and next week another: but it may happen, that any man may have his turn, and any mischief may be believed and acted, if the devil get into the chair. 2. From this very same principle, as it is promoted by the papists, they derive a religion imperious, interested, and tyrannical. For as the fanatics supply the insufficiency of Scripture by the word internal, so do the Roman doctors by the authority of the church: but when it comes to practice, as the fanatics give the supreme power of teaching and defining to the "chief elder in the love;" so do the papists, especially the Jesuits, give it to the pope: and the difference is not, that the fanatics give the supreme judgment to some one, and the papists give it to the whole church; for these also

[q] J. S. in Sure Footing, and Append. iv.

give it but to one man, to the pope, whose judgment, voice, and definition, must make up the deficiencies of Scripture. But because the fanatics, as it happens, change their judge every month, therefore they have an ambulatory religion; but that of the Roman way establishes tyranny; because their judge being one, not in person but in succession, and having always the same interest, and having already resolved upon their way, and can, when they list, go further upon the stock of the same principles, and being established by human power will unalterably persist in their right and their wrong, and will never confess an error, and are impatient of contradiction; and, therefore, they impose irremediably, and what they please, upon consciences, of which they have made themselves judges. Now, for these things there is no remedy but from Scripture, which, if it be allowed full, perfect, and sufficient unto all the things of God, then whatsoever either of these parties say, must be tried by Scripture; it must be showed to be there, or be rejected. But to avoid the trial there, they tell you the Scripture is but a dead letter, unsensed characters, words without sense, or unsensed; and, therefore, this must be supplied by the inward word, says one; by the pope's word in cathedrâ, says the other; and then both the inward word and the pope's word shall rule and determine every thing; and the Scriptures will signify nothing: but as under pretence of the word internal, every new thing shall pass for the word of God, so it shall do also under the Roman pretence. For not he that makes a law, but he that expounds the law, gives the final measures of good or evil. It follows from hence, that nothing but the Scripture's sufficiency can be a sufficient limit to the inundation of evils, which may enter from these parties relying upon the same false principle. My last argument is from tradition itself: for,

7. If we inquire upon what grounds the primitive church did rely for their whole religion, we shall find they knew none else but the Scriptures, "Ubi Scriptum?" was their first inquiry? "Do the prophets and the apostles, the evangelists, or the epistles say so? Read it there, and then teach it; else reject it:" they call upon their charges in the words of Christ, "Search the Scriptures;" they affirm that the Scriptures are full, that they are a perfect rule, that they contain all things necessary to salvation: and from hence they confuted all heresies.

This I shall clearly prove by abundant testimonies: of which though many of them have been already observed by very many learned persons; yet because I have added others not so noted, and have collected with diligence and care, and have rescued them from elusory answers; I have therefore chosen to represent them together; hoping they may be of more usefulness than trouble, because I have here made a trial, whether the church of Rome be in good earnest, or no, when she pretends to follow tradition; or how it is that she expects a tradition shall be proved. For this doctrine of the Scripture's sufficiency I shall now prove by a full tradition; therefore, if she believes tradition let her acknowledge this tradition which is so fully proved; and if this do not amount to a full proba tion, then it is but reasonable to expect from them that they never obtrude upon us any thing for tra dition, or any tradition for necessary to be believed till they have proved it such by proofs more, and more clear, than this essay concerning the sufficiency and perfection of the Divine Scriptures.

I begin with St. Irenæus.[r] "We know that the Scriptures are perfect, for they are spoken by the word of God, and by his Spirit. Therefore[s] read diligently the gospels, given unto us by the apostles and read diligently the prophets; and you shall find every action, and the whole doctrine, and the whole passion of our Lord preached in them. And indeed we have received the economy of our salvation by no other but by those, by whom the gospel came to us; which truly they then preached, but afterwards by the will of God, delivered to us in the Scriptures which was to be the pillar and ground to our faith.' These are the words of this saint, who was one of the most ancient fathers of the church, a Greek by birth, by his dignity and employment a bishop in France, and so most likely to know the sense and rule of the eastern and western churches.

Next to St. Irenæus, we have the doctrine of St Clemens of Alexandria[t] in these words: "He hath lost the being a man of God, and of being faithful to the Lord, who hath kicked against tradition ec clesiastical, and hath turned to the opinions of hu man heresies." What is this tradition ecclesiastical and where is it to be found? That follows, "But he, who returning out of error, obeys the Scriptures and hath permitted his life to truth, he is, of a man in a manner made a god. For the Lord is the principal of our doctrine, who by the prophets, and the gospel, and the blessed apostles, at sundry times and in divers manners, leads us from the beginning to the end. He that is faithful of himself is worthy of faith in the voice and Scripture of the Lord which is usually exercised through the Lord to the benefit of men, for this Scripture we use for the finding out of things, this we use as the rule of judging —But if it be not enough to speak our opinions absolutely, but that we must prove what we say, we expect no testimony that is given by men, but by the voice of the Lord we prove the question; and this is more worthy of belief than any demonstration; or rather it is the only demonstration, by which knowledge they who have tasted of the Scriptures alone are faithful." Afterwards he tells how the Scriptures are a perfect demonstration of the faith: "perfectly demonstrating out of the Scriptures themselves, concerning themselves, we speak or persuade demonstratively of the faith. Although even they that go after heresies, do dare to use the

[r] Rectissimè quidem scientes quia Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe à verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ, lib. ii. c. 47.

[s] Lib. iv. c. 66. Legite diligentiùs id quod ab apostolis est evangelium nobis datum, et legite diligentiùs prophetas, et invenietis universam actionem, et omnem doctrinam Domini nostri prædicatam in ipsis.

[t] Strom. lib. vii. p. 757. edit. Paris. 1629.

Scriptures of the prophets. But first they use not all, neither them that are perfect, nor as the whole body and contexture of the prophecy does dictate: but choosing out those things which are spoken ambiguously, they draw them to their own opinion." —Then he tells how we shall best use and understand the Scriptures: "Let every one consider what is agreeable to the Almighty Lord God, and what becomes him, and in that let him confirm every thing from those things which are demonstrated from the Scriptures, out of those and the like Scriptures."—And he adds, that "it is the guise of heretics, when they are overcome by showing that they oppose Scriptures,—yet still they choose to follow that which to them seems evident, rather than that which is spoken of the Lord by the prophets, and by the gospel, and what is proved and confirmed by the testimony of the apostles:"—and at last concludes,[u] "they become impious, because they believe not the Scriptures;"—and a little before this, he asks the heretics, "Will they deny, or will they grant there is any demonstration? I suppose they will all grant there is; except those who also deny that there are senses. But if there be any demonstration, it is necessary to descend to questions, and from the Scriptures[x] themselves to learn demonstratively, how the heresies are fallen; and on the contrary, how the most perfect knowledge is in the truth and the ancient church."—But again, "they that are ready to spend their time in the best things, will not give over seeking for truth, until they have found the demonstration from the Scriptures[y] themselves."—And after this, adds his advice to christians, "to wax old in the Scriptures, and thence to seek for demonstrations."—These things he spoke, not only by way of caution to the christians, but also of opposition to the Gnostics, who were very busy in pretending ancient traditions. This is the discourse of that great christian philosopher St. Clement; from which, besides the direct testimony given to the fulness and sufficiency of Scripture in all matters of faith, or questions in religion; we find him affirming that the Scriptures are a certain, and the only demonstration of these things; they are the κριτήριον, "the rule" of judging the controversies of faith; that the tradition ecclesiastical, that is, the whole doctrine taught by the church of God, and preached to all men, is in the Scripture; and therefore that it is the plenary and perfect repository of tradition, that is, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and his apostles: and they who believe not these, are impious. And lest any man should say, that, "suppose Scripture do contain all things necessary to salvation, yet it is necessary that tradition, or some infallible church, do expound them, and then it is as long as it is broad, and comes to the same issue;" St. Clement tells us how the Scriptures are to be expounded; saying, that "they who rely upon them, must expound Scriptures by Scriptures, and by the analogy of faith, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual,' one place with another, a part with the whole, and all by the proportion to the Divine attributes." This was the way of the church in St. Clement's time; and this is the way of our churches. But let us see how this affair went in other churches and times, and whether there be a succession and an universality of this doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture in all the affairs of God.

The next is Tertullian,[z] who writing against Hermogenes, that affirmed God made the world not out of nothing, but of I know not what pre-existent matter; appeals to Scripture in the question, whose fulness Tertullian adores; "Let the shop of Hermogenes show that this thing is written. If it be not written, let him fear the woe pronounced against them that add to or take from Scripture." Against this testimony it is objected, that "here Tertullian speaks but of one question:" so Bellarmine[a] answers: and from him E. W. and A. L. To which the reply is easy: for when Tertullian challenges Hermogenes to show his proposition in Scripture, he must mean that the fulness of the Scripture was sufficient not only for this, but for all questions of religion;—or else it had been an ill way of arguing, to bring a negative argument from Scripture, against this alone. For why was Hermogenes tied to prove this proposition from Scripture more than any other? Either Scripture was the rule for all, or not for that. For suppose the heretic had said, "It is true, it is not in Scripture; but I have it from tradition, or it was taught by my forefathers:" there had been nothing to have replied to this; but that, it may be, he had no tradition for it. Now if Hermogenes had no tradition, then indeed he was tied to show it in Scripture; but then Tertullian should have said, let Hermogenes show where it was written, or that it is a tradition: for if the pretending and proving tradition (in case there were any such pretence in this question) had been a sufficient answer, then Tertullian had no sufficient argument against Hermogenes by calling for authority from Scripture; but he should have said, if it be not "scriptum" or "traditum," "written" or "delivered," let Hermogenes fear the woe to the adders or detractors. But if we will suppose Tertullian spoke wisely and sufficiently, he must mean that the Scripture must be the rule in all questions, and no doctrine is to be taught that is not taught there. But to put this thing past dispute, Tertullian himself extends this rule to a universal comprehension; and by this instrument declares that heretics are to be confuted, "Take from the heretics that which they have in common with the heathens; viz. their Ethnic learning, and let them dispute their questions by Scripture alone, and they can never stand." By which it is plain, that the Scripture is sufficient for all faith, because it is sufficient to convince all heresies and deviations from the faith; for which very reason the heretics also, as he[b] observes, attempted to prove their propositions by arguments from Scripture; for indeed there was no other way; because the

[u] Ἀσεβεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς γραφαῖς. Page 755.
[x] Καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς.
[y] Πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι τῶν γραφῶν.

[z] Contr. Herm. c. 22.
[a] De verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Profert undecimò.
[b] De Præscript.

articles of faith are to be proved by the writings of faith, that is, the Scripture; that was the rule: how contrary this is to the practice and doctrine of Rome at this day, we easily find by their doctors charging all heresies upon the Scriptures, as occasioned by them; and forbidding the people to read them for fear of corrupting their weak heads; nay, it hath been prohibited to certain bishops to read the Scriptures lest they become heretics. And this folly hath proceeded so far, that Erasmus[c] tells us of a Dominican, who being urged in a scholastical disputation with an argument from Scripture, cried out, it was a Lutheran way of disputation, and protested against the answering it: which, besides that it is more than a vehement suspicion that these men find the Scriptures not to look like a friend to their propositions; it is also a manifest procedure contrary to the wisdom, religion, and economy of the primitive church.

The next I note is Origen:[d] who when he propounded a question concerning the angels guardians of little children, viz. "When the angels were appointed to them? at their birth, or at their baptism?" He adds, "You see, he that will discuss both of them warily, it is his part to produce Scripture for testimony, agreeing to one of them both." That was the way of the doctors then. And Scripture is so full and perfect to all intents and purposes, that for the confirmation of our discourses, Scripture is to be brought, saith Origen. "We[e] know Jesus is God, and we seek to expound the words which are spoken, according to the dignity of the person. Wherefore it is necessary for us to call the Scriptures into testimony; for our meanings and enarrations, without these witnesses, have no belief." To these words Bellarmine answers most childishly: saying, that "Origen speaks of the hardest questions, such as for the most part traditions are not about." But it is evident that therefore Origen requires testimony of Scriptures, not because of the difficulty of things to be inquired; but because without such testimony they are not to be believed. For so are his very words; and therefore whether they be easy or hard, if they be not in Scripture, the questions will be indeterminable. That is the sense of Origen's argument. But more plainly yet;[f] "After these things, as his custom is, he will affirm (or prove) from the Holy Scriptures what he had said; and also gives an example to the doctors of the church, that those things which they speak to the people, they should prove them, not as produced by their own sentences, but defended by Divine testimonies; for if he, so great, and such an apostle, believes not that the authority of his saying can be sufficient, unless he teaches that those things which he says are written in the law and the prophets;—how much rather ought we who are the least, observe this thing, that we do not, when we teach, produce our own, but the sentences of the Holy Ghost?" Add to this what he says in another place;[g] "As our Saviour imposed silence upon the Sadducees by the word of his doctrine, and faithfully convinced that false opinion which they thought to be truth; so also shall the followers of Christ do, by the examples of Scripture, by which according to sound doctrine, every voice of Pharaoh ought to be silent."

The next in order is St. Cyprian;[h] who, indeed, speaks for tradition: not meaning the "modus tradendi," but the "doctrina tradita;" for it is such a tradition as is in Scripture; the doctrine delivered first by word of mouth, and then consigned in Scripture: "Let nothing be innovated but that is delivered: Whence is that tradition? whether descending from the Lord's, and from the evangelical authority, or coming from the commandments and epistles of the apostles? For that those things are to be done which are written, God witnesses, and propounds to Jesus Nave, saying, The book of this law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all things which are written. Our Lord also sending his apostles, commands the nations to be baptized and taught, that they may observe all things whatsoever he hath commanded. If therefore it be either commanded in the gospel, or in the epistles of the apostles, that they that come from any heresy, should not be baptized, but that hands should be imposed upon them unto repentance, then let even this holy tradition be observed." This doctrine and council of St. Cyprian, Bellarmine[i] says, was one of the errors of St. Cyprian: but St. Austin commends it as the best way. And this procedure is also the same that the church in the descending ages always followed: of which there can in the world be no plainer testimony given, than in the words of St. Cyril of Jerusalem; and it was in the high questions of the holy and mysterious Trinity; concerning which, he advises them[k] to "retain that zeal in their minds, which by heads and summaries is expounded to you, but, if God grant, shall according to my strength be demonstrated to you by Scripture.—For[l] it behoveth us not to deliver, not so much as the least thing of the holy mysteries of faith without the Holy Scriptures. Neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the Holy Scriptures. For that is the security of our faith, not which is from our inventions, but from the demonstration of the Holy Scriptures."

To the same purpose in the "Dissuasive" was produced the testimony of St. Basil;[m] but the words

[c] In Epist.

[d] Tract. 5. in Matt. versus finem. Vide etiam homil. 25. in Matt. homil. 7. in Ezek. homil. 4. in Jerem. Quos locos citat Bellarm. ubi suprà, Sect. Secundò profert.

[e] Jesum Christum scimus Deum: quærimus verba quæ dicta sunt, juxta personæ exponere dignitatem. Quapropter necesse nobis est Scripturas sanctas in testimonium vocare: sensus quippe nostri, et enarrationes, sine his testibus, non habent fidem.

[f] In Epist. ad Rom. lib. iii.

[g] Tract. 23. in Matt.

[h] Epist. ad Pompeium.

[i] Lib. iv. de Bapt. contr. Donatist. c. 3. et c. 5.

[k] Catech. 4. et 5. et 12. et 16. et 18. Illuminat. Μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὑρεσιολογίαις πρόσεχε, ἐὰν μὴ μάθῃς ἐκ τῶν Θείων γραφῶν. Catech. 4. Illuminat.

[l] Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν Θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἀνεὺ τῶν Θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν· ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ εὑρεσιολογίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποδείξεως τῶν Θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν.

[m] St. Basil. moral. Reg. 8. c. 12. edit. Paris. 1547. ex officinâ Carol. Cuillard.

which were not there set down at large, are these: "What is proper for the faithful man? That with a certain fulness of mind, he believes the force of those things to be true, which are spoken in the Scripture, and that he rejects nothing, and that he dares not to decree any thing that is new. For 'whatsoever is not of faith, is sin; but faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God:' without doubt, since whatsoever is without the Scripture, is not of faith, it is a sin."[n] These words are so plain, as no paraphrase is needful to illustrate them: to which may be added those fiercer words of the same saint:[o] "It is a manifest defection from the faith and a conviction of pride, either to reject any thing of what is written, or to introduce any thing that is not, since our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, 'My sheep hear my voice;' and a little before he said the same thing: 'A stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; because they know not the voice of strangers.'" By which words St. Basil plainly declares, that the whole voice and words of Christ are set down in Scripture, and that all things else is the voice of strangers. And therefore "the apostle does most vehemently forbid, by an example taken from men, lest any thing of those which are in Scripture be taken away, or (which God forbid) any thing be added." To these words Bellarmine, and his followers[p] that write against the "Dissuasive," answer, "that St. Basil speaks against adding to the Scripture things contrary to it, and things so strange from it, as to be invented out of their own head: and that he also speaks of certain particular heresies." Which endeavour to escape from the pressure of these words, is therefore very vain, because St. Basil was not then disputing against any particular heresies, as teaching any thing against Scripture, or of their own head; but he was about to describe the whole christian faith: and that he may do this with faithfulness and simplicity, and without reproof, he declares he will do it from the Holy Scriptures; "for it is infidelity and pride to do otherwise;" and therefore what is not in the Scriptures, if it be added to the faith, it is contrary to it, as contrary as "unfaithfulness or infidelity:" and whatsoever is not delivered by the Spirit of God, is an invention of man, if offered as a part of the christian faith. And, therefore, Bellarmine and his followers make here a distinction where there is no difference. St. Basil here declared, that "as formerly he had it always fixed in his mind to fly every voice, and every sentence which is a stranger to the doctrine of the Lord, so now also at this time,"[q] viz., when he was to set down the whole christian faith. Neither can there be hence any escaping by saying,[r] that "nothing indeed is to be added to the Scriptures; but yet to the faith something is to be reckoned, which is not in Scripture." For although the church of Rome does that also, putting more into the canon than was among the Jews acknowledged, or by the primitive church of christians; yet besides this, St. Basil having said,[s] "Whatsoever is not in the Scriptures, is not of faith, and therefore it is a sin;" he says also, by certain consequence, that to add to the Scriptures is all one as to add to the faith. And therefore he exhorts even the novices to study the Scriptures: for to his ninety-fifth question, "Whether it be fit for novices presently to learn the things of the Scripture?" he answers, "It is right, and it is necessary, that those things which appertain to use, every one should learn from the Scriptures, both for the replenishing of their mind with piety, as also that they may not be accustomed to human traditions."[t] By which words he not only declares, that by the Scriptures our minds are abundantly filled with piety; but that human traditions (by which he means every thing that is not contained in Scripture) are not to be received; but ought to be, and are best of all, banished from our minds by entertaining of Scripture. To the same purpose are his words in his ethics, "Whatsoever we say or do ought to be confirmed by the testimony of Divinity inspired by Scriptures, both for the full persuasion of the good, and the confusion or damnation of evil things."[u] There is your rule; that is the ground of all true faith.

And, therefore, St. Athanasius,[x] speaking concerning the Nicene council, made no scruple that the question was sufficiently determined concerning the proper Divinity of the Son of God, because it was determined, and the faith was expounded according to the Scriptures; and affirms, that "the faith so determined was sufficient for the reproof of all impiety," (meaning in the article of Christ's Divinity,) "and for the establishment of the orthodox faith in Christ."[y] Nay, he affirms that "the catholic christians will neither speak, nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to Scripture; it being an evil heart of immodesty to speak those things which are not written."[z] Which words I the rather remark, because this article of the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father, is brought as an instance (by the Romanists) of the necessity of tradition, to make up the insufficiency of Scripture. But not in this only, but for the preaching of the truth indefinitely, that is, the whole truth of the gospel, he affirms the Scriptures to be sufficient.[a] For writing to Macarius, a priest of Alexandria, he tells him that the knowledge of true and Divine religion and piety does not much need the ministry of man; and that he might abundantly draw this forth from the Divine books and letters: for "truly the holy and divinely-

[n] Vide etiam epist. 80. Stemus itaque arbitratui à Deo inspiratæ Scripturæ.—Quæstio erat an dicendum in Deo tres hypostases, et unam naturam; apud Bellar. de verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Alium locum.—Vide etiam Reg. 72. c. 1. cum titulo præfixo capiti.

[o] Homil. de verâ fide. φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τι τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, &c.

[p] Letter in the Preface 2.

[q] Ibidem in sequentibus.

[r] Truth will out, p. 3.

[s] Ubi suprà.

[t] In Regul. Brev. Reg. 95. Εἰς τε πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προσεθισθῆναι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν.

[u] Moral. Regul. 26.

[x] Epist. ad Epictetum Corinthiorum Episc.

[y] De Incarnat.

[z] Idem Athanas. in Exhort. ad Monachos.

[a] Moral. contra Gentiles. in initio.

inspired Scriptures are sufficient for the preaching of the truth;" "ad omnem instructionem veritatis;" so the Latin translation; "for the whole instruction of truth;" or "the instruction of all truth."—But because Macarius desired rather to hear others teach him this doctrine and true religion, than himself to draw it from Scripture, St. Athanasius tells him, "that there are many written monuments of the holy fathers, and our masters, which, if men will diligently read over, he shall learn the interpretation of Scriptures, and obtain that notion of truth which he desires."[b] Which is perfectly the same advice which the church of England commands her sons; that they shall teach nothing but what the fathers and doctors of the church draw forth from Scriptures.

The same principal doctrine in the whole is taught frequently by St. Chrysostom,[c] who "compares the Scriptures to a door, which is shut to hinder the heretics from entering in, and introduce us to God, and to the knowledge of God." This surely is sufficient; if it does this, it does all that we need; and if it does not, St. Chrysostom was greatly deceived, and so are we, and so were all the church of God in all the first ages. But he is constant in the same affirmative:[d] "If there be need to learn, or to be ignorant, thence we shall learn it: if to confute or argue that which is false, thence we shall draw it; if to be corrected or chastised to exhortation; if any thing be wanting for our comfort, and that we ought to have it, nevertheless from thence (from the Scriptures) we learn it. 'That the man be perfect;' therefore without it he cannot be perfected. Instead of me, (he saith,) thou hast the Scriptures; if thou desirest to learn any thing, hence thou mayest. But if he writes these things to Timothy, who was filled with the Holy Spirit, how much more must we think these things spoken to us?" To the same purpose he discourses largely in his eighth homily on the epistle to the Hebrews, which is here too long to transcribe. "Let no man look for another master. Thou hast the oracles of God; no man teaches the like to them.—Because, ever since heresy did infest those churches, there can be no proof of true christianity, nor any other refuge for christians, who would know the truth of faith, but that of the divine Scripture: but now by no means is it known by them, who would know which is the true church of Christ, but only by the Scriptures."[e] Bellarmine, very learnedly, says,[f] that these words were put into this book by the Arians; but because he offers at no pretence of reason for any such interpolation, and it being without cause to suspect it, though the author of it had been an Arian: because the Arians were never noted to differ from the church in the point of the Scriptures' sufficiency; I look upon this as a pitiful shift of a man that resolved to say any thing rather than confess his error. And at last he concludes with many words to the same purpose. "Our Lord, therefore, knowing what confusion of things would be in the last days, therefore commands that christians, who, in christianity, would receive the firmness of true faith, should fly to nothing but to the Scriptures; otherwise, if they regard other things, they will be scandalized and perish, not understanding which is the true church, and by this shall fall into the abomination of desolation, which stands in the holy places of the church."—The sum is this, delivered by the same author,[g] "Whatsoever is sought for unto salvation, it is now filled full in the Scriptures. Therefore, there is in this feast, nothing less than what is necessary to the salvation of mankind." Sixtus Senensis,—though he greatly approves this book, and brings arguments to prove it to be St. Chrysostom's, and alleges from others, that it hath been for many ages approved by the commandment of the church, which, among the Divine laws, reads some of these homilies as of St. Chrysostom; and that it is cited in the ordinary and authentic glosses, in the catenas upon the gospels, in the decrees of the popes, and in the theological sums of great divines;—yet he would have it purged from these words here quoted; as also from many others. But when they cannot show by any probable argument that any heretics have interpolated these words; and that these are so agreeing to other words of St. Chrysostom, spoken in his unquestioned works; he shows himself and his party greatly pinched, and for no other reason rejects the words, but because they make against him; which is a plain self-conviction and self-condemnation. Theophilus Alexandrinus is already[h] quoted in these words, and they are indeed very severe; "It is the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing Divine without the authority of the Holy Scriptures." Here E. W. and A. L. say, the Dissuasive left out some words of Theophilus. It is true; but so did a good friend of theirs before me; for they are just so quoted by Bellarmine,[i] who in all reason would have put them in, if they had made way for any answer to the other words. The words are these, as they lie entirely: "Truly I cannot know with what temerity Origen, speaking so many things, and following his own error, not the authority of Scriptures, does dare to publish such things which will be hurtful."—And a little after adds,[k] "Sed ignorans quod dæmoniaci spiritûs esset instinctus, sophismata humanarum mentium sequi, et aliquid extra Scriptuarum auctoritatem putare Divinum." "Sophisms of his own mind, and things that are not in Scriptures," are explicative one of another: and if he had not meant it merely diabolical to induce any thing without the authority of Scripture, he ought to have added the other part of the rule, and have called it devilish, to add any thing without Scripture or tradition: which, because he did not, we suppose he had no cause to do; and then, whatsoever is not in

[b] Colonia ex officin. Melchioris Novesiani. 1548.
[c] Homil. 58. in Johan.
[d] Homil. 9. in 2 Timoth.—Idem in Psal. xcv. versus finem.
[e] Homil. 9. in Coloss. et in 2 Thess. ii.—Homil. 49. in Matt. xxiii. oper. imperfect.
[f] De verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Sextò profert.
[g] Idem. homil. 41. in Matt.
[h] Dissuasive, in the Preface.
[i] L. iv. de ver. Dei, c. 11. sect. Profert nonò Theophilum.
[k] In censuris super Matth. expositoribus.

Scripture, Theophilus calls the sophism of human minds. He spake it indefinitely and universally; it is true, it is instanced in a particular against Origen,[l] but upon that occasion he gives a general rule. And, therefore, it is a weak subterfuge of Bellarmine, to say, that "Theophilus only speaks concerning certain apocryphal books, which some would esteem Divine:" but, by the way, I know not how well Bellarmine will agree with my adversaries; for one or two of them say,[m] Theophilus spake against Origen, for broaching fopperies of his own; and particularly, that Christ's flesh was consubstantial with the Godhead: and if they say true, then Bellarmine, in his want, invented an answer of his own, without any ground of truth. But all agree in this, that these words were spoken in these cases only; and, it is foolish (says Bellarmine[n]) to wrest that which is spoken of one thing, to another. But I desire that it may be observed, that to the testimony of Tertullian it is answered, "He speaks but of one particular."—To that of St. Basil, it is answered, "He spake but against a few particular heresies."—And to one of the testimonies of St. Athanasius, it is answered, "He spake but of one particular," viz. the heresy of Samosatenus; and to this of Theophilus Alexandrinus it is just so answered; he spake, likewise, "but of this particular," viz. that against Origen: and to that of St. Jerome,[o] in Matth. xxiii. he only spake of a "particular opinion," pretended out of some apocryphal book; and to another of St. Austin,[p] it is spoken "but of a particular matter,"—the case of widowhood. But if Hermogenes, and Origen, and Samosatenus, and the heretics St. Basil speaks of, and they in St. Jerome, be all to be confuted by Scripture, and by nothing else; nay, are therefore rejected, because they are not in Scripture; if all these fathers confute all these heresies by a negative argument from Scripture, then the rule which they establish must be more than particular. It is fitted to all, as well as to any: for all particulars make a general. This way they may answer five hundred testimonies; if five hundred authors should, upon so many several occasions, speak general words. But in the world no answer could be weaker, and no allusion more trifling and less plausible could have been invented. However, these, and other concurrent testimonies, will put this question beyond such captious answers.

St. Jerome was so severe in this article, that disputing[q] what Zachary it was, who was slain between the porch and the altar, whether it was the last but one of the small prophets, or the father of the Baptist; he would admit neither, because it was not in the Scriptures, in these words, "This, because it hath not authority from Scripture, is with the same easiness despised as it is approved."—And "they that prattle without the authority of Scriptures, have no faith, or trust;" that is, none would believe them, "unless they did seem to strengthen their perverse doctrine with Divine testimonies." But most pertinent and material to the whole inquiry are these words;[r] "Those things which they make and find, as it were, by apostolical tradition, without the authority and testimonies of Scripture, the word of God smites." By which words it appears, that in St. Jerome's time it was usual to pretend traditions apostolical: and yet that all which was then, so early, called so, was not so; and, therefore, all later pretences, still as they are later, are the worse: and that the way to try those pretences, was the authority and testimony of Scriptures; without which testimony they were to be rejected, and God would punish them. And, disputing against Helvidius, in defence of the perpetual virginity of the blessed Virgin: "But as we deny not those things which are written; so we refuse those things which are not written. We believe our Lord to be born of a virgin, because we read it. We believe not Mary was married after her delivery, because we read it not." And, therefore, this very point the fathers endeavour to prove by Scripture;[s] particularly, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and St. Austin; though St. Basil believed it not to be a point of faith; and when he offered to prove it by a tradition, concerning the slaying of Zachary upon that account, St. Jerome rejects the tradition as trifling, as before I have cited him. And, therefore, St. John Damascen[t] going upon the same principle, says, "We look for nothing beyond these things, which are delivered by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists."

And after all this, St. Austin,[u] who is not the least amongst the greatest doctors of the church, is very clear in this particular: "If any one, concerning Christ, or his church, or concerning any other thing which belongs to faith, or our life; I will not say, if we, but (what St. Paul hath added) if an angel from heaven shall preach unto you, 'præterquam in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis,' 'beside what ye have received in the legal and evangelical Scriptures,' let him be accursed." The words Bellarmine quotes, and for an answer to them, says, that "præter" must signify "contra;" "besides," that is, "against:" and the same is made use of by Hart, the Jesuit, in his Conference, and by the Louvain doctors. But if this answer may serve; "Non habebis Deos alienos præter me,"

[l] Paschal. 11. vide etiam Paschal. 3.
[m] A. L. and E. W. page 4.
[n] Lib. iv. de verb. Dei, cap. 11.
[o] Cited below.
[p] Lib. de Bono Viduitatis, cap. 1.
[q] St. Jerome. in xxiii. Matt. "Hoc, quia de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur."—Et in epist. ad Titum. "Sine auctoritate Scripturarum garrulitas non habet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam etiam Divinis testimoniis roborare." Sic citantur verba apud Bellarm. qui, sequutus Kemnitium in objectionibus, responsionem de bene esse paravit. Non curavit, tamen, nec metuit ne non recte citarentur verba.
[r] In c. 1. Aggæi. Sed et alia, quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis Scripturarum, quasi traditione apostolicâ, sponte reperiunt atque contingunt, percutit gladius Dei.
[s] Ambr. tom. 2. Ep. 9. Epiphan. hæres. 78. August. de hæres. 84. St. Basil. de human. gen. Christi, Homil. 25.
[t] Lib. i. de Orthod. Fide, cap. 1. *πάντα τὰ παραδιδόμενα ἡμῖν διά τε νόμου, καὶ προφήτων, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν δεχόμεθα καὶ γινώσκομεν, καὶ σέβομεν, οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.*
[u] Cont. Lit. Petiliani. lib. iii. c. 6.

may signify "contra me;" and then a man may, for all this commandment, say, there are two gods, so one be not contrary to the other; and the apostle may glory in any thing else in that sense, in which he glories in the cross of Christ,[x] so that thing be not contrary to Christ's cross. But St. Austin was a better grammarian than to speak so improperly. "Præter" and "præterquam" are all one; as I am covetous of nothing "præter laudem, vel præterquam laudis: nulli places præterquam mihi; vel, præter me." And, indeed, "præterquam, eandem aut prope parem vim obtinet, quam nisi," said Laurentius Valla:[y] but to make "præterquam" to signify "contra quam," is a violence to be allowed by no master of the Latin tongue; which, all the world knows, St. Austin was. And if we inquire what signification it hath in law, we find it signifies variously indeed, but never to any such purpose.[z] When we speak of things whose nature is wholly separate, then it signifies inclusively: as, I give all my vines, "pretær domum," "besides my house;" there the house is supposed also to be given. But if we speak of things which are subordinate and included in the general, then "præter" signifies exclusively; as, I give unto thee all my books "præter Augustinum de Civitate Dei," "besides or except St. Austin of the City of God:" there St. Austin's book is not given: and the reason of this is, because the last words in this case would operate nothing, unless they were exclusive; and if in the first they were exclusive, they were not sense. But that "præterquam" should mean only what is "contrary," is a novelty taken up without reason, but not without great need. But, however, that St. Austin did not mean only to reprove them that introduced into faith and manners, such things which were against Scripture; but such which were besides it, and whatsoever was not in it, is plain by an established doctrine of his,[a] affirming that "all things which appertain to life and doctrine, are found in those things which are plainly set down in the Scriptures." And if this be true, as St. Austin supposed it to be, then whoever adds to this any thing of faith and manners, though it be not contrary, yet if it be not here, ought to be an anathema, because of his own he adds to that rule of faith and manners, which God, who only could do it, hath made. To this Bellarmine answers,[b] that "St. Austin speaks only of the creed and the ten commandments; such things which are simply necessary to all." He might have added, that he speaks of the Lord's prayer too, and all the other precepts of the gospel, and particularly the eight beatitudes and the sacraments. And what of the infallibility of the Roman church? Is the belief of that necessary to all? But that is neither in the creed nor the ten commandments. And what of the five precepts of the church? Are they plainly in the Scripture? And after all this, and much more, if all that belongs to faith and good life be in the plain places of Scripture, then there is enough to make us "wise unto salvation." And he is a very wise and learned man that is so. For as by "faith," St. Austin understands the whole christian faith; so by "mores vivendi," he understands hope and charity, as himself, in the very place, expresses himself. And beyond faith, hope, and charity, and all things that integrate them, what a christian need to know I have not learned: but if he would learn more yet, there are, in places less plain, things enough to make us learned unto curiosity. Briefly, by St. Austin's doctrine, the Scripture hath enough for every one, and in all cases of necessary religion, and much more than what is necessary; nay, there is nothing besides it that can come into our rule. "The Scripture is the consummation or utmost bounded rule of our doctrine, that we may not dare to be wiser than we ought."[c] And that not only in the question of widowhood, but "in all questions which belong unto life and manners of living;" as himself, in the same place, declares. And it is not only for laics and vulgar persons, but for all men; and not only for what is merely necessary, but to make us wise, to make us perfect, saith the apostle.[d] "And how can this man say, that the Scriptures make a man perfect in justice? And he that is perfect in justice, needs no more revelation:"—which words are well enlarged by St. Cyril: "The Divine Scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it, wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding: and to this we need not any foreign teachers."[e] But lastly, if in the plain words of Scripture be contained all that is simply necessary to all, then it is clear, by Bellarmine's confession, that St. Austin affirmed, that the plain places of Scripture are sufficient to all laics and all idiots, or private persons: and then, as it is very ill done to keep them from the knowledge and use of the Scriptures, which contain all their duty, both of faith and good life, so it is very unnecessary to trouble them with any thing else, there being in the world no such treasure and repository of faith and manners, and that so plain that it was intended for all men, and for all such men is sufficient. "Read the Holy Scriptures, wherein you shall find some things to be holden, and some to be avoided."[f] This was spoken to the monks and brethren in the desert, and to them that were to be guides of others, and the pastors of the reasonable flock; and in that whole sermon he enumerates the admirable advantages, fulness, and perfection of the Holy Scriptures, out of which themselves are to be taught, and by the fulness of which they are to teach others in all things. I shall not be troublesome by adding those many clear testimonies from other of the fathers. But I cannot omit

[x] Absit mihi gloriari præterquam in cruce Jesu Christi.
[y] Elegant. lib. iii. c. 51. [z] In Vocab. utriusque Juris.
[a] S. August. vocat Scripturas sacras Divinam stateram, lib. ii. contr. Donat. c. 14. Lib. ii. de Doctr. Christ. c. 9. vide eundem, lib. i. c. ult. de Consensu Evangelistarum. "Quicquid Servator de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis, tanquam suis manibus, imperavit."

[b] De Verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. c. 11.
[c] Lib. de Bono Viduitat. c. 1.
[d] 2 Tim. iii. Salmeron in hunc locum, tom. xv. p. 607. Vide plura apud eundem, p. 606.
[e] Cyril. Alex. lib. vii. contr. Julian.
[f] S. August. ser. 38. ad fratres in eremo.

that of Anastasius of Antioch: "It is manifest, that these things are not to be inquired into, which the Scripture hath passed over in silence. For the Holy Spirit hath dispensed and administered to us all things which conduce to our profit."[g] "If the Scriptures be silent, who will speak?" said St. Prosper.[h]—"What things we are ignorant of, from them we learn," said Theodoret.[i]—"And there is nothing which the Scriptures deny to dissolve," said Theophylact.[k]—And the former of these brings in the christian saying to Eranistes,[l] "Tell not me of your logisms and syllogisms; I rely upon Scripture only."—But Rupertus Tuitiensis's[m] words are a fit conclusion to this heap of testimonies: "Whatsoever is of the word of God, whatsoever ought to be known and preached of the incarnation, of the true Divinity and humanity of the Son of God, is so contained in the two Testaments, that besides these there is nothing ought to be declared or believed. The whole celestial oracle is comprehended in these; which we ought so firmly to know, that besides these, it is not lawful to hear either man or angel." And all these are nothing else, but a full subscription to, and an excellent commentary upon, those words of St. Paul, "Let no man pretend to be wise above what is written."

By the concourse of these testimonies of so many learned orthodox and ancient fathers, we are abundantly confirmed in that rule and principle upon which the whole protestant and christian religion is established. From hence we learn all things, and by these we prove all things, and by these we confute heresies, and prove every article of our faith; according to this we live, and on these we ground our hope; and whatsoever is not in these, we reject from our canon. And, indeed, that the canonical Scriptures should be our only and entire rule, we are sufficiently convinced by the title which the catholic church gives, and always hath given, to the Holy Scriptures; for it is Κανών, the "rule" of christians for their whole religion: the word itself ends this inquiry; for it cannot be a canon, if any thing be put to it or taken from it, said St. Basil,[n] St. Chrysostom,[o] and Varinus.[p]

I hope I have competently proved the tradition I undertook; and by it, that the Holy Scriptures contain all things that are necessary to salvation. The sum is this, If tradition be not regardable, then the Scriptures alone are; but if it be regarded, then here is a full tradition, that the Scriptures are a perfect rule; for that the Scriptures are the word of God, and contain in them all the word of God, (in which we are concerned,) is delivered by a full consent of all these, and many other fathers, and no one father denies it; which consent, therefore, is so great, that if it may not prevail, the topic of tradition will be of no use at all to them, who would fain adopt it into a part of the canon. But this I shall consider more particularly.

Only one thing more I am to add, concerning the interpretation and finding out the sense and meaning of the Scriptures. For though the Scriptures be allowed to be a sufficient repository of all that is necessary to salvation, yet we may mistake our way, if we have not some infallible judge of their sense.

To him, therefore, that shall ask, how we shall interpret and understand the Scriptures, I shall give that answer which I have learned from those fathers, whose testimony I have alleged, to prove the fulness and sufficiency of Scripture. For if they were never so full, yet if it be "fons signatus," and the waters of salvation do not issue forth, to refresh the souls of the weary, full they may be in themselves, but they are not sufficient for us, nor for the work of God, in the salvation of man. But that it may appear that the Scriptures are indeed written by the hand of God, and, therefore, no way deficient from the end of their design, God hath made them plain and easy to all people that are willing and obedient.

So St. Cyril:[q] "Nihil in Scripturis difficile est iis qui in illis versantur ut decet." It is our own fault, our prejudice, our foolish expectations, our carnal fancies, our interests and partialities, make the Scriptures difficult. The apostles did not, would not, could not, understand their Master and Lord, when he told them of his being put to death; they looked for some other thing: and by that measure they would understand what was spoken, and by nothing else. "But to them that are conversant in Scriptures as they ought, nothing is difficult;" so St. Cyril:[r] that is, nothing that is necessary for them to know; nothing that is necessary to make us wise unto salvation, which is the great end of man. To this purpose are the words of St. Austin: "Inclinavit Deus Scripturas ad infantium et lactentium capacitatem:" "God hath made the Scriptures to stoop to the capacity of babes and sucklings," that so out of their mouths he may perfect praise. And St. Chrysostom says,[s] that the Scriptures are "faciles ad intelligendum, et prorsus expositæ," "they are expounded and easy to be understood," to the servant and the countryman, to the widow and the boy, and to him that is very unskilful.—"Omnia clara sunt et plana in Divinis literis:" "all things are clear and plain in the Divine writings;" "all things," that is, saith St. Chrysostom, "Omnia necessaria aperta sunt et manifesta;" "all that is necessary, is open and manifest."[t]

2. The fathers say, that in such things (viz., in which our salvation is concerned) the Scriptures need no interpreter; but a man may find them out himself, by himself. "Apostoli verò et prophetæ omnia contrà fecerunt manifesta, claraque; quæ prodiderunt, exposuerunt nobis, veluti communes orbis

[g] Anagogicæ Contempt. in Hexameron, lib. viii.
[h] De Vocat. Gentium in tom. ii. Operum S. Ambros. lib. ii. c. 3.
[i] In tom. ii. 3. in illud. Ad docendum.
[k] Ibidem. [l] Dial. I.
[m] Comment. in lib. Regum, lib. iii. c. 12.
[n] Contr. Eunom. lib. i.
[o] Ὁ κανὼν οὔτε προσθῆσιν, οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ κανὼν εἶναι ἀπόλλυσι.—S. Chrysost. Hom. 12. In Philip. iii. Idem dixit Theophyl.
[p] Κανὼν ἐστι μέρος ἀδιάψευστον, πᾶσαν πρόσθεσιν καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν οὐδαμῶς ἐπιδεχόμενον.—Varinus.
[q] Contr. Julian. lib. ix.
[r] In Psal. viii. [s] Homil. primâ in Matt.
[t] Homil. 3. in 2 Thess.

doctores, ut per se quisque discere possit ea, quæ dicuntur, ex solâ lectione;" so St. Chrysostom:[u] and, therefore, saith he, "What need is there of a preacher? All things are clear and plain out of the Divine Scriptures. But ye seek for preachers, because you are nice and delicate, and love to have your ears pleased."—To the same purpose are those words of St. Cyril of Alexandria.[x] "The Divine Scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it, wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding. And to this we need not any foreign teachers." There is no question but there are many places in the Divine Scriptures, mysterious, intricate, and secret; but these are for the learned, not the ignorant; for the curious and inquisitive, not for the busied, and employed, and simple: they are not the repositories of salvation; but instances of labour, and occasions of humility, and arguments of forbearance and mutual toleration, and an endearment of reverence and adoration. But all that by which God brings us to himself, is plain and easy. In St. Paul's epistles, St. Peter said, there were some things hard to be understood; but they were but "quædam," "some things;" there are enough besides which are very plain and easy, and sufficient for the instruction and the perfecting the man of God. St. Peter is, indeed, supposed to say, that in St. Paul's epistles "some things were hard;" yet if we observe it rightly, he does not relate to St. Paul's writings, and way of expressing himself, but ἐν οἷς, "in which," relates to the mysterious matters contained in St. Paul's epistles, of which St. Peter also there treats:[y] the mysteries were so deep and sublime, so far removed from sense and human experience, that it is very hard for us, poor ignorants, to understand them without difficulty, and constancy of labour and observation. But then, when such mysterious points occur, let us be wary and wise, not hasty and decretory, but fearful and humble, modest and inquisitive. St. Paul expressed those deep mysteries of the coming of Christ to judgment, and the conflagration of the world, as plainly as the things would easily bear; and, therefore, the difficulty was, not in the style, but in the subject matter; nor there, indeed, as they are in themselves, so much as by the ignorance and instability, or unsettledness, of foolish people: and although when things are easy there needs no interpreter, but the very reading and observing; and humility and diligence, simplicity and holiness, are the best expositors in the world; yet when any such difficulty does occur, we have a guide sufficient to carry us as far as we need or ought to go. Therefore,

3. The way of the ancient and primitive church was to expound the Scriptures by the Scriptures. So St. Clemens of Alexandria:[z] "Perfectly demonstrating out of the Scriptures themselves concerning themselves: βεβαιοῦν ἕκαστον τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων κατα τὰς γραφὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν ὁμοίων γραφῶν. Confirming every thing from those things which are demonstrated from the Scriptures, out of those and the like Scriptures." To the same purpose are the words of St. Athanasius: "The knowledge of true and Divine religion and piety does not much need the ministry of man, and he might abundantly draw this forth from the Divine books and letters."[a] St. Paul's way of teaching us to expound Scripture is, that he that prophesies, should do it, κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, "according to the analogy of faith;" the fundamental proportions of faith are the measures by which we are to exact the sense and meaning of points more difficult and less necessary. This way St. Clement[b] urges in other expressions. "Truth is not found in the translation of significations, for so they might overthrow all true doctrine: ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διασκέψασθαι, τί τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ τελείως οἰκεῖον τε καὶ πρέπον· but in this, that every one consider what is perfectly agreeable to our Lord the almighty God, and what is decent or fit to be said of him."—If we follow this way close, our interpretations of Scripture can never be impious, and can never lead into dangerous error.

4. In pursuance of this, the ancient fathers took this way, and taught us to do so too; to expound difficult places by the plain. So St. Austin:[c] "Magnificè et salubriter Spiritus Sanctus," &c. "The Holy Spirit hath magnificently and wholesomely qualified the Holy Scriptures, that in the more open (or plainer) places, provision is made for our hunger, (viz. for our need,) and in the obscure there is nothing tedious (or loathsome): nihil enim ferè de illis obscuritatibus eruit, quod non planissimè dictum alibi reperiatur. For there is scarce any thing drawn from those obscure places, but the same, in other places, may be found spoken most plainly." Bellarmine[d] observes, that St. Austin uses the word "ferè," "almost;" meaning, that though, by plainer places, most of the obscure places may be cleared, yet not all. And truly it is very probable, that St. Austin did mean so. But then if there be any obscure places, that cannot be so enlightened, what is to be done with them? St. Austin says,[e] that "in such places, let every one abound in his own sense, and expound as well as he can:" "Quæ obscurè vel ambiguè, vel figuratè dicta sunt, quæ quisque sicut voluerit, interpretetur secundum sensum suum." But yet still he calls us to the rule of plain places; "Talia autem rectè intelligi exponique non possunt, nisi priùs ea quæ apertissimè dicta sunt, firmâ fide teneantur," the plain places of Scripture are the way of expounding the more obscure, and there is no other, viz. so apt, and certain.

And after all this; I deny not but there are many other external helps. God hath set bishops and priests, preachers and guides of our souls, over us; and they are appointed to teach others as far as they can, and it is to be supposed they can do it best; but then the way for them to find out the meaning

[u] Homil. 3. de Lazaro, et homil. 3. in 2 Thess.
[x] Contr. Julian. lib. vii.
[y] 2 Pet. iii. 16.
[z] Stromat. lib. vii. p. 757, et 758.
[a] Contr. Gentil. in Initio.
[b] Ubi suprà, p. 758.
[c] De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. c. 6.
[d] De Verbo Dei, lib. iii. c. 2. sect. Respondeo imprimis.
[e] Lib. de Unit. Eccles. c. 16.

of obscure places is that which I have now described out of the fathers, and by the use of that means they will be best enabled to teach others.

If any man can find a better way than the fathers have taught us, he will very much oblige the world by declaring it; and giving a solid experiment that he can do what he undertakes. But because no man, and no company of men, have yet expounded all hard places with certainty and without error, it is an intolerable vanity to pretend to a power of doing that, which no charity hath ever obliged them to do for the good of the church, and the glory of God, and the rest of inquiring souls.

I end this tedious discourse with the words of St. Austin,[f] "Nolo humanis documentis, sed Divinis oraculis ecclesiam demonstrari." If you inquire where, or which is the church; from human teachings you can never find her: "She is only demonstrated in the Divine oracles."—"Therefore if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God."[g]

SECTION III.

Of Traditions.

TRADITION is any way of delivering a thing or word to another; and so every doctrine of christianity is by tradition. "I have delivered unto you," saith St. Paul,[a] "that Christ died for our sins." Παράδοσις is the same[b] with δόγμα, and παραδιδόναι is the same with διδάσκειν, say the grammarians; and the παραδοθεῖσα πίστις in St. Jude, "the faith delivered," is the same which St. Paul explicates by saying παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, the "traditions," that is, "the doctrines ye were taught." —And St. Irenæus[c] calls it a tradition apostolical that "Christ took the cup," and said "it was his blood;" and "to believe in one God, and in Christ who was born of a virgin, was the old tradition;" that is, the thing delivered, and not at first written; which the barbarians kept diligently. But tradition signified either preaching or writing, as it happened. When it signified preaching, it was only the first way of communicating the religion of Jesus Christ: and until the Scriptures were written, and consigned by the full testimony of the apostles, and apostolical churches respectively; they, in the questions of religion, usually appealed to the tradition, or the constant retention of such a doctrine in those churches where the apostles first preached, and by the succession of bishops in those churches, who, without variety or change, had still remembered and kept the same doctrine, which at first was delivered by the apostles: so Irenæus,[d] "If the apostles had not left the Scriptures to us, must not we *(viz. in this case)* have followed the order of tradition which they delivered to them, to whom they intrusted the church; to which ordination many nations of barbarians do assent?" And that which was true then, is also true now; for, if the apostles had never written at all, we must have followed tradition; unless God had "provided for us some better thing." But it is observable that Irenæus says, that "this way is only in the destitution of Scripture." But since God hath supplied not only the principal churches with the Scriptures, but even all the nations which the Greeks and Romans call barbarous; now to run to tradition, is to make use of a staff or wooden leg, when we have a good leg of our own. The traditions at the first publication of Scriptures were clear, evident, recent, remembered, talked of by all christians, in all their meetings, public and private; and the mistaking of them by those who carefully endeavoured to remember them, was not easy; and, if there had been a mistake, there was an apostle living, or one of their immediate disciples, to set all things right. And, therefore, until the apostles were all dead, there was no dispute considerable amongst christians, but what was instantly determined, or suppressed;[e] and the heresies that were, did creep and sting clancularly, but made no great show. But when the apostles were all dead; then that apostasy foretold,[f] began to appear; and heresies, of which the church was warned, began to arise. But it is greatly to be remarked; there was then no heresy that pretended any foundation from Scripture; but from tradition many: for it was accounted so glorious a thing to have been taught by an apostle, that even good men were willing to believe any thing which their scholars pretended to have heard their masters preach; and too many were forward to say, they heard them teach what they never taught; and the pretence was very easy to be made by the contemporaries or immediate descendants after the apostles; and now that they were dead, it was so difficult to confute them, that the heretics found it an easy game to play, to say they heard it delivered by an apostle. Many did so, and some were at first believed, and yet were afterwards discovered; some were cried down at first, and some expired of themselves, and some were violently thrust away. But now many of those who did descend and pass on to custom, were of a true and apostolical original, and how many were not so, it will be impossible to find now; only, because we are sure there was some false dealing in this matter, and we know there might be much more than we have discovered, we have no reason to rely upon any tradition for any part of our faith; any more than we could do upon Scripture, if one book or chapter of it should be detected to be imposture. But there were two cases, in which tradition was then used: the one was when the Scriptures had not been written, or communicated, as among divers nations of the barbarians. The other was, when they disputed

[f] De Unit. Eccles. c. 3.
[g] 1 Pet. iv. 11.
[a] 1 Thes. ii. 15.
[b] Sic S. Basilius lib. iii. contr. Eunomium τοῦτο σαφῶς μάζεται τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος.
[c] Lib. iii. c. 4.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Hegesip. apud Eccles. lib. xxxviii. c. 32. Græc. 26. Latin.
[f] Acts xx. 29, 30. 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c. 2 Tim. iii. 10, &c. and iv. 3. 2 Thess. ii. 3. 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. 1 John ii. 18, 19. Jude 4, 5, &c.

with persons who received not all the Scriptures; as did the Carpocratians, of whom Irenæus[g] speaks. In these cases tradition was urged, that because they did not agree about the authority of one instrument, they should be admitted to trial upon the other. For as Antonius Marinarius said truly and wisely, "The fathers served themselves of this topic only in case of necessity, never thinking to make use of it in competition against Holy Scripture."

But then it is to be observed, that in both these cases the use of tradition is not at all pertinent to the question now in hand; for, first, the question was not then, as now it is, between persons who equally account of Scriptures as the word of God; and to whom the Scriptures have been from many generations consigned. For they that had received Scriptures at the first, relied upon them; they that had not, were to use tradition, and the topic of succession, to prove their doctrine to have come from the apostles: that is, they were fain to call witnesses, when they could not produce a will in writing. But secondly, in other cases the old heretics had the same question as we have now. For besides the Scripture, they said[h] that "Jesus in mystery spake to his disciples and apostles some things in secret and apart, because they were worthy." And so Christ said, "I have many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now." For this place of "Scripture was to this purpose urged by the most foolish heretics:" just thus do the doctors of the church of Rome at this day. So Bellarmine;[i] "They preached not to the people all things, but those which were necessary to them, or profitable, but other things they delivered apart to the more perfect." Here then is the popish ground of their traditions; they cannot deny but necessary and profitable things were delivered in public, and to all: but some secret things were reserved for the secret ones. For the Scriptures are as the credential letters to an ambassador; but traditions are as the private instructions. This was the pretence of the old heretics, and is of the modern papists; who while they say[k] the same thing, pretend for it also the same authority, saying, that "Traditions also are to be received, because they are recommended in Scripture." Of this I shall hereafter give account; in the mean time,

Concerning this, I remember that a great man[l] of the Roman party falls foul upon Castalio, for saying, "the apostle had some more secret doctrine which he did not commit to writing, but delivered it to some more perfect persons; and that the word of God was not sufficient for deciding controversies of religion, however it be expounded, but that a more perfect revelation is to be expected." Upon which he hath these words, "Intolerabile est, ut Paulus, quam accepit reconditiorem doctrinam, non scripto consignaverit; fuisset enim alioqui infidelis depositi minister." And it was most reasonable which Antonius Marinarius, a friar Carmelite, did say, if some things were delivered in secret, it was under secret; because the apostles might as well have published it as their disciples; but if it was delivered as a secret, and consequently to be kept as secret, how came the successors of the apostles to publish this secret? to break open the seal, and reveal the forbidden secret? And, secondly, if the secret tradition, which certainly was not necessary to all, be made public, how shall we know which traditions are necessary, and which are not? Certain it is, the secret tradition could not of itself be necessary; and, therefore, if it becomes so by being made public, it is that which the apostles intended not, for they would have it secret. And therefore, it follows that now no man can tell that any of their traditions was intended as necessary; because the only way by which we could know which was and which was not necessary, viz. the making the one public, and keeping the other private, is now destroyed, since they are all alike common. All that which was delivered to all and in public, was, by the providence of God, ministering apt occasions, and by the Spirit of God inspiring the apostles and evangelists with a will to do it, set down in writing, that they might remain upon record for ever to all generations of the church: so St. Peter promised to the Jews of the dispersion, that he would do something "to put them in remembrance of the things he had taught them;" and he was as good as his word, and employed St. Mark to write the gospel: others also of the apostles took the same care; and all were directed by God, and particular occurrences were concentred in the general design and council of God. So St. Irenæus,[m] "The gospel which the apostles preached, afterwards by the will of God they delivered to us in the Scriptures." It was a tradition still; but now the word signified in its primitive and natural sense, not in the modern and ecclesiastical. But Irenæus[n] speaks of the gospel; that is, the whole gospel of God: not all the particulars that Jesus spake and did, but "whatever Christ would have us to read of his words and works, he commanded them to write, as if it were by his own hands." And, therefore, "Electa sunt quæ scriberentur, quæ saluti credentium sufficere videbantur:" "There was a choice made of such things as were to be written:"[o] it was not, therefore, done by chance and contingency, (as many of the Roman doctors in disparagement of the Scriptures' sufficiency do object,) but the "things were chosen," saith St. Austin;—"It was according to the will of God," said St. Irenæus;—and the choice was very good: all that sufficed to the salvation of believers: according to the words of St. John,[p] "These things were written, that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through his name."—And indeed there cannot be any probable cause inducing any wise man to believe that the apostles should pretend to write the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that

[g] Lib. i. c. 1, et c. 21.
[h] St. Irenæus, lib. i. c. 21. S. August. tract. 97. in Johan.
[i] De Verb. Dei non script. lib. iv. c. 11. Sect. Hic notatis.
[k] Page 16.
[l] Salmeron. tom. 15. in 2 Tim. iii. disp. iv. p. 607.
[m] Lib. iii. c. 1.
[n] Tract. 49. in Johan.
[o] S. Augustin. lib. i c. 35. de consensu evangel.
[p] John xx. 30, 31.

they should insert many things more than necessary, and yet omit any thing that was, and yet still call it "The Gospel of Jesus Christ."—Nicephorus[q] calls the epistles of St. Paul, "A summary of what he plainly and explicitly did teach;" much more is every Gospel. But when all the four Gospels, and the apostolical Acts, and Epistles, and the visions of St. John, were all tied into a volume, by the counsel of God, by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and by the choice of the apostles; it cannot be probable that this should not be all the gospel of Jesus Christ, all his will and testament. And, therefore, in vain does the Cardinal Perron[r] strive to escape from this by acknowledging that the gospel is the foundation of christianity, as grammar is the foundation of eloquence; as the institutions of Justinian are of the study of the law; as the principles and institutions of a science are of the whole profession of it. It is not, in his sense, the foundation of christian doctrine, but it contains it all; not only in general, but in special; not only virtual, but actual; not mediate, but immediate; for a few lines would have served for a foundation general, virtual, and mediate; if the Scripture had said, the church of Rome shall always be the catholic church, and the foundation of faith; she shall be infallible, and to her all christians ought to have recourse for determination of their questions; this had been a sufficient virtual and mediate foundation: but when four Gospels, containing Christ's sermons and his miracles, his precepts and his promises; the mysteries of the kingdom, and the way of salvation; the things hidden from the beginning of the world, and the glories reserved to the great day of light and manifestation of Jesus; to say, that yet all these Gospels, and all the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, and the Acts and sermons of the Apostles, in the first establishing the church, are all but a foundation virtual; and that they point out the church indeed, by saying, "she is the pillar and ground of truth;" but leave you to her for the foundation actual, special, and immediate; is an affirmation against the notoriety of fact. Add to this, that St. Irenæus[s] spake these words concerning the Scriptures, in confutation of them, who, leaving the Scriptures, did run to traditions, pretendedly apostolical.

And though it be true, that the traditions they relied upon were secret, apocryphal, forged, and supposed; yet because even at that time there were such false wares obtruded, and even then the heretics could not want pretences sufficient to deceive, and hopes to prevail; how is it to be imagined, that in the descent of sixteen ages, the cheat might not be too prevalent? when, if the traditions be questioned, it will be impossible to prove them: and if they be false, it will, except it be by Scripture, be impossible to confute them. And after all; if yet there be any doctrines of faith or manners, which are not contained in Scripture, and yet were preached by the apostles, let that be proved, let the traditions be produced, and records sufficient, primely credible and authentic, and we shall receive them. So vain a way of arguing it is, to say, the traditions, against which St. Irenæus speaks, were false, but ours are true; theirs were secret, but ours are open and notorious; for there are none such: and Bellarmine himself acknowledges, that "the necessary things are delivered in Scriptures; and those which were reserved for tradition, were delivered apart; that is, secretly by the apostles.[t] Now if they were so on all sides, what rule shall we have to distinguish the Valentinian traditions from the Roman? And why shall we believe these more than those; since all must be equally taken upon private testimony at first? And although it will be said, that the Roman traditions were received by after-ages, and the other were not: yet this shows nothing else, but that some had the fate to prevail, and others had not. For it is certain, that some were a long time believed, even for some whole ages, under the name of apostolical tradition, (as the Millenary opinion, and the Asiatic manner of keeping Easter,) which yet came to be disbelieved in their time; and also it is certain that many which really were apostolical traditions perished from the memory of men, and had not so long lives as many that were not; so that all this is by chance, and can make no difference in the just authority. And therefore it is vainly said of Cardinal Perron, "that the case is not the same, because theirs are wrong, and ours are right." For this ought not to have been said till it were proved; and if it were proved, the whole question were at an end: for we should all receive them which were manifested to be doctrines apostolical. But in this there need no further dispute from the authority of Irenæus; his words concerning the fulness of Scripture, as to the whole doctrine of Christ, being so clear and manifest, as appears in the testimonies brought from him in the foregoing section. Optatus compares the Scriptures to the testator's will:[u] if there be a controversy among the descendants of the house, run to Scriptures, see the original will: the Gospels are Christ's testament; and the epistles are the codicils annexed, and but by these we shall never know the will of the testator. But because the books of Scripture were not all written at once, nor at once communicated, nor at once received, therefore the churches of God, at first, were forced to trust their memories, and to try the doctrines, by appealing to the memories of others; that is, to the consenting report, and faith delivered and preached to other churches, especially the chiefest, where the memory of the apostles was recent and permanent. The mysteriousness of Christ's priesthood, the perfection of his sacrifice, and the unity of it, Christ's advocation and intercession for us in heaven, might very well be accounted traditions, before St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was admitted for canonical; but now they are written truths: and if they had not been written, it is likely we should have lost them.

[q] Lib. ii. hist. c. 34.
[r] Contre le roi Jaq. p. 715.
[s] Lib. iii. c. 2.

[t] Ubi supra, c. 11. de Verb. Dei non script. lib. iv.
[u] Lib. v. contr. Parmen. Biblioth. Patrum per Binium, tom. iv. Paris, 1589. page 510.

But this way could not long be necessary, and could not long be safe. Not necessary,—because it was supplied by a better; and to be tied to what was only necessary in the first state of things, is just as if a man should always be tied to suck milk, because at first, in his infancy, it was fit he should. Not safe, —because it grew worse and worse every day. And therefore, in a little while, even the traditions themselves were so far from being the touchstone of true doctrine, that themselves were brought to the stone of trial; and the tradition would not be admitted, unless it were in Scripture. By which it appears that tradition could not be a part of the rule of faith, distinct from the Scriptures, but itself was a part of it; that is, whatsoever was delivered and preached, was recorded; which they so firmly believed, that they rejected the tradition, unless it were so recorded: and, 2. It hence also follows that tradition was, and was esteemed, the worse way of conveying propositions and stories; because the church required that the traditions should be proved by Scriptures; that is, the less certain by the more: that this was so, St. Cyprian is a sufficient witness. For when Pope Stephen had said, "Let nothing be changed; only that which is delivered," meaning the old tradition, "that was to be kept;"—St. Cyprian[x] inquires from whence that tradition comes? "Does it come from the Gospels, or the epistles, or the Acts of the Apostles?" —So that after the writing and reception of Scriptures, tradition meant the same thing which was in Scripture; or if it did not, the fathers would not admit it. "All things which are delivered to us by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists, we receive, and know, and reverence: but we inquire not further; nothing beyond them."[y]— If the traditions be agreeable to Scripture, said St. Irenæus,[z] that is, if that which is pretended to be taught at first, be recorded by them who did teach it, then all is well. And this affair is fully testified by the words of Eusebius, which are greatly conclusive of this inquiry: "We have (saith he) promised, that we would propose the voices of the old ecclesiastical presbyters and writers; by which they declared the traditions by the authority witnessed and consigned of the approved Scriptures." Amongst whom was Irenæus, says the Latin version.

But I shall descend to a consideration of the particulars, which pretend to come to us by tradition, and without it cannot, as is said, be proved by Scripture.

1. It is said that the Scripture itself is wholly derived to us by tradition; and, therefore, besides Scripture, tradition is necessary in the church. And, indeed, no man that understands this question, denies it: this tradition, that these books were written by the apostles, and were delivered by the apostles to the churches as the word of God, relies principally upon tradition universal; that is, it was witnessed to be true by all the christian world at their first being so consigned. Now then this is no part of the word of God; but the notification, or manner of conveying the word of God; the instrument of its delivery. So that the tradition concerning the Scriptures being extrinsical to Scripture is also extrinsical to the question: this tradition cannot be an objection against the sufficiency of Scripture to salvation: but must go before this question. For no man inquires, Whether the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation? unless he believe that there are Scriptures; that these are they; and that they are the word of God: all this comes to us by tradition, that is, by universal undeniable testimony. After the Scriptures are thus received, there is risen another question, viz. Whether or no these Scriptures so delivered to us, do contain all the word of God? or, Whether or no, besides the tradition that goes before Scripture, which is an instrumental tradition only of Scripture, there be not also something else that is necessary to salvation consigned by tradition, as well as the Scripture, and of things as necessary or useful as what is contained in Scripture, and that is equally the word of God as Scripture is? The tradition of Scripture we receive; but of nothing else but what is in Scripture. And if it be asked, Why we receive one and not the rest: we answer, because we have but one tradition of things necessary; that is, there is an universal tradition of Scripture, and what concerns it; but none of other things which are not in Scripture: and there is no necessity we should have any; all things necessary and profitable to the salvation of all men, being plainly contained in Scriptures; and this sufficiency also being part of that tradition, as I am now proving.[a]

But because other things[b] also are pretended to be, or are necessary, and yet are said not to be in Scripture, it is necessary that this should be examined. 1. First, all the Nicene definitions, Trinity of persons in one Divine essence. This I should not have thought worthy of considering in the words here expressed, but that a friend, it seems of my own, whom I know not, but yet an adversary, as he who should know him best (that is, himself) assures me, is pleased to use these words[c] in the objection. To this I answer first, that this gentleman would be much to seek, if he were put to it, to prove the Trinity of persons in one Divine essence to be an express Nicene definition; and, therefore, if he means that as an instance of the Nicene definitions, he will find himself mistaken. Indeed at Nice, the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was determined; but nothing of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, that was the result of after-councils.

[x] Epist. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephani.

[y] Damasc. de Orthod. Fide, c. 1.

[z] Apud Euseb. lib. v. c. 20. *πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαις.* Lib. v. c. 8.

[a] It is therefore weakly said by E. W. page 5. If he says, that he impugns all tradition in general, all doctrine not expressly contained in Scripture; forced he is to throw away Scripture itself, &c.

[b] E. W. ibid. He is forced not only to throw away Scripture itself, and the Nicene definitions; not only to disclaim a Trinity of persons in one Divine essence, baptizing of children, &c., but every tenet of protestant religion, as protestantism, *e. g.* the belief of two sacraments only.

[c] The same also he says concerning the Nicene and the other three councils, and St. Athanasius's creed, p. 8.

But whatever it was which was there determined, I am sure it was not determined by tradition, but by Scripture. So St. Athanasius tells us of the faith which was confessed by the Nicene fathers; "it was the faith confessed according to the Holy Scriptures:" [d] and speaking to Serapion of the holy Trinity, he says, "Learn this out of the Holy Scriptures. For the documents you find in them, are sufficient." [e] And, writing against Samosatenus, he proves the incarnation of the Son of God out of the Gospel of St. John, saying, "It becomes us to stick close to the word of God." [f] And therefore when Constantine the emperor exhorted the Nicene fathers to concord in the question then to be disputed; they being Divine matters, he would they should be ended by the authority of the Divine Scriptures. "For (saith he [g]) the books of the evangelists and apostles, as also the oracles of the old prophets, do evidently teach us what we are to think of the Deity. Therefore all seditious contention being laid aside, let us determine the things brought into question by the testimonies of the divinely inspired Scriptures." And they did so. And by relying on Scriptures only, we shall never be constrained to quit these glorious portions of evangelical truth, the incarnation of the eternal Word, and the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.—"Whatsoever ought to be known of these mysteries is contained in both Testaments," saith Rupertus Tuitiensis, before quoted. And if the Holy Scriptures did not teach us in these mysteries, we should find tradition to be but a lame leg, or rather a reed of Egypt. For Artemon,[h] who was the first founder of that error which afterwards belched into Arianism, pretended a tradition from the apostles, that Christ was a mere man. And that tradition descended to the time of Pope Zepherinus, who first gave a stop to it: and Justin Martyr [i] says, that divers among the christians affirmed "Christ to be not God of God, but man of man."—And the Arians offered to be tried by tradition; [k] and, therefore, pretended to it; and, therefore, the catholics did not; at least according to the new doctrine, "that if one pretends tradition, the other cannot." But, for all that trifle, St. Athanasius did sometimes pretend to it, though not always; and this shows that there was no clear, indubitate, notorious, universal tradition in the question; and if there were not such a one, as good none at all; for it could not be such a foundation as was fit to build our faith upon, especially in such mysterious articles. But it is remarkable what Eusebius [l] recites out of an old author, who wrote against the heresy of Artemon, which afterwards Samosatenus renewed, and Arius made public with some alteration; "they all say," says he, "that our ancestors, and the apostles themselves, not only to have received from our Lord those things which they now affirm, but that they taught it to others; and the preaching or tradition of it run on to the days of Pope Victor, and was kept entire, but was depraved by Pope Zepherinus. And truly that which was said by them, might seem to have in it much of probability, if the Divine Scriptures did not first of all contradict them, and that there were writings of some brethren elder than the times of Victor." The brethren, whose writings he names, are Justin Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, Irenæus, and the psalms and hymns of divers, made in honour of Christ. From all which it is evident, that the questions at Nice were not, and could not be determined by tradition. 2. That tradition might be, and was pretended on both sides. 3. That when it is pretended by the contradicting parties with some probability, it can effectually serve neither. 4. That the tradition the Samosatenians and Arians boasted of, had in it much probability, when looked upon in its own series and proper state. 5. That the Divine Scriptures were, at that time, the best firmament of the church, and defended her from that abuse, which might have been imposed upon her, under the title of tradition. 6. That even when tradition was opposed to tradition, and the right to the wrong, yet it was not oral or verbal tradition, according to the new mode, but the writings of the doctors that were before them. But after all this, I cannot but observe and deplore the sad consequents of the Roman doctors' pretension, that this "great mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh," relies wholly upon unwritten traditions. For the Socinians, knowing that tradition was on both sides claimed in this article, please themselves in the concession of their adversaries, that this is not to be proved by Scripture. So they allege the testimony of Eccius, and Cardinal Hosius, one of the legates presiding at Trent; "Doctrinam de trino et uno Deo, esse dogma traditionis, et ex Scripturâ nullâ ratione probari posse." [m] The same was affirmed by Tanner, and all that were on that side, in the conference at Ratisbon, by Hieronymus à S. Hyacintho, and others. Now they being secured by their very enemies, that they need not fear Scriptures in this question; and knowing of themselves that tradition cannot alone do it; they are at peace, and dwell in confidence in this their capital error: and the false peace is owing to the Roman doctors; who in Italy help to make atheists, and in Polonia Socinians: and as a consequent to all this, I remember they scorn Cichovius, who endeavoured to confute them by a hundred arguments from Scriptures, since his own parties do too freely declare, that not one of those hundred prove the question. [n]

2. The next necessary article pretended to stand upon tradition, is, the baptizing children. Concerning which, I consider either the matter of fact, or matter of doctrine. The matter of fact is indifferent, if abstracted from the doctrine. For at the first they did, or they did not, according as they pleased; for there is no pretence of tradition, that the church

[d] Epist. ad Epictet. Corinth. Episc.
[e] Lib. iii. ad Serap. de Spir. S. Id. de Incarnat.
[f] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 7.
[g] Et apud Gelas. Cyzicen. in actis Concil. Nicen. lib. ii. c. 7.
[h] Apud Euseb. Eccles. hist. v. c. 27.
[i] Dial. contr. Tryph. Jud.
[k] Vide etiam Theod. lib i. Eccles. hist. c. 8.
[l] Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. v. c. 27. Lat. 28. Gr.
[m] In locis commun. page 208, 209.
[n] Confessionis Christianæ ad rogum damnatæ et combustæ Manium à R. D. Nicolao Cichovio lacessitorum, sui vindices. Impress. A. D. 1652.

in all ages did baptize all the infants of christian parents. It is more certain, that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, were born of christian parents, and yet not baptized, until the full age of a man, and more. But that the apostles did baptize any children, is not at all reported by a primely credible tradition, or a famous report: but that they did so is only conjectured at; or if it be more, yet that more, whatsoever it be, relies upon the testimony of Scripture; as St. Paul's baptizing the households of Stephanas and the gaoler. But then, if they did, or if they did not, yet, without an appendant doctrine, this passes on by the voluntary practice of the church; and might be, or not be, as they pleased; as it was in the case of confirming them and communicating them at the same time they baptized them; concerning which, because we live to have seen and read of several customs of the church in several ages; it is also after the same manner in baptism, if we consider it only in the matter of fact.

But then, if we consider the doctrine appendant to it, or the cause why it is pretended they were baptized; even that children should be brought to Christ, should receive his blessing, should be adopted into the kingdom of God, should be made members of the second Adam, and be translated from the death introduced by the first, to the life revealed by the second, and that they may receive the Holy Spirit, and a title to the promises evangelical, and be born again, and admitted into a state of covenant, in which they can receive the gift of eternal life,—which I take to be the proper reasons why the church baptizes infants. All these are wholly derived to us from Scripture grounds. But then, as to that reason, upon which the church of Rome baptizes infants, even because it is necessary, and because without it children shall not see God; it is certain there is no universal or prime tradition for that. St. Austin was the hard father of that doctrine. And if we take the whole doctrine and practice together without distinction, that it was the custom so to do in some churches, and at some times, is without all question; but that there is a tradition from the apostles so to do, relies but upon two witnesses, Origen and St. Austin; and the latter having received it from the former, it relies wholly upon his single testimony; which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition apostolical.[o] He is the first that spoke of it; but Tertullian,[p] that was before him, seems to speak against it, which he would not have done if it had been a tradition apostolical. And that it was not so, is but too certain, if there be any truth in the words of Ludovicus Vives,[q] saying, that "anciently none were baptized but persons of ripe age:" which words, I suppose, are to be understood κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, and "for the most part." But although the tradition be uncertain, weak, little, and contingent; yet the church of God, whenever she did it, (and she might do it at any time,) did do it upon Scripture grounds. And it was but weakly said by Cardinal Perron,[r] that there is no place of Scripture by which we can evidently and necessarily convince the anabaptists. For, 1. If that were true, yet it is more certain, that by tradition they will never be persuaded; not only because there is no sufficient and full tradition, but because they reject the topic. 2. Although the anabaptists endeavour to elude the arguments of Scripture, yet it follows not that Scripture is not clear and certain in the article; for it is an easy thing to say something to every thing; but if that be enough against the argument, then no heretic can be convinced by Scripture, and there is in Scripture no pregnant testimony for any point of faith; for in all questions, all heretics prattle something. And, therefore, it is not a wise procedure, to say, the adversaries do answer the testimonies of Scripture,—and by Scripture cannot be convinced; and, therefore, choose some other way of probation: for, when that is done, will they be convinced? And cannot the cardinal satisfy himself by Scripture, though the heretic will not confess himself confuted? The papists say, they answer the protestants' arguments from Scripture; but though they say so to eternal ages, yet in the world nothing is plainer, than that they only say so; and that, for all that confident and enforced saying, the Scriptures are still apparently against them. 3. If the anabaptists speak probably and reasonably in their answers; then it will rather follow, that the point is not necessary, than that it must be proved necessary by some other topic. 4. All people that believe baptism of infants necessary, think that they sufficiently prove it from Scripture; and Bellarmine, though he also urges this point, as an argument for tradition, yet upon wiser thoughts he proves it (and not unsuccessfully) by three arguments from Scripture.

3. Like to this, is the pretence of the validity of the baptism of heretics; it is Cardinal Perron's own instance, and the first of the four he alleges for the necessity of tradition; this he holds for a doctrine orthodox and apostolic, and yet (says he) there is no word of it in Scripture. Concerning this, I think the issue will be short; if there be nothing of it in Scripture, it is certain there was no apostolical tradition for it. For St. Cyprian,[s] and all his colleagues, were of an opinion contrary to that of the Roman church, in this article; and when they opposed against St. Cyprian a tradition, he knew of no such thing, and bid them prove their tradition from Scripture. 2. St. Austin, who was something warm in this point, yet confesses, the apostles commanded nothing in it; but then he does almost beg us to believe it came from them. "Consuetudo illa, quæ opponebatur Cypriano, ab eorum traditione exordium sumpsisse credenda est; sicut sunt multa quæ universa tenet ecclesia, et ob hoc ab apostolis benè præcepta traduntur, quanquam scripta non reperiantur:" which in plain meaning is

[o] Secundum ecclesiæ observantiam (ait) in Levit. c. 12, 13. Hom. 8. quem locum citat Perron: hæc autem verba non aiunt, ab apostolis hanc manasse observantiam.

[p] Lib. de Baptis. cap. 18.
[q] In S. August. de Civit. Dei. lib. i. c. 27.
[r] Réplique à la réponse du roi Jacques, p. 701.
[s] Epist. ad Pompeium.

this; we find a custom in the church, and we know not whence it comes; and it is so in this, as in many other things; and, therefore, let us think the best, and believe it came by tradition from the apostles. But, it seems, himself was not sure that so little a foundation could carry so big a weight; he, therefore, plainly hath recourse to Scripture in this question: "Whether is more pernicious, not to be baptized, or to be re-baptized, is hard to judge: nevertheless, having recourse to the standard of our Lord, where the monuments of this are not estimated by human sense, but by Divine authority, I find concerning each of them, the sentence of our Lord;"[t] to wit, in the Scriptures. But, 3. The question itself is not of a thing necessary; for St. Cyprian and the bishops of Cappadocia and Galatia, and almost two parts of the known world, whose sentiment was differing from others, yet lived and died in the communion of those churches, who believed the contrary doctrine: and so it might have been still, if things were estimated but according to their intrinsic value. And since, as St. Austin says,[u] they might safely differ in judgment before the determination of this question in a council; it follows evidently, that there was no clear tradition against them; or, if there were, that was not esteemed a good catholic, or convincing argument. For as it is not imaginable, so great and wise a part of the catholic church should be ignorant of any famous apostolical tradition; especially when they were called upon to attend to it, and were urged and pressed by it: so, it is also very certain, there was none such in St. Cyprian's time, because the sixth general council approved of the canon made in the council of Carthage, because, "in prædictorum præsulum locis et solum secundum traditam eis consuetudinem servatus est."[x] 4. It had been best, if the question had never been moved; and the next best had been to have suppressed and forgotten it instantly: for, as it came in by zeal and partiality in the hands of the Cappadocian bishops, so it was fed by pride and faction in the hands of the Donatists; and it could have no determination, but the mere nature of the thing itself; all the apostles and ministers of religion were commanded to baptize in water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and this was an admission to christianity, not to any sect of it; and if this had been considered wisely, so it had been done by a christian minister in matter and form, there could be no more in it. And, therefore, the whole thing was to no purpose: so far was it from being an article of faith.

4. The next pretence is, that the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, is an article of our faith, and yet no where told in Scripture; and, consequently, tradition must help to make up the object of our faith. To this some very excellent persons have opposed this consideration, that the Greeks and Latins differ but in "modo loquendi;" and, therefore, both speaking the same thing in differing words, show, that the controversy itself is trifling or mistaken. But though I wish them agreed; yet, when I consider, that in all the endeavours for union at the council of Florence, they never understood one another to purposes of peace; I am apt to believe that those who would reconcile them, show their piety more than the truth of the thing, and that the Greeks and Latins differed entirely in this point. But then, that on the Latin side there should be a tradition apostolical, can upon no other account be pretended, but that they could not prove it by Scripture, or show any ecclesiastical law or authority for it. Now, if we consider that the Greeks pretend their doctrine, not only from Scripture, but also from immemorial tradition, that is, that they have not innovated the doctrine which their fathers taught them; and on the other side, that the Latins have, contrary to the canon of the council of Ephesus, superadded the clause of "Filioque" to the Constantinopolitan creed, and that by authority of a little convention of bishops at Chantilly, near to Paris, without the consent of the catholic church; and that by the confession of Cardinal Perron,[y] not only the Scripture favours the Greeks, but reason also; because it is unimaginable, that the same particular effect should proceed from two principles in the same kind; and although the three persons created the world, yet that production was from the Divine essence, which is but one principle; but the opinion of the Latins is, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from two persons, as persons; and, therefore, from two principles, it will be very hard to suppose, that because all this is against them, therefore it is certain, that they had this from apostolical tradition. The more natural consequence is, that their proposition is either mistaken or uncertain, or not an article of faith, (which is rather to be hoped, lest we condemn all the Greek churches as infidels, or perverse heretics,) or else that it can be derived from Scripture; which last is indeed the most probable, and pursuant to the doctrine of those wiser Latins, who examined things by reason, and not by prejudice. But Cardinal Perron's argument is no better than this: Titius was accused to have deserted his station in the battle, and carried false orders to the legion of Spurinna; he answers, I must either have received orders from the general, or else you must suppose me to be a coward, or a traitor; for I had no warrant for what I did from the book of military discipline. Well, what if you be supposed to be a coward, or traitor; what hurt is in that supposition? But must I conclude, that you had order from the general, for fear I should think you did it on your own head, or that you are a traitor? That is the case; either this proposition is derived to us by apostolical tradition, or we have nothing else to say for ourselves. Well! "Nempe hoc Ithacus velit;" "The Greeks allow" the argument, and will say thus: you had nothing to say for yourselves, unless we grant that to you which is the question, and which you can never prove, viz. that there is for this article an apostolical tradition: but because both sides pretend that, let us try this thing by Scripture. And, indeed, that is

[t] Contrà Donatist. lib. iv. c. 14, &c. 17 et 21.
[u] Lib. i. de Baptist. cap. 18.
[x] Can. 2.
[y] Contre le roi Jacques, p. 709.

the only way. And Cardinal Perron's argument may, by any Greek, be inverted, and turned upon himself. For he saying it "is not in Scripture, therefore it is a tradition of the church;" it is as good an argument,—it is not delivered to us by universal tradition; therefore, either it is not at all, or it is derived to us from Scripture: and upon the account of this, for my part, I do believe it.

5. The last instance of Cardinal Perron, is the observation of the Lord's day; but this is matter of discipline and external rite; and, because it cannot pretend to be an article of faith, or essentially necessary doctrine, the consideration is different from the rest. And it is soon at an end; but that the cardinal would fain make something of nothing, by telling that the Jews complain of the christians for changing circumcision into baptism, and the Saturday-sabbath into the dominical, or Lord's day. He might as well have added, they cry out against the christians, for changing Moses into Christ, the law into the gospel, the covenant of works into the covenant of faith, ceremonies into substances, and rituals into spiritualities. And we need no further inquiry into this question, but to consider what the cardinal says,[z] that "God did the sabbath a special honour by writing this ceremonial alone, into the summary of the moral law."—Now I demand, whether there be not clear and plain Scripture, for the abolishing of the law of ceremonies? If there be, then the law of the sabbath is abolished. It is part of "the hand-writing of ordinances, which Christ nailed to his cross." Now, when the sabbath ceases to be obligatory, the church is at liberty: but that there should be a time sanctified, or set apart for the proper service of God, I hope is also very clear from Scripture; and that the circumstances of religion are in the power of the presidents of religion; and then it will follow from Scripture, that the apostles, or their successors, or whoever did appoint the Sunday festival, had not only great reason, but full authority, to appoint that day; and that this was done early, and continued constantly for the same reason, and by an equal authority, is no question. But as to the sabbath, St. Paul gave express order,[a] that no man should be judged by any part of the ceremonial law, and particularly names the sabbath days, saying, "They all were a shadow of things to come, but Christ is the substance." And yet, after all this, the keeping of the Lord's day was no law in christendom, till the Laodicean council; but the Jewish sabbath was kept as strictly as the christian Lord's day, and yet both of them with liberty, but with an intuition to the avoiding offence, and the interests of religion: and the Lord's day came not instead of the sabbath, and it did not succeed in the place of the sabbath, but was merely a christian festival and holy-day. But at last; that the keeping of the Lord's day be a tradition apostolical, I desire it were heartily believed by every christian; for though it would make nothing against the sufficiency of Scriptures, in all questions of faith and rules of manners, yet it might be an engagement on all men to keep it with the greater religion.

6. At the end of this, it is fit I take notice of another particular, offered, by the by, not in justification of tradition, but in defiance of them that oppose it. "If the protestants oppose all tradition in general, they must quit every tenet of protestant religion, as protestantism: for example's sake, the belief of two sacraments only," &c.[b] The charge is fierce, and the stroke is little. It was unadvisedly said, that every protestant doctrine "quâ talis," must be quitted if Scripture be the rule: for this very proposition, that Scripture is the rule of our faith, is a main protestant doctrine; and, therefore, certainly must not be quitted; if Scripture be the rule, that is, if the doctrine be true, it must not be forsaken. And although in the whole progress of this book, protestant religion will be greatly justified by Scripture, yet, for the present, I desire the gentleman to consider a little better about giving the chalice to all communicants; whether their denying it to the laity be by authority of Scripture? And I desire him to consider what place of the Old or New Testament he hath, for worshipping and making the images of God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, or for having their public devotions in an unknown tongue. But of these hereafter.

As to the instance of two sacraments only, I desire the gentleman to understand our doctrine a little better. It is none of the doctrine of the church of England, that there are two sacraments only; but that, of those rituals commanded in Scripture, which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments, (by a word of art,) "two only are generally necessary to salvation." And although we are able to prove this by a tradition much more universal, than by which the Roman doctors can prove seven, yet we rely upon Scripture for our doctrine: and though, it may be, I shall not dispute it with this gentleman that sends his cartel, unless he had given better proof of his learning and his temper; yet, I suppose, if he reads this book over, he shall find something first or last to instruct him, or at least to entertain him in that particular also. But for the present, lest such an unconcerning trifle be forgotten, I desire him to consider that he hath little reason to concern himself in the just number of seven sacraments; for that there are brought in amongst them some new devices, I cannot call them sacraments, but something like what they have already forged, which being but external rites, yet outdo most of their sacraments. About the year 1630, there were introduced into Ireland, by the Franciscans and Carmelite friars, three pretty propositions. 1. Whosoever shall die in the habit of St. Francis, shall never be prevented with an unhappy death. 2. Whosoever shall take the scapular of the Carmelites, and die in the same, shall never be damned. 3. Whosoever shall fast the first Saturday after they have heard of the death of Luissa, a Spanish nun of the order of St. Clare, shall have no part in the second death. Now these external rites promise more grace than is conferred by their sacraments; for it promises a certainty of glory, and an intermediate certainty of being in the state of grace;

[z] Perron, ibid. 710. [a] Colos. ii. 16. [b] E. W. p. 5.

which to them is not and cannot be done, according to their doctrine, by all the other sacraments and sacramentals of their church. Now, these things are derived to them by pretended revelations of St. Francis and St. Simon Stock. And though I know not what the priests and friars in England will think or say of this matter, yet I assure them, in Ireland they are of great account, and with much fancy, religion, and veneration, used at this day. And, not long since, visiting some of my churches, I found an old nun in the neighbourhood, a poor Clare, as I think; but missing her cord about her, which I had formerly observed her to wear, I asked the cause, and was freely answered, that a gentlewoman, who had lately died, had purchased it of her, to put about her in her grave. And of how great veneration the Saturday-fast is here, every one knows, but the cause I knew not, till I had learned the story of St. Luissa; and that Flemming, their archbishop of Dublin, had given countenance to it by his example and credulity. But now it may be perceived, that the question of seven sacraments is outdone by the intervention of some new ones, which, although they want the name, do greater effects, and, therefore, have a better title.

But I proceed to more material considerations. Cardinal Perron hath chosen no other instances of matters necessary (as he supposes them); but there are many ritual matters, customs, and ceremonies, which were (at least it is said so) practised by the apostolical churches; and some, it may be, are descended down to us: but because the churches practise many things which the apostles did not, and the apostles did and ordained many things, which the church does not observe, it will not appertain to the question, to say, there are, or are not, in these things traditions apostolical. The college of widows is dissolved; the canon of abstaining from things strangled, obliges not the church:[c] and St. Paul's rule of not electing a bishop that is a novice, or young christian, is not always observed at Rome; nay, St. Paul himself consecrated Timothy when he was but twenty-five years of age: and the Wednesday and Friday fast,[d] is pretended to have been a precept from the very times of the apostles; and yet it is observed but in very few places: and of the fifty canons called apostolical, very few are observed in the church at this day; and of eighty-four collected by Clement, as was supposed, Michael Medina says,[e] scarce six or eight are observed by the Latin church. For "in them many things are contained," saith Peresius,[f] "which by the corruption of times, are not fully observed; others, according to the quality of the matter and time, being obliterated, or abrogated, by the magistery of the whole church." Tertullian[g] speaks of divers unwritten customs, of which "tradition is the author, custom is the confirmer, and faith is the observer." Such are the "renunciations in the office of baptism, trine immersion, tasting milk and honey; abstinence from the bath, for a week after; the receiving the eucharist before day, or in the time of their meal, from the hand of the presidents of religion; anniversary oblations on birth days, and for the dead; not to fast, not to kneel on Sundays; perpetual festivities from Easter to Whitsuntide; not to endure, without great trouble, bread or drink to fall upon the ground; and, at every motion, to sign the forehead with the sign of the cross." Some of these are rituals, and some are still observed, and some are superstitious and observed by nobody; and some that are not, may be if the church please: these, indeed, were traditions or customs before his time; but not so much as pretended to be apostolical; but if they were, are yet of the same consideration with the rest. If they be customs of the church, they are not, without great reason and just authority, to be laid aside: but are of no other argument against Scripture, than if all the particular customs of all churches were urged. For, if they had come from the apostles, (as these did not,) yet if the apostles say, "dicit Dominus," they must be obeyed for ever; but if the word be, "dico ego, non Dominus," the church hath her liberty to do what, in the changing times, is most for edification. And therefore, in these things, let the church of Rome pretend what traditions apostolical she please of this nature, the church may keep them, or lay them aside, according to what they judge is best. For if those canons and traditions of the apostles, of which there is no question, and which are recorded in Scripture, yet are worn out and laid aside; those, certainly, which are pretended to be such, and cannot be proved, cannot pass into perpetual obligation, whether the churches will or no.

I shall not need, upon this head, to consider any more instances, because all the points of popery are pretended to rely upon tradition. The novelty of which, because I shall demonstrate in their proper places, proving them to be so far from being traditions apostolical, that they are mere innovations in religion,—I shall now represent the uncertainty and fallibility of the pretence of traditions in ordinary; and the certain deceptions of those who trust them, and the impossibility of ending many questions by them. I shall not bring the usual arguments which are brought from Scriptures against traditions; because although those which Christ condemns in the Pharisees, and the apostles in heretical persons, are not reproved for being traditions, but for being without Divine authority; that is, they are either against the commandment of God, or without any warrant from God: yet if there be any traditions, real and true, that is, words of God not written, they, if they could be shown, would be very good. But then I desire the same ingenuity on the other side; and that the Roman writers would not trouble the question, or abuse their readers, by bringing Scriptures to prove their traditions; not by show-

[c] Vide Ductor Dubitantium, Rule of Conscience, lib. iii. Reg. 11. n. 5, 6.

[d] Reginald. Praxis Fori Pœnit. lib. iv. c. 12. sect. 3. n. 133.

[e] De Sacr. Hom. Conti. lib. v. c. 105.

[f] Peres. de Tradit. part. 3. c. De Auctor. Canon. Apost.

[g] De Coron. Milit. c. 3 et 4.

ing they are recorded in Scripture, but by bringing Scriptures where the word tradition is named.[h] For besides that such places cannot be, with any modesty, pretended, as proofs of the particular traditions; it is also certain, that they cannot prove that in general there are, or can be, any unrecorded Scripture, when the whole canon should be written, consigned, and entertained. For it may be necessary, that traditions should be called on to be kept before Scriptures were written, and yet afterwards not necessary; and those things which were delivered and are not in Scripture, may be lost, because they were not written; and then that may be impossible for us to do, which at first might have been done. But this being laid aside, I proceed to considerations proper to the question.

1. Tertullian, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, are pretended the great patrons of tradition; and they have given rules by which we shall know apostolical traditions; and it is well they do so; for sand ought to be put into a glass, and water into a vessel; something to limit the running element, that when you have received it, you may keep it. A nuncupative record is like figures in the air, or diagrams in sand; the air and the wind will soon disorder the lines. And God, knowing this, and all things else, would not trust so much as the ten words of Moses to oral tradition, but twice wrote them in tables of stone with his own finger. "I know" said St. Clement,[i] "that many things are lost by length of time, for want of writing; and, therefore, I, of necessity, make use of memorials, and collection of chapters, to supply the weakness of my memory." And when St. Ignatius, in his journey towards martyrdom, confirmed the churches through which he passed, by private exhortations, as well as he was permitted; he exhorted them all, to adhere to the tradition of the apostles, (meaning that doctrine which was preached by them in their churches,) and added this advice or caution, "That he esteemed it was necessary, that this tradition should be committed to writing,"[k] that it might be preserved to posterity: and reports by word of mouth are uncertain, that for want of good records,[l] we cannot tell who was Peter's successor immediately,—whether Clemens, Linus, or Anacletus; and the subscriptions of St. Paul's epistles, having no record but the uncertain voice of tradition, are, in some things, evidently mistaken, and in some others, very uncertain. And upon the same account, we cannot tell how many bishops were convened at Nice:[m] Eusebius says there were two hundred and fifty. St. Athanasius says they were just three hundred. Eustatius, in Theodoret, says they were above two hundred and seventy. Sozomen says they were about three hundred and ten. Epiphanius and others say they were three hundred and eighteen. And when we consider how many pretences have been, and are daily made of traditions apostolical, which yet are not so, a wise man will take heed, lest his credulity and good nature make him to become a fool. St. Clemens Alexandrinus says, that the apostles preached to dead infidels, and then raised them to life; and that the Greeks were justified by their philosophy; and accounts these among the ancient traditions. Pope Marcellus[n] was bold to say, that it was an apostolical tradition or canon, that a council could not be called but by the authority of the bishop of Rome: but the churches in the first ages practised otherwise, and the Greeks never believed it; nor are all the Latin churches of that opinion, as shall be shown in the sequel. The second canon of the council in Trullo commands observation of no less than fourscore and five canons apostolical delivered to the church; but, besides, that no church keeps them, there are not many who believe that they came from the apostles. St. Austin said that the communicating of infants was an apostolical tradition; but neither the protestants nor the papists believe him in that particular. Clemens Alexandrinus said,[o] that Christ preached but one year: St. Irenæus confutes that tradition vehemently, and said it was an apostolical tradition, "That Christ was about fifty years of age when he died, and, therefore, it must be, that he preached almost twenty years; for the Scripture says,[p] "Jesus began to be about thirty years old, when he was baptized;' and presently after he began to preach." Now, this story of the great age of Christ, Irenæus says, "That all the old men that were with St. John, the disciple of our Lord, say, that St. John did deliver unto them." Nay, not only so, but "some of them heard the same from others also of the apostles." There were many more of such traditions; "the day would fail to reckon all the unwritten mysteries of the church," said the author of the last chapters of the book "de Spiritu Sancto," falsely imputed to St. Basil:[q] and yet he could reckon but a few; all the rest are lost: and of those that remain, some are not at all observed in any church. But there cannot be a greater instance of the vanity of pretending traditions, than the collection of the canons apostolical by Clement, which Damascen[r] reckons as parts of the New Testament, that is, equal to canonical writing of the apostles; but Isidore Hispalensis says,[s] "they were apocryphal, made by heretics, and published in the name of the apostles; but neither the fathers nor the church of Rome did give assent to them:" and yet their authority is received by many in the church of Rome even at this day. But it is to be observed, that men accept them, or refuse them, not according to their authority, which, in all the first fifty at least, is equal: but if they be for their interest, then they are apostolical; if against them, then they are interpolated, and apocryphal, and spurious, and heretical; as it hath happened in the fifth canon, and the eighty-fourth and eighty-fifth.

[h] 2 Thess. ii. 2 Tim. ii.
[i] Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. i. p. 276.
[k] Euseb. lib. iii. Eccles. Hist. c. 35. Græc.
[l] Theodoret. lib. i. c. 8. Eccles. Hist.
[m] Bellar. de Concil. et Eccles. l. i. c. 5. sect. De Numero.
[n] Epist. ad Episc. Antioch.
[o] Stromat. lib. i. lib. ii. c. 39.
[p] Matt. iv. 17. Mark i. 14. Luke iii. 23.
[q] Cap. 29.
[r] Orth. Fide, lib. 1. c. 18.
[s] Apud Gratian, dist. 16. c. Canones.

But this is yet more manifest, if we consider what Origen says,[t] "No man ought, for the confirmation of doctrines," or opinions, "to use books which are not canonized Scriptures." Now, for aught appears to the contrary, many traditions were two or three hundred years old the first day they were born; and it is not easy to reckon by what means the fathers came, or might come, to admit many things to be tradition; and themselves were not sure: therefore, they made rules of their conjecture, presumptions, and sometimes weak arguments. It will be much more hard for us to tell which are right and which are wrong,—who have nothing but their rules, which were then but conjectural, and are since proved in many instances to be improbable.

1. Such is that rule of St. Austin,[u] "Whatsoever was anciently received, and not instituted (so far as men looking back may observe) by posterity, that is, not decreed by councils, may most rightly be believed to descend from apostolic tradition:" that is, if we do not know the beginning of a universal custom, we may safely conclude it to be primitive and apostolic. Which kind of rule is something like what a witty gentleman said of an old man and an old woman in Ireland; that if they should agree to say that they were Adam and Eve, no man living could disprove them. But though these persons are so old that no man remembers their beginning, and though a custom be immemorial, and hath prevailed far and long; yet to reduce this to the beginning of things may be presumed by him that hath a mind to it, but can never convince him that hath not. And it is certain, this rule is but a precarious pitiful presumption, since every ancient custom that any succeeding age hath a mind to continue, may, for the credit of it, and the ignorance of the original, like new upstart gentlemen, be entitled to an honourable house. "Every one believes the commandments of his ancestors to be traditions apostolical," said St. Jerome:—and that these came in by private authority, and yet obtained a public name, we have competent warranty from Tertullian,[x] who justifies it thus far; "Do you not think it lawful for every faithful man to appoint whatever he thinks may please God, unto discipline and salvation?" And, "From whomsoever the tradition comes, regard not the author, but the authority." And St. Irenæus tells[y], that the variety of keeping lent, which puts in strongly also to be an apostolical tradition, began among his ancestors, "who did not accurately observe their customs, who, by a certain simplicity or private authority, appointed any thing for their posterity." So that here it is apparent, that every private man that was of an ancient standing in the church, might introduce customs and usages, which himself thought pious. And next, it is also evident, that when these customs, derived from their ancestors, happened to continue in a lasting use, their posterity was very apt to call them traditions apostolical; according to Tertullian,[z] who confessed this very thing. Thus things indifferent, being esteemed useful or pious, became customary, and then came for reverence into a putative and usurped authority: but they who, having this warning from the very persons whence the mistake comes, will yet swallow the hook, deserve to live upon air and fancy, and to chew deceit.

But this topic of pretended tradition is the most fallible thing in the world; for it is discovered of some things, that are called apostolical tradition, that they had their original of being so esteemed upon the authority and reputation of one man. Some, I say, have been so discovered. Papias was the author of the millenary opinion, which prevailed for about three whole ages; and that so universally, that Justin Martyr said it was believed by all that were perfectly orthodox; and yet it recurs to him only as the fountain of the tradition. But of this I shall say no more, because this instance hath been by others examined and cleared. The assumption of the Virgin Mary is esteemed a tradition apostolical, but it can derive no higher than St. Austin,[a] whose doctrine alone brought into the church the veneration of the assumption; which St. Jerome yet durst not be confident of. But the tradition[b] of keeping Easter the fourteenth day of the moon, derived only from St. John and the Asiatic bishops: but the other from St. Peter and St. Paul prevailed, though it had no greater authority. But the communicating of infants prevailed for many ages in the west, and to this day in the east, and went for an apostolical tradition; but the fortune of it is changed, and it now passes for an error: and St. Jerome[c] said, "It was an apostolical tradition, that a priest should never baptize without chrism;" but of this we have scarce any testimony but his own.

But besides this, there was in the beginning of christianity some apocryphal books: of these, Origen[d] gave great caution; and because the falsity of these every good man could not discover, therefore he charges them, that they should offer to prove no opinion from any books, but from the canonical Scriptures, as I have already quoted him; but these were very busy in reporting traditions. The book of Hermes seduced St. Clemens of Alexandria into a belief, that the apostles preached to them that died infidels, and then raised them to life: and the apocryphal books, under the title of Peter and Paul, make him believe that the Greeks were saved by their philosophy: and the Gospel of Nicodemus, so

[t] Tract. 26. in Matt. Oportet cautè considerare, ut nec omnia secreta, quæ feruntur nomine Sanctorum, suscipiamus, propter Judæos, qui fortè ad destructionem veritatis Scripturarum nostrarum quædam finxerunt confirmantes dogmata falsa; nec omnia abjiciamus, quæ pertinent ad demonstrationem Scripturarum nostrarum: magni ergo viri est audire et adimplere quod dictum est, "Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete." Tamen propter eos qui non possunt, quasi Trapezitæ, inter verba discernere, vera habeantur an falsa, et non possunt semetipsos cautè servare, ut verum quidem teneant apud se, ab omni autem specie malâ abstineant, nemo uti debet, ad confirmationem dogmatum, libris qui sunt extra canonizatus Scripturas.

[u] De Baptis. contr. Donat. lib. iv. c. 24. et c. 6.

[x] De Coronâ Milit. c. 4.

[y] Apud Euseb. lib. v. c. 26. Gr. 24. Lat.

[z] Lib. de Coronâ Militis. Si legem nusquam reperio, sequitur ut traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli auctoritatem ex interpretatione rationis.

[a] In Serm. de Assumptione.

[b] Salmeron. Tract. 51. in Rom. 5. p. 468. in marg.

[c] S. Hierom. dial. adv. Lucifer.

[d] Tract. 26. in Matt.

far as yet appears, was author of the pretended tradition of the signing with the sign of the cross, at every motion of the body; and let Tertullian, and St. Basil, and, in consequence, the churches of succeeding ages, into the practice of it. A little thing will draw on a willing mind; and nothing is so credulous as piety and timorous religion; and nothing was more fearful to displease God, and curious to please him, than the primitive christians; and every thing that would invite them to what they thought pious, was sure to prevail; and how many such pretences might enter in at this wide door, every man can easily observe.

Add to this, that the world is not agreed about the competency of the testimony; or what is sufficient to prove tradition to be apostolical. Some require and allow only the testimony of the present catholic church, to prove a tradition: which way, if it were sufficient, then it is certain, that many things which the primitive fathers and churches esteemed tradition, would be found not to be such; because, as appears in divers instances above reckoned, they admitted many traditions which the present church rejects. 2. If this were the way, then truth were as variable as time; and there could be no degrees of credibility in testimony, but still the present were to carry it; that is, every age were to believe themselves, and nobody else. And the reason of these things is this, because some things have in some ages been universally received, in others universally rejected. I instance in the state of saints departed, which once was the opinion of some whole ages; and now we know in what ages it is esteemed an error. 3. The communicating infants, before instanced in, was the practice of the church for six hundred years together. Now all that while, there was no apostolical tradition against this doctrine and practice, or at least none known:[e] for, if there had, these ages would not have admitted this doctrine: but if there were no tradition against it at that time, there is none now. And, indeed, the testimony of the present church cannot be useful in the question of tradition, if ever there was any age or number of orthodox and learned men, that were against it: only in a negative way it can be pretended; that is, if there was no doctrine, or practice, or report ever to the contrary, then they that have a mind to it, may suppose, or hope, it was apostolical; or, at least, they cannot be sure that it was not. But this way can never be useful in the questions of christendom, because in them there is father against son, and son against father; Greeks against Latins; and their minds differ as far as east and west; and therefore it cannot be in our late questions, that there was never any thing said to the contrary; but if there was, then the testimony of the present church is not sufficient to prove the tradition to be catholic and apostolic. 4. If the testimony of the present church were a sure record of tradition apostolical, then it is because the present church is infallible; but for that, there is neither Scripture nor tradition; or, if there were for its infallibility in matter of faith, yet there is none for its infallibility in matter of fact; and such is the tradition: concerning which the question only is, whether such a thing was actually taught by an apostle, and transmitted down by the hand of uninterrupted succession of sees and churches: "Antiquissimum quodque, verissimum." We know the fountains were pure; and the current, by how much the nearer it is to the spring, is the less likely to be corrupted. And, therefore, it is a beginning at the wrong end, to say, the present church believes this, therefore so did the primitive; but let it be shown that the primitive did believe this; for else it is outfacing of an opponent; as if he ought to be ashamed to question whether you have done well, or no. For, if that question may be asked, it must be submitted to trial, and it must be answered: and the holding the opinion will not justify the holding it; that must be done by something else: therefore, the sampler and the sampled must be compared together; and it will be an ill excuse, if a servant, who delivers a spotted garment to his Lord, and tells him, "Thus it was delivered to me, for thus you see it is now." If he can prove it was so at first, he may be justified, but else at no hand. And I and all the world will be strangely to seek what the church of Rome means, by making conformity to the primitive church a note of the true church; if "being now as it is" be the rule for what it ought to be: for if so, then well may we examine the primitive church by the present, but not the present by the primitive. 5. If the present catholic church were infallible, yet we were not much the nearer, unless this catholic church could be consulted with, and heard to speak; nor then neither, unless we know which were indeed the catholic church. There is no word in Scripture, that the testimony of the present church is the infallible way of proving the unwritten word of God; and there is no tradition that it is so, that I ever yet heard of; and it is impossible it should be so, because the present church of several ages has had contrary traditions: and if neither be, why shall we believe it? if there be, let it be shown. In the mean time, it is something strange, that the infallibility of a church should be brought to prove every particular tradition; and yet itself be one of those particular traditions which proves itself.

But there is a better way: Vincentius Lirinensis's way, of judging a traditional doctrine to be apostolical and Divine, is, "the consent of all churches and all ages." It is sometimes less that St. Austin[f] requires, "ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurimùm sequatur, (auctoritatem,) inter, quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt." He speaks it of the particular of judging what books are canonical; in which, as tradition is the way to judge, so the rule of tradition is "the consent of most of the catholic churches; particularly, those places where the apostles did sit, and to which the apostles did write." But this fancy of St. Austin's is to be understood so, as not to be

[e] Maldonat. in 6 Joh. 53. Vide etiam Espencæum de Adorat. Eucharist. lib. ii. c. 12.

[f] Lib. de Doct. Christiana, c. 8.

measured by the practice, but by the doctrine of the apostolical churches. For that any, or more of these churches did, or did not do so, is no argument, that such a custom came from the apostles; or if it did, that it did oblige succeeding ages: unless this custom began by a doctrine, and that the tradition came from the apostles, with a declaration of its perpetual obligation. And therefore this is only of use in matters of necessary doctrine. But because there are, in this question, many differing degrees of authority, he says that our assent is to be given accordingly; "Those which are received of all the catholic churches, are to be preferred before those which are not received by all; and of these, those are to be preferred, which have the more and the graver testimony: but if it should happen, which yet is not, that some are witnessed by the more, and others by the graver, let the assent be equal."—This, indeed, is a good way to know nothing; for if one apostolical church differ from another in a doctrinal tradition, no man can tell whom to follow, for they are of equal authority; and nothing can be thence proved, but that oral tradition is an uncertain way of conveying a doctrine. But yet this way of St. Austin is of great and approved use, in the knowing what books are canonical; and in these things it can be had, in some more, in some less, in all more than can be said against it: and there is nothing in succeeding times, to give a check to our assents in their degrees, because the longer the succession runs, still the more the church was established in it. But yet concerning those books of Scripture, of which it was long doubted in the church, whether they were part of the apostolical canon of Scripture; there ought to be no pretence, that they were delivered for such by the apostles, at least not by those churches who doubted of them: unless they will confess, that either their churches were not founded by an apostle; or that the apostle, who founded them, was not faithful in his office, in transmitting all that was necessary; or else that those books, particularly the epistle to the Hebrews, &c. were no necessary part of the canon of Scripture; or else, lastly, that that church was no faithful keeper of the tradition which came from the apostle. All which things, because they will be denied by the church of Rome concerning themselves, the consequent will be, that tradition is an uncertain thing; and, if it cannot be entire and full in assigning the canon of Scripture, it is hardly to be trusted for any thing else which consists of words subject to divers interpretations. But in other things, it may be, the case is not so; for we find that in divers particulars, to prove a point to be a tradition, apostolical use is made of the testimony of the three first ages. Indeed, these are the likeliest to know; but yet they have told us of some things to be traditions, which we have no reason to believe to be such. Only thus far they are useful; if they never reported a doctrine, it is the less likely to descend from the apostles; and if the order of succession be broken any where, the succeeding ages can never be surer. If they speak against a doctrine, as for example, against the half-communion, we are sure it was no tradition apostolical; if they speak not at all of it, we can never prove the tradition; for it may have come in since that time, and yet come to be thought or called "tradition apostolical" from other causes, of which I have given account. And, indeed, there is no security sufficient, but that which can never be had; and that is, the universal positive testimony of all the church of Christ; which he that looks for in the disputed traditions, pretended by the church of Rome, may look as long as the Jews do for their wrong Messias. So much as this is can never be had; and less than this will never do it. I will give one considerable instance of this affair: "The patrons of the opinion of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin-mother, allege, that they have the consent of almost the universal church, and the agreeing sentences of all universities, especially of the chief, that is, of Paris; where no man is admitted to be master in theology, unless he binds himself by oath to maintain that doctrine. They allege, that since this question began to be disputed, almost all the masters in theology, all the preachers of the word of God, all kings and princes, republics and peoples, all popes, and pastors, and religions, except a part of one, consent in this doctrine. They say, that of those authors, which are by the other side pretended against it, some are falsely cited, others are wrested and brought in against their wills; some are scarce worth the remembering, and are of an obsolete and worn-out authority." Now if these men say true, then they prove a tradition, or else nothing will prove it but a consent absolutely universal, which is not to be had. For, on the other side; "They that speak against the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, particularly Cardinal Cajetan, bring, as he says, the irrefragable testimony of fifteen fathers against it: others bring no less than two hundred; and Bandellus brings in almost three hundred:" and that will go a great way to prove a tradition. But that this also is not sufficient, see what the other side say to this. "They say, that Scotus, and Holcot, and Ubertinus de Casalis, and the old definition of the university of Paris, and St. Ambrose, and St. Austin, are brought in falsely or violently; and if they were not, yet they say, it is an illiteral disputation, and not far from sophistry, to proceed in this way of arguing: for it happens sometimes that a multitude of opiners proceed only from one famous doctor; and that when the Donatists did glory in the multitude of authors, St. Austin answered, that it was a sign the cause wanted truth, when it endeavoured to rely alone upon the authority of many; and that it was not fit to relate the sentiment of St. Bernard, Bonaventure, Thomas, and other devotees of the blessed Virgin, as if they were most likely to know her privileges, and therefore would not have denied this of immaculate conception, if it had been her due. For she hath many devout servants the world knows not of; and Elisha, though he had the spirit of Elias doubled upon him, yet said, "Dominus celavit à me, et non indicavit mihi;" and when Elias complained he was left alone, God said he had seven thousand more. And the apostles did not know all

things; and St. Peter walked not according to the truth of the gospel; and St. Cyprian erred in the point of rebaptizing heretics. For God hath not given all things unto all persons, that every age may have proper truths of its own, which the former age knew not."—Thus Salmeron[g] discourses, and this is the way of many others more eminent; who make use of authority and antiquity when it serves their turn; and when it does not, it is of no use, and of no value.

But if these things be thus, then how shall tradition be proved? If the little remnant of the Dominican party, which are against the immaculate conception, should chance to be brought off from their opinion, (as, if all the rest of the other orders, and many of this be already, it is no hard thing to conjecture, that the rest may,) and that the whole church, as they will then call it, be of one mind, shall it then be reasonable to conclude, that then this doctrine was and is an apostolical tradition; when, as yet, we know and dare say, it is not? That is the case, and that is the new doctrine: but how impossible it is to be true, and how little reason there is in it, is now too apparent. I see that vowing to saints is now at Rome accounted an apostolical doctrine: but with what confidence can any Jesuit tell me that it is so, when by the confession of their chief parties it came in later than the fountains of apostolical doctrines? "When the Scriptures were written, the use of vowing to saints was not begun," saith Bellarmine;[h] and Cardinal Perron[i] confesses, that in the authors more near to the apostolical age, no footsteps of this custom can be found. Where then is the tradition apostolical? or can the affirmation of the present church make it so? To make a new thing is easy, but no man can make an old thing.

The consequence of these things is this: all the doctrines of faith and good life are contained and expressed in the plain places of Scripture; and besides it, there are and there can be no articles of faith: and, therefore, they who introduce other articles, and upon other principles, introduce a faith unknown to the apostles and the fathers of the primitive church. And that the church of Rome does this, I shall manifest in the following discourses.

SECTION IV.

There is nothing of necessity to be believed, which the apostolical Churches did not believe.

In the first part of "the Dissuasive," it was said, that the two testaments are the fountains of faith: and whatsoever (viz. as belonging to the faith) came in after these "foris est," "is to be cast out;" it belongs not to Christ; and now, I suppose, what was then said is fully verified. And the church of Rome, obtruding many propositions upon the belief of the church, which were not in Scripture, and of which they can never show any universal or apostolical tradition, urging those upon pain of damnation, imposing an absolute necessity of believing such points, which were either denied by the primitive church, or were counted but indifferent, and matters of opinion, hath disordered the christian religion, and made it to-day a new thing, and unlike the great and glorious founder of it, who "is the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." The charge here then is double: they have made new necessities, and they have made new articles.

I choose to speak first of their tyrannical manner of imposing their articles; viz. every thing under pain of damnation: the other of the new matter, is the subject of the following sections.

First then, I allege that the primitive church, being taught by Scripture and the examples apostolical, affirmed but few things to be necessary to salvation. They believed the whole Scriptures; every thing they had learned there, they equally believed: but because every thing was not of equal necessity to be believed, they did not equally learn and teach all that was in Scripture. But the apostles, say some,—others say, that immediately after them the church,—did agree upon a creed, a symbol of articles which were, in the whole, the foundation of faith, the ground of the christian hope; and that upon which charity, or good life, was to be built. There were in Scripture many creeds; the Gentiles' creed, Martha's creed, the Eunuch's creed, St. Peter's creed, St. Paul's creed; "to believe that God is, and that he is the rewarder of them that seek him diligently:"[a] "to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God,"[b] that "Jesus is come in the flesh;"[c] that he "rose again from the dead;" these confessions were the occasions of admirable effects; by the first the gentiles come to God; by the following, blessedness is declared, salvation is promised to him that believes; and to him that confesses this, "God will come and dwell in him, and he shall dwell in God;" and this "belief is the end of writing the gospel," as having life through Christ is the end of this belief: and all this is more fully explicated by St. Paul's creed; "This is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."[d] This is "the word of faith;" which if we confess with our mouths, and entertain and believe in our hearts; that is, do live according to it, we shall certainly be saved. If we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord, that is, our Lawgiver, and our Saviour, to rescue us from our sins and their just consequents, we have all faith; and nothing else can be the foundation, but such articles which are the confession of those two truths, Christ Jesus "our Lord," Christ Jesus "our

[g] Salmeron. disp. 51. in Rom. v.
[h] De Cultu Sanct. lib. iii. c. 9. Sect. Præterea.
[i] Contre le Roi Jacques.
[a] Heb. xi. 6. [b] Matt. xvi. 16.
[c] 1 John iv. 2. and 15. John xx. 31. et xi. 27.
[d] Rom. x. 8. Matt. x. 32. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26. and xii. 8. 2 Tim. ii. 12. Apocal. iii. 5.

Saviour;" that by faith we be brought unto obedience and love; and by this love we be brought to Christ, and by Christ unto God; this is the whole complexion of the christian faith, the economy of our salvation. There are many other doctrines of christianity of admirable use, and fitted to great purposes of knowledge and government; but "the word of faith," (as St. Paul [e] calls it,) that which the apostles preached, viz. to all, and as of particular remark, and universal efficacy, and absolute sufficiency to salvation, is that which is described by himself in those few words now quoted; "Other foundation than this no man can lay, that is, Jesus Christ." [f] Every thing else is but a superstructure; and though it may, if it be good, be of advantage; yet if it be amiss, so the foundation be kept, it will only be matter of loss and detriment, but consistent with salvation: And therefore St. Paul [g] judged, that he would "know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified." [h] And this is the sum total of all;—this is the gospel:—so St. Paul [h] most fully; "I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand, by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I have preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain." And what is this gospel, this word "preached and received," that "by which we stand," and that "by which we are saved?" It is nothing but this, "I delivered unto you first of all that which I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures."—This was the "traditum," the "depositum," this was the "evangelium;" Christ died: "he died for our sins, and he rose again for us;" and this being the great tradition by which they tried the spirits, yet was it laid up in Scriptures. That Christ died, was according to the Scriptures; that he rose again, was according to the Scriptures; and that St. Paul twice, and that so immediately, remarks this, is not without mystery; but it can imply to us nothing but this, that our whole faith is laid up in the Scriptures; and this faith is perfected, as to the essentiality of it, in the death and resurrection of Christ; as being the whole economy of our pardon and justification. And it is yet further remarkable, that when St. Paul, as he often does, renews and repeats this christian creed; he calls upon us not to be wise above what is written; and to be wise unto sobriety. [i] Which he afterwards expounding, says; "He that prophesies, let him do it according to the proportion of faith;" [k] that is, if he will enlarge himself he may, and prophesy greatly; but still to keep himself to the analogy of faith; not to go beyond that, not to be wiser than that measure of sobriety. And if we observe the three sermons of St. Peter, the sermon of St. Philip and St. Silas, the sermons of St. Paul often preached in the synagogues; they were all but this: [l] that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God;" that "he is the Lord of all;" that "he is the Christ of God;" that "God anointed him," that "he was crucified, and raised again from the dead;" and that "repentance and remission of sins was to be preached in his name."

But as the Spirit of God did purpose for ever with strictness to retain the simplicity of faith, so also he was pleased so far to descant upon the plain ground, as to make the mystery of godliness to be clearly understood by all men. And, therefore, that we might see it necessary to believe in Jesus, it was necessary we should understand he was a person to be relied upon, that he was infinitely credible, powerful, and wise, just, and holy; and that we might perceive it necessary and profitable to obey him, it was fit we understood why; that is, what good would follow him that is obedient, and what evil to the refractory. This was all; and this, indeed, was the necessary appendage of the simple and pure word of faith; and this the apostles drew into a symbol, and particular minute of articles. Now, although the first was sufficient; yet, they,—knowing it was fit we should understand this simplicity, with the investiture of some circumstances; and yet, knowing that it was not fit the simplicity of faith should be troubled with new matter,—were pleased to draw the whole into a scheme, sufficient and intelligible, but nothing perplexed, nothing impertinent: and this the church hath called the apostles' creed; which contains all that which is necessary to be inquired after and believed by a universal and prime necessity.

True it is, other things may become necessary, by accident, and collateral obligations; and if we come to know what God, in the abundance of his wisdom and goodness, hath spoken to mankind, we are bound to believe it: but the case is different. Many things may be necessary to be believed, that we may acknowledge God's veracity; and so also many things are necessary to be done, in obedience to the empire and dictates of the conscience, which oftentimes hath authority when she hath no reason, and is a peremptory judge when she is no wise counsellor. But though these things are true, yet nothing is a necessary article of faith, but that which ministers necessarily to the great designs of the gospel, that is, a life conformable to God, a God-like life, and an imitation of the holy Jesus. To believe, and to have faith in the evangelical sense, are things very different. Every man is bound to have faith in all the proper objects of it. But only some men are bound to believe truths which are not matters of faith. This obliges upon supposition of a manifest discovery, which may or may not happen; but in the other case we are bound to inquire; and all of us must be instructed, and every man must assent: and without this we cannot be Christ's disciples; we are rebels, if we oppose the other, and no good man can or does.

For if he be satisfied, that it is the word and mind of God, he must and will believe it; he cannot choose; and if he will not confess it when he thinks God bids him, or if he opposes it when he thinks God speaks it, he is malicious and a villain; but if

[e] Rom. x. 8. [f] 1 Cor. iii. 11. [g] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[h] 1 Cor xv. 1—4. [i] 1 Cor. iv. 6. Rom. xii. 3. [k] Rom. xii. 6.
[l] Acts ii. 21. and iii. 12. Acts viii. 12, 37, 38. Acts ix. 20. and xvii. 2. and xvi. 31. and xvii. 2, 18, 20, 31.

he does not believe God said it, then he must answer for more than he knows, or than he ought to believe, that is, the articles of faith: but we are not subjects or children, unless we consent to these. The other cannot come into the common accounts of mankind, but as a man may become a law unto himself, by a confident, an unnecessary, and even a false persuasion, (because, even an erring conscience can bind,) so much more can God become a law unto us, when we, by any accident, come into the knowledge of any revelation from God: but these are not the christian faith, in the strict and proper sense; that is, these are not the foundation of our religion; many a man is a good christian without them, and goes to heaven, though he know nothing of them; but without these no christian can be saved.

Now, then, the apostles, the founders of christianity, knowing the nature, design, efficacy, and purpose of the articles of faith, selected such propositions, which in conjunction did integrate our faith, and were therefore necessary to be believed unto salvation; not because these articles were, for themselves, commanded to be believed; but because, without the belief of them, we could not obtain the purposes and designs of faith; that is, we could not be enabled to serve God, to destroy the whole body of sin, to be partakers of the Divine nature. This collect or symbol of propositions is that which we call the apostle's creed, which I shall endeavour to prove to have been always, in the primitive church, esteemed a full and perfect digest of all the necessary and fundamental articles of christian religion: and that beyond this, the christian faith, or the foundation, was not to be extended; but this, as it was in the whole complexion necessary, so it was sufficient for all men unto salvation.

St. Paul gave us the first formal intimation of this measure, in his advices to St. Timothy:[m] "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us." This was the "depositum" that St. Paul left with Timothy; the "hypotyposis" or summary of christian belief, the christian creed, which St. Paul opposes to the "profane new talkings," and the "disputations" of pretended learning;[n] meaning, that this symbol of faith is the thing on which all christians are to rely, and this is the measure of their faith; other things, it is odds, but they are babblings, and profane quarrelling, and unedifying argumentations. St. Ignatius recites the substance of this creed, in four of the epistles usually attributed to him,[o] some of which are witnessed by Eusebius and St. Jerome; and adds, at the end of it, this epiphonema; "Hæc qui planè cognôrit et crediderit, beatus est." And St. Irenæus,[p] reciting the same creed, or form of words, differing only in order of placing them, but justly the same articles and foundation of faith, affirms that this is "the faith which the catholic church, to the very ends of the earth, hath received from the apostles and their disciples." And this is that tradition apostolical, of which the churches of old did so much glory, and to which, with so much confidence, they appealed, and by which they provoked the heretics to trial. "This preaching,[q] and this faith, when the church scattered over the face of the world had received, she keeps diligently, as dwelling in one house; and believes, as having one soul and one heart; and preaches, and teaches, and delivers these things, as possessing one mouth. For, although there are divers speeches in the world, yet the force of the tradition is one and the same. Neither do the churches founded in Germany believe otherwise, 'aut aliter tradunt,' 'or have any other tradition;' nor the Iberian churches, or those among the Celtæ, nor the churches in the east, in Egypt, or in Libya, nor those which are in the midst of the world." But he adds, that this is not only for the ignorant, the idiots or catechumeni; but "neither he who is most eloquent among the bishops, can say any other things than these; for no man is above his master: neither hath he that is the lowest in speaking, lessened the tradition; for the faith is one and the same: he that can speak much, can speak no more; and he that speaks little, says no less." This creed also he recites again, affirming that even those nations, who had not yet received the books of the apostles and evangelists, yet by this confession and this creed did "please God, and were most wise through faith;"[r] for this is that which he calls the "tradition of the truth;" that is, of that truth which the apostles taught the church; and by the actual retention of which truth it is, that the church is rightly called, "the pillar and ground of truth," by St. Paul; and in relation to this, St. Irenæus reckoned it to be all one;[s] "extra veritatem, id est, extra ecclesiam." Upon this collect of truths the church was founded, and upon this it was built up; and in this all the apostolical churches did hope for life eternal; and by this they opposed all schisms and heresies; as knowing what their and our great Master himself said in his last sermon, "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."[t]

This, also, is most largely taught by Tertullian,[u] who, when he had recited the apostolical creed, in the words and form the church then used it, calls it the "Rule of faith;" he affirms "this rule to have been instituted by Christ;" he affirms, that "it admits of no questions; and hath none but those which the heresies brought in, and which indeed make heretics." "But this form remaining in its order, you may seek and handle, and pour out all the desires of curiosity, if any thing seems ambiguous or obscure, in case any brother be a doctor endued with the grace of knowledge; but be curious with yourself, and seek with yourself: but at length, it

[m] 2 Tim. i. 13. [n] 1 Tim. vi. 20.
[o] Epist. iii. ad Magnes. et v. ad Philipp. et vii. ad Smyrneus. et xi. ad Ephesios.
[p] S. Irenæus, lib. i. cap. 2. [q] Et cap. 3.
[r] Lib. iii. cap. 4. Propter fidem per quam sapientissimi sunt.
[s] Lib. iv. cap. 62. [t] John xvii. 3.
[u] Tertul. de præscript. adv. hæret. c. 13 et 14.

is better for you to be ignorant, lest you come to know what ye ought not; for you already know what ye ought. Faith consists in the rule. To know nothing beyond this, is to know all things." To the same purpose he affirms,[x] that "this rule is unalterable, is immovable, and irreformable; it is the rule of faith, and it is one, unchangeably the same:" which, when he had said, he again recites the apostles' creed; he calls it "legem fidei:" "this law of faith remaining; in other things of discipline and conversation, the grace of God may thrust us forward, and they may be corrected and renewed." But the faith cannot be altered, there is neither more nor less in that. And it is of great remark what account Tertullian gives of the state of all the catholic churches,[y] and particularly of the church of Rome in his time. "That church is in a happy state, into which the apostles, with their blood, poured forth all their doctrine: let us see what she said, what she taught, what she published in conjunction with the African churches: she knows one God, the Creator of the world; and Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator; and the resurrection of the flesh: she mingles the law and the prophets with the evangelical and apostolical writings, and from thence she drinks that faith: she signs with water, she clothes with the Holy Spirit, she feeds with the eucharist, she exhorts to martyrdom, and against this institution receives none." This, indeed, was a happy state; and if in this she would abide, her happiness had been as unalterable as her faith. But from this, how much she hath degenerated, will too much appear in the order of this discourse.

In the confession of this creed the church of God baptized all her catechumens; to whom, in the profession of that faith, they consigned all the promises of the gospel. For the truth of God, the faith of Jesus Christ, the belief of a christian is the purest, simplest thing in the world. "In simplicitate fides est, in fide justitia est, in confessione pietas est: Nec Deus nos ad beatam vitam per difficiles quæstiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat; in absoluto nobis ac facili est æternitas. Jesum Christum credimus suscitatum à mortuis per Deum, et ipsum esse Dominum confitemur." This is the breviary of the christian creed; and this is the way of salvation, saith St. Hilary.[z] But speaking more explicitly to the churches of France and Germany,[a] he calls them happy and glorious; "Qui perfectam atque apostolicam fidem conscientiâ et professione Dei retinentes, conscriptas fides huc usque nescitis;" because they kept the apostolical belief; for, that is "perfect."

Thus, the church remaining in the purity and innocent simplicity of the faith, there was no way of confuting heretics but by the words of Scripture, or by appealing to the tradition of this faith, in the apostolical form; and there was no change made till the time of the Nicene council: but then, it is said, that the first simplicity began to fall away, and some new thing to be introduced in the christian creed. True it is, that then christianity was in one complexion with the empire; and the division of hearts, by a different opinion, was likely to have influence upon the public peace, if it were not composed by peaceable consent or prevailing authority; and, therefore, the fathers there assembled, together with the emperor's power, did give such a period to their question as they could; but as yet it is not certain, that they, at their meeting, recited any other creed than the apostolical; for that they did not, Laurentius Valla,[b] a canon in the Lateran church, affirms, that himself hath read in the ancient books of Isidore, who collected the canons of the ancient councils. Certain it is, the fathers believed it to be no other than the apostolical faith; and the few words they added to the old form, was nothing new, but a few more explicate words, of the same sense, intended by the apostles and their successors; as at that time the church did remember by the successive preachings, and written records which they had, and we have not; but especially by Scripture. But the change was so little, or, indeed, so none as to the matter, that they affirmed of it; "This was the creed delivered by the holy apostles;"[c] and in the old Latin missal, published at Strasburgh, A. D. 1557, after the recitation of the Nicene creed, as we usually call it, it is added in the rubrick, "Finito symbolo apostolorum, dicat sacerdos, 'Dominus vobiscum.'" So that it should seem the Nicene fathers used no other creed than what themselves thought to be the apostolical. And this is the more credible, because we find that some other copies of the apostles' creed, particularly that which was used in the church of Aquileia, hath divers words and amplifications of some one article; as, to the article of "God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," is added "invisible," and "impassible:" which, though the words were set down there, because of the Sabellian heresy,—yet they said nothing new, but what to every man of reason was included in the very nature of God; and so was the addition of Nice, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, included in the very natural filiation expressed in the apostles' creed; and, therefore, this Nicence creed was no more a new creed than was that of Aquileia; which although it was not in every word like the Roman symbol, yet it was no other than the apostolical. And the same is the case even of those symbols, where something was omitted that was sufficiently in the bowels of the other articles; thus, in some creeds Christ's death is omitted, but his crucifixion and burial are set down. The same variety also is observable in the article of Christ's descent into hell; which, as it is omitted in that form of the apostolical creed, which I am now saying was used by the Nicene fathers, so was it omitted in the six several recitations and expositions of it, made by Chrysologus, and in the five expositions made of it by St. Austin,

[x] Lib. de veland. Virg. c. 1. Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.
[y] De præscript. c. 36.
[z] S. Hilar. lib. x. De Trinit. vers. finem.
[a] Lib. de Synodis. [b] In Antidoto ad Nicolaum V. Papam.
[c] Epiphan. in Ἄγκυρ.

in his book "De Fide et Symbolo," and in his four books "De Symbolo ad Catechumenos," and divers others. So the article of "the communion of saints," which is neither in the Nicene nor Constantinopolitan creed, nor in the ancient apostolical creeds, expounded by Marcellus, Ruffinus, Chrysologus, Maximus Taurinensis, Venantius, Fortunatus, Etherius, and Beatus:[d] yet, because it is so plain in the article of the church,—as the omission is no prejudice to the integrity of the christian faith, so the inserting it is no addition of an article, or innovation. So these copies now reckoned omit, in the beginning of the creed, "Maker of heaven and earth;" but out of the Constantinopolitan creed, it is now inserted into all the copies of the apostolical symbol. Now as these omissions or additions respectively, that is, this variety, is no prejudice to these being the apostles' creed; so neither is the addition made at Nice, any other but a setting down what was plainly included in the filiation of the Son of God; and, therefore, was no addition of an article, nor properly an explication, but a saying, in more words, what the apostles and the apostolical churches did mean in all the copies, and what was delivered before that convention at Nice. But there was ill use made of it; and wise men, if they had pleased, might easily have foreseen it. But whether it was so or no, (for I can no otherwise affirm it than as I have said,) yet to add any new thing to the creed, or to appoint a new creed, was, at that time, so strange a thing, so unknown to the church, that though what they did was done with pious intention, and great advantage in the article itself; yet it did not produce that effect, which, from such a concurrence of sentiments, might have been expected. For, first, even some of the fathers then present refused to subscribe the additions; some did it, as they said, against their will, some were afraid to use the word ὁμοούσιος, or "consubstantial;" and most men were still so unsatisfied, that presently after, council upon council was again called, at Sirmium, Ariminum, Seleucia, Sardis, to appease the new stirs, rising upon the old account; and instead of making things quiet, they quenched the fire with oil: and the principal persons in the Nicene council changed their minds, and gave themselves over to the contrary temptation. Even Hosius himself, who presided at Nice, and confirmed the former decrees at Sardis; yet he left that faith, and, by that desertion, affrighted and shook the fabric[e] of the christian church, in the article added or explained at Nice. In the same sad condition was Marcellus of Ancyra,[f] a great friend of St. Athanasius, and an earnest opposer of Arius; so were the two Photinuses, Eustathius, Elpidius, Heraclides, Hyginus, Sigerius, the president Cyriacus, and the emperor Constantine himself, who, by banishing Athanasius into France, by becoming Arian, and being baptized by an Arian bishop, "secured the empire to his sons," as themselves did say, as it is reported by Lucifer Calaritanus:[g] and that he was vehemently suspected by the catholics, is affirmed by Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates. But Liberius, bishop of Rome, was more than suspected to have become an Arian, as Athanasius himself, St. Jerome, Damasus, and St. Hilary report.[h] So did Pope Felix II. and Leo, his successor. It should seem by all this, that the definitions of general councils were not accounted the last determination of truths, or rather, that what propositions general councils say are true, are not, therefore, part of the body of faith, though they be true; or else, that all these persons did go against an established rule of faith and conscience; which if they had done, they might easily have been oppressed, by their adversaries urging the plain authority of the council against them. But, "Neither am I to urge against thee the Nicene council, nor thou the council of Ariminum against me," was the saying of St. Austin; even long after the council of Nice had, by concession, obtained more authority than it had at first. Now the reason of these things can be no other than this; not that the Nicene council was not the best that ever was since the day that a council was held at Jerusalem by all the apostles; but that the councils adding something to the creed of the church, which had been the αὐθεντία of the christian faith for three hundred years together, was so strange a thing, that they would not easily bear that yoke. And that this was the matter, appears by what the fathers of the church, after the council, did complain. "After the Nicene synod, we write nothing but faiths," (viz.) new creeds: "while there is contention about words,[i] while there is question about novelties, while there is complaint of ambiguities and of authors, while there is contention of parties and difficulty in consenting, and while one is become an anathema to another, scarce any man now is of Christ."—And again: "We decree yearly and monthly faiths of God; we repent when we have decreed them; we defend them that repent; we anathematize them that are defended; we either condemn foreign things in our own, or condemn our own in foreign things; and biting one another, we are devoured of one another." This was the product of leaving the simplicity and perfection of the first rule; by which the church, for so many ages of martyrdom, was preserved and defended, and consummated their religious lives, and their holy baptism of blood, and which they opposed as a sufficient shield, against all heresies arising in the church.

And yet the Nicene fathers did add no new arti-

[d] Contr Elipand. Tolet. lib. i.

[e] Casu Hosii, planè miserabili, catholicus orbis contremuit, concussæque sunt solidissimæ petræ.—Baron. A. C. 347. 17. 18.

[f] Vide Epist. Marcellinorum ad Episcopos in Dio-Cesarea exulantes.

[g] Pro S. Athanas. lib. i. apud Baron. A. D. 336. 13.

[h] Idem aiunt Martinus Polonus, Alphonsus de Castro, et Volaterranus.

[i] Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quæstio est, dum de ambiguis, dum de auctoribus querela est; dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dumque alter alteri anathema esse cœpit, prope jam nemo est Christi. —S. Hilar.

cle, of new matter;[k] but explicated the filiation of Jesus Christ, saying in what sense he was the Son of God; which was, in proper speaking, an interpretation of a word in the apostles' creed: and yet this occasioned such stirs, and gave so little satisfaction at first, and so great disturbances afterwards, that St. Hilary[l] called them happy, who neither made, nor knew, nor received, any other symbol besides that most simple creed used in all churches ever since the apostles' days.

However, it pleased the Divine Providence so to conduct the spirits of the catholic prelates, that by their wise and holy adhering to the creed, as explicated at Nice, they procured great authority to the Nicene faith, which was not only the truth, but a truth delivered and confirmed by the most famous and excellent prelates that ever the christian church could glory in, since the death of the apostles. But yet that the inconvenience might be cut off, which came in upon the occasion of the Nicene addition (for it produced thirty explicative creeds more in a short time, as Marcus Ephesius openly affirmed in the council of Florence); in the council of Ephesus,[m] which was the third general, it was forbidden that ever there should be any addition to the Nicene faith: "That it should not be lawful from thenceforward, for any one to produce, to write, or to compose any other faith," or creed, "besides that which was defined by the holy fathers, meeting at Nice in the Holy Spirit." Here the supreme power of the church, a general council, hath declared that it never should be lawful to add any thing to the former confession of faith explicated at Nice; and this canon was renewed in the next general council, that of Chalcedon; "That the faith formerly determined should, at no hand, in no manner, be shaken or moved any more:"[n] meaning, by addition or diminution. There are some so impertinently weak as to expound these canons to mean only the adding any thing contrary to the Nicene faith; which is an answer against reason and experience; for it is not imaginable that any man, admitting the Nicene creed, can, by an addition, intend expressly to contradict it; and if he does not admit and believe it, he would lay that confession aside, and not meddle with it: but if he should design the inserting of a clause that should secretly undermine it, he must suppose all men that see it, to be very fools, not to understand it, or infinitely careless of what they believe and profess: but if it should happen so, then this were a very good reason of the prohibition of any thing whatsoever to be added, lest, secretly and undiscernibly, the first truth be confuted by the new article: and, therefore, it was a wise caution to forbid all additions, lest some may prove to be contrary. And then, secondly, it is against the experience of things; for, first, the canon was made upon the occasion of a creed brought into the council by Charisius: but all creeds thereupon were rejected, and the Nicene adhered to, and commanded to be so for ever. For, as Balsamon[o] observes, there were three things done in this canon; 1. There was an edict made in behalf of the things decreed at Ephesus. 2. In like manner, the holy creed being made in the first synod, this creed was read aloud, and caution was given that no man should make any other creed, upon pain of deposition, if he were an ecclesiastic; of excommunication, if he were a laic. 3. The third thing he also thus expresses: "The same thing also is to be done to them, who receive and teach the decrees of Nestorius." So that the creed that Charisius brought in, was rejected, because it was contrary to the Nicene faith; but all symbols were, for ever after, forbidden to be made, not only lest any thing contrary be admitted, but because they would admit of no other; and this very reason St. Athanasius[p] assigned, why the fathers of the council of Sardis denied the importunity of some, who would have something added to the Nicene confession; they would not do it, lest the other should seem defective. And next to this, it was carefully observed by the following councils, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, and by itself in a great affair: for, 1. Though this council determined the blessed Virgin Mary to be Θεοτόκος, the "mother of God," against Nestorius; yet, 2. The fathers would not put the article into the creed of the church; but esteemed it sufficient to determine the point and condemn Nestorius; and, 3. The Greek church hath ever since most religiously observed this Ephesine canon; and, 4. Upon this account, have vehemently spoken against the Latins, for adding a clause at Chantilly, in France. 5. St. Athanasius,[q] speaking of the Nicene faith, or creed, says, "It is sufficient for the destruction of all impiety, and for the confirmation of all the holy faith in Christ;" and, therefore, there could be no necessity of adding any thing to so full, so perfect an instrument; and, consequently, no reasonable cause pretended, why it should be attempted: especially since there had been so many, so intolerable inconveniences already introduced, by adding to the symbols their unnecessary expositions. 6. The purpose of the fathers is fully declared by the epistle of St. Cyril,[r] in which he recites the decree of the council, and adds, as a full explication of the council's meaning, "We permit neither ourselves nor others to change one word or syllable of what is there." The case is here, as it was in Scripture, to which no addition is to be made; nothing to be diminished from it. But yet every doctor is permitted to expound, to enlarge the expressions, to deliver the sense, and to declare, as well as they can, the meaning of it. And much more might the doctors of the church do to the creed; to which, although something was added at Nice and Constantinople, yet, from thenceforward, they might, in private, or in public, declare what they thought was the meaning, and what were the consequents, and what was virtually contained in the articles;

[k] Quid unquam aliud ecclesia conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut, quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem posteà diligentiùs crederetur.—Vincent. Lirin. contr. Hæres. c. 32.
[l] Lib. de Synodis.
[m] Concil. Ephes. can. 7.
[n] The author of the letter, p. 7.
[o] In can. 7. Vide Balsam. in eun.
[p] Epist. ad Epict.
[q] Epist. ad Epict.
[r] Cyril. Alex. ad Johan. Antioch. sess. 5.

but nothing of this, by any authority whatsoever, was to be put into the creed. For in articles of belief, simplicity is part of its excellency and sacredness; and those mysteriousnesses and life-giving articles, which are fit to be put into creeds, are, as Philistion said of hellebore, medicinal when it is in great pieces, but dangerous or deadly when it is in powder. And I remember what a heathen said of the emperor Constantius, who troubled himself too much in curiosities, and nice arguings about things unintelligible and unnecessary: "Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confudit. In quâ scrutandâ perplexiùs quàm in componendâ graviùs excitavit dissidia, quæ progressa fusiùs aluit concertationem verborum dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium." Christian religion is absolute and simple; and they that conduct it, should compose all the parts of it with gravity, not perplex it with curious scrutinies, nor draw away any word or article, to the sense of his own interest. For if it once pass the bounds set by the first masters of the assemblies, and lose that simplicity with which it was invested; there is no term or limit which can be any more set down. "Exempla non consistunt, sed, quamvis in tenuem recepta tramitem, latissimè evagandi sibi faciunt potestatem." The divesting the church from the simplicity of her faith, is like removing the ancient land-mark: you cannot tell by the mark what country you are in, whether in your own or in the enemy's. And in the world, nothing is more unnecessary. For if that faith be sufficient, if in that faith the church went to heaven, if in that she preserved unity, and begat children to Christ, and nursed them up to be perfect men in Christ, and kept herself pure from heresy, and unbroken by schism; whatsoever is added to it, is either contained in the article virtually, or it is not. If not, then it is no part of the faith, and, by the laws of faith, there is no obligation passed upon any man to believe it. But if it be, then he that believes the article, does virtually believe all that is virtually contained in it: but no man is to be pressed with the consequents drawn from thence, unless the transcript be drawn by the same hand that wrote the original; for we are sure it came in the simplicity of it, from an infallible Spirit; but he that bids me believe his deductions under pain of damnation, bids me, under pain of damnation, believe that he is an unerring logician: for which, because God hath given me no command, and himself can give me no security; if I can defend myself from that man's pride, God will defend me from damnation.

But let us see a little further, with what constancy that and the following ages of the church did adhere to the apostles' creed, as the sufficient and perfect rule of faith. There was an imperial edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius: "Cunctos populos, quos clementiæ nostræ regit imperium, in eâ volumus religione versari, quam Divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat; quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandriæ episcopum, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis: hoc est, ut, secundum apostolicam disciplinam, evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti unam deitatem, sub pari majestate, et sub piâ trinitate, credamus. Hanc legem sequentes christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti: reliquos verò dementes vesanosque judicantes, hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere, divinâ primùm vindictâ, post etiam motu animi nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos." Part of this being cited in the "Dissuasive," to prove that in the early ages of the church, the christian faith was much more simple than it is now in the Roman church; and that upon easier terms men might then be catholic: it was replied by some one of the opponents,[r] "That by this law was not meant, that all who believed the Trinity were catholics absolutely, but only as to those points:"—and the reason given is this; "Because after this law, the Novatians, Donatists, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of the trinity and unity of the Godhead:" but this thing was spoken without all care whether it were to the purpose or no. For when this law was made, that was the rule of catholicism (as appears by the words of the law): and if afterwards it became altered, and the bishops became too opinionative, or thought themselves forced into further declarations; must, therefore, the precedent law be judged "ex post facto" by what they did afterwards? It might as well have been said; the church was never content with the apostles' creed, because afterwards the Lutherans, and Calvinists, and Zuinglians, &c. were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of all that is in the apostles' creed. "Ex post facto nunquam crescit præteriti æstimatio," says the law. But for the true understanding of this imperial law, we must know that the confession of the holy Trinity and Unity, was not set down there, as a single article, but as a summary of the apostles' creed; the three parts of which have for their heads the three persons of the holy and undivided Trinity. And this appears by the relation the law makes to the faith St. Peter taught the church of Rome; and to the creed of Damasus, which may be seen in St. Jerome, who rejects the creed of that worthy prelate, in the second tome of his works; in which the apostolical creed is explicated, that what relates to the Trinity and Unity, spoken of in the imperial law, or rule of catholics and christians, is set down in its full purpose and design: and this thing may better be understood by an instance in the catechism of the church of England; for when the catechumen hath at large recited the apostles' creed, he is taught to sum it up in this manner: "First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world: secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind: thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God." This is the summary of the creed; and these things are not to be considered as articles distinct and complete, and integrating the christian faith, but

[r] The Letter to a Friend, p. 4.

as a breviary of that faith, to which, in the same place, it is made to relate; just as the imperial law does relate to the faith of Peter, and the creed of Damasus, and St. Peter of Alexandria: concerning which, he that says much, says no more; and he that says little, says no less; for the faith is the same as I have already cited the words of St. Irenæus. Since then the emperors made the summary of the apostles' creed to be the rule of discerning catholics from heretics; it follows that the Roman church catholic signifies something else than it did in the primitive church. St. Ambrose says, "Faith is conceived by the apostles' creed;" all faith lies in that, as the child in the mother's womb; and he compares it to a key, because "by it the darknesses of the devil are unlocked, that the light of Christ might come upon us; and the hidden sins of conscience are opened that the manifest works of righteousness may shine. This key is to be shown to our brethren, that by this, as scholars of St. Peter, they may shut the gates of hell, and open the doors of heaven." He also calls it, "The seal of our heart, and the sacrament of our warfare."—St. Jerome,[s] speaking of it, says, "The symbol of our faith and hope, which was delivered by the apostles, is not written in paper and ink, but in the fleshy tables of our hearts. After the confession of the Trinity, and unity of the church, the whole, or every sacrament of the christian religion, is concluded with the resurrection of the flesh." Which words are intimated, and in part transcribed by Isidore, of Seville. Ruffinus says, the apostles being to separate, and go to their several charges, appointed, "Normam futuræ prædicationis, regulam dandam credentibus, unanimitatis et fidei suæ indicium;" "The rule of what they were to preach to all the world, the measure for believers, the index of faith and unity;" "Not any speech, not so much as one, even of them that went before them in the faith, was admitted or heard by the church."—"By this creed the foldings of infidelity are loosed; by this, the gate of life is set open; by this, the glory of confession is shown. It is short in words, but great in sacraments. It confirms all men with the perfection of believing, with the desire of confessing, with the confidence of the resurrection. Whatsoever was prefigured in the patriarchs, whatsoever is declared in the Scriptures, whatsoever was foretold in the prophets, of God who was not begotten, of the Son of God, who is the only-begotten of God, or the Holy Spirit," &c. "Totum hoc breviter, juxta oraculum propheticum, symbolum in se continet confitendo:" so St. Austin[t]—who calls it, "The fulness of them that believe."—"It is the rule of faith, the short, the certain rule, which the apostles comprehended in twelve sentences, that the believers might hold the catholic unity, and convince the heretical pravity. The comprehension and perfection of our faith."[u]—"The short and perfect confession of the catholic symbol is consigned with so many sentences of the twelve apostles, is so furnished with celestial ammunition—that all the opinions of heretics may be cut off with that sword alone," said Pope Leo.[x] I could add many more testimonies declaring the simplicity of the christian faith, and the fulness and sufficiency of the apostolical creed. But I sum them up in the words of Rabanus Maurus:[y] "In the apostles' creed there are but few words, but it contains all religion" (omnia in eo continentur sacramenta): "for they were summarily gathered together from the whole Scriptures by the apostles; that because many believers cannot read, or if they can, yet by their secular affairs are hindered that they do not read the Scriptures, retaining these in their hearts they may have enough of saving knowledge."

Now, then, since the whole catholic church of God, in the primitive ages, having not only declared that all things necessary to salvation, are sufficiently contained in the plain places of Scripture; but that all, which the apostles knew necessary, they gathered together in a symbol or form of confession, and esteemed the belief of this sufficient unto salvation; and that they required no more "in credendis," as of necessity to eternal life, but the simple belief of these articles: these things ought to remain in their own form and order. For, what is and what is not necessary, is either such by the nature of the articles themselves, or by the economy of God's commandment: and what God did command, and what necessary effect every article had, the apostles only could tell, and others from them. They that pretend to a power of doing so as the apostles did, have shown their want of skill; and by that confess their want of power of doing that, which to do is beyond their skill. For, which sins are venial, and which are mortal, all the doctors of the church of Rome cannot tell; and how then can they tell this of error, when they cannot tell it of actions; but if any man will search into the harder things, or any more secret sacrament of religion, by that means to raise up his mind to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to a contempt of things below, he may do it if he please, so that he do not impose the belief of his own speculations upon others, or compel them to confess what they know not, and what they cannot find in Scriptures, or did not receive from the apostles. We find by experience, that a long act of parliament, or an indenture and covenant that is of great length, ends none, but causes many contentions; and when many things are defined, and definitions spun out into declarations, men believe less, and know nothing more. And what is man, that he who knows so little of his own body, of the things done privately in his own house, of the nature of the meat he eats; nay, that knows so little of his own heart, and is so great a stranger to the secret courses of nature;—I say, what is man, that in the things of God he should be ashamed to say,[z] "this is a secret; this God only knows; this he hath not revealed; this I admire,

[s] Epist. ad Pammach. contra Errores Johan. Hierosolymit. Exposit. Symbol. c. 2, 3, lib. v. Orig. c. 9.
[t] Serm. 131. de tempore, sive Serm. 2. de exposit. Symboli ad Competentes.
[u] Serm. 181. de tempore. Hom. 115.
[x] Epist. 13. ad Pulcher. Augustum.
[y] Lib. ii. de institut. Clericorum. c. 56.
[z] S. Athanas. ep. ad Serapion.

but I understand not; I believe, but I understand it to be a mystery?" And cannot a man enjoy the gift which God gives, and do what he commands, but he must dispute the philosophy of the gift, or the metaphysics of a command? Cannot a man eat oysters, unless he wrangle about the number of the senses which that poor animal hath? and will not condited mushrooms be swallowed down, unless you first tell whether they differ specifically from a sponge? Is it not enough for me[a] to believe the words of Christ, saying, "This is my body?" and cannot I take it thankfully, and believe it heartily, and confess it joyfully; but I must pry into the secret, and examine it by the rules of Aristotle and Porphyry, and find out the nature and the undiscernible philosophy of the manner of its change, and torment my own brains, and distract my heart, and torment my brethren, and lose my charity, and hazard the loss of all the benefits intended to me, by the holy body,—because I break those few words into more questions, than the holy bread is into particles to be eaten? Is it not enough, that I believe, that, "whether we live or die, we are the Lord's," in case we serve him faithfully? but we must descend into hell, and inquire after the secrets of the dead, and dream of the circumstances of the state of separation, and damn our brethren if they will not allow us and themselves to be half damned in purgatory? It is not enough that we are christians? that is, that we put all our hope in God, who freely giveth us all things by his Son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by his death; that he rose again for our justification; that we are made members of his body in baptism; that he gives us of his Spirit, that being dead to the lusts of this world, we should live according to his doctrine and example; that is, that we do no evil, that we do what good we can; that we love God, and love our brother; that we suffer patiently, and do good things in expectation of better, even of a happy resurrection to eternal life, which he hath promised to us by his Son, and which we shall receive, if we walk in the Spirit, and live in the Spirit? What is wanting to him that does all this,—but that he do so still? Is not this faith unto righteousness, and the confession of this faith, unto salvation? We all believe we shall arise from our graves at the last day; one sort of christians thinks with one sort of body, and another thinks with another: but these conjectures ought not to be accounted necessary; and we are not concerned to dispute which it is; for we shall never know by all our disputing; but we may lose the good of it, if we make it an argument of uncharitableness. But besides this,

Did not the apostles "desire to know nothing but Christ Jesus, and him crucified," and risen again? and did not they preach this faith to all the world, and did they preach any other; but severely reprove all curious and subtle questions, and all pretences of science or knowledge, falsely so called, when men languished about questions and strife of words? Are we not taught by the apostles, that we ought not to receive our weak brother unto doubtful disputations; and that the servant of God ought not to strive? Did not they say, that all that keep the foundation shall be saved; some with, and some without loss? and that erring brethren are to be tolerated; and that if they be servants of God, and yet, in a matter of doctrine or opinion, "otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this also unto them?" And if these things be thus, why shall one christian church condemn another, which is built upon the same foundation with herself? And how can it be imagined, that the servants of God cannot be saved now, as in the days of the apostles? Are we wiser than they? are our doctors more learned, or more faithful? Is there another covenant made with the church since their days? or is God less merciful to us than he was to them? Or hath he made the way to heaven narrower in the end of the world, than at the beginning of the christian church? Do men live better lives now, than at the first; so that a holy life is so enlarged, that the foundation of faith laid at first is not broad enough to support the new buildings? We find it much otherwise. And men need not enlarge the articles and conditions of faith in these degenerate ages, wherein, "when Christ comes, he shall hardly upon earth find any faith" at all: and if there were need, yet no man is able to do it, because "Christ only is our Lord and Master," and no man is master of our faith.

But to come closer to the thing. It is certain, there is nothing simply necessary to salvation now, that is not so always; and this must be confessed by all that admit of the so much commended rule of Vincentius Lirinensis; "That which was always and every where believed by all, that is the rule of faith:" and, therefore, there can be no new measure, no new article, no new determination, no declaration, obliging us to believe any proposition that was not always believed. And, therefore, as that which was first is true, that which was at first and nothing else, is necessary. Nay, suppose many truths to be found out by industry, and by Divine assistances, yet no more can be necessary; because nothing of this could ever be wanting to the church. Therefore, the new discovered truth cannot of itself be necessary; neither can the discovery make it necessary to be believed, unless I find it to be discovered and revealed by him, whose very discovery, though accidental, yet can make it necessary, that is, unless I be convinced that God hath spoken it. Indeed, if that happen, there is no further inquiry. But, because there are no new revelations since the apostles died, whatever comes in after them, is only by man's ratiocination: and, therefore, can never go beyond a probability in itself, and never ought to pretend higher, lest God's incommunicable right be invaded, which is, to be the Lord of human understandings. The consequent of all this is, there can be nothing of necessity to be believed, which the church of God, taught by the apostles, did not believe necessary.

[a] S. Basil. de Spir. S. c. 18

SECTION V.

That the Church of Rome pretends to a Power of introducing into the Confessions of the Church, new Articles of Faith; and endeavours to alter and suppress the old Catholic Doctrine.

Now then, having established the christian rule and measure, I shall, in the next place, show how the church of Rome hath usurped an empire over consciences, offering to enlarge the faith, to add new propositions to the belief of christians; and imposes them under pain of damnation. And this I prove: 1. Because they pretend to a power to do it. 2. They have reason and necessity to do so, in respect of their interest, and they actually do so both in faith and manners. 3. They use indirect and unworthy arts, that they may do it without reproach and discovery. 4. Having done this, they, by enlarging faith, destroy charity.

1. They pretend to a power to do it. The authorities, which were brought in the first part of "the Dissuasive,"[a] did sufficiently prove this; but because they were snarled at, I shall justify and enlarge them, and confirm their sense by others. First, the pope hath authority (as his doctors teach the world) to declare an article of faith, and this is as much as the apostles themselves could do; that is, as the apostles, by gathering the necessary articles of faith, made up a symbol of what things are necessary, and by their imposing this collection on all churches, their baptizing into that faith, their making it a rule of faith to all christians, did declare, not only the truth, but the necessity of those articles to be learned, and to be believed; so the pope also pretends he can declare. For declaring a thing "to be true," and declaring it to be an "article of faith," are things of vast difference. He that declares it only to be true, imposes no necessity of believing it; but if he can make it appear to be true, he, to whom it so appears, cannot but believe it. But if he declares it to be an article of faith, he says, that God hath made it necessary to be known, and to be believed; and if any hath power to declare this, to declare I say, not as a doctor, but as an apostle, as Jesus Christ himself, he is Master and Lord of the conscience. Now that the pope pretends to this, we are fiercely taught by his doctors, and by his laws. Thus the gloss[b] upon the extravagant "de verborum significatione, cap. cum inter. verb. declaramus," says, "He being prince of the church, and Christ's vicar, can, in that capacity, make a declaration upon an article of the catholic faith." He can declare it "authoritativè," not only as a doctor, but as a prince; by empire and command, as "princeps ecclesiæ." The Sorbon can declare as well as he, upon the catholic faith, if it be only matter of skill and learning; but to declare so, as to bind every man to believe it; to declare so, as the article shall be a point of faith, when before this declaration it was not so "quoad nos;" this is that, which is pretended by declaring: and so this very gloss expounds it; adding to the former words, "The pope can make an article of faith, if an article of faith be taken not properly, but largely, that is, for a doctrine which now we must believe; whereas, before such declaration we were not tied to it."—These are the words of the gloss; the sense of which is this: there are some articles of faith, which are such before the declaration of the church, and some which are, by the church's declaration, made so; some were declared by the Scriptures, or by the apostles; and some by the councils, or popes of Rome; after which declaration, they are both alike, equally necessary to be believed; and this is that which we charge upon them, as a dangerous and intolerable point. For it says plainly, that whereas Christ makes some articles of faith, the pope can make others; for if they were not articles of faith before the declaration of the pope, then he makes them to be such; and that is truly (according to their own words) "facere articulum fidei;" "this is making an article of faith." Neither will it suffice to say, that this proposition, so declared, was, before such a declaration, really and indeed an article of faith in itself, but not in respect of us. For this is all one in several words. For an article of faith is a relative term; it is a proposition which we are commanded to believe, and to confess; and to say, this is an article of faith, and yet that no man is bound to believe it, is a contradiction. Now, then, let it be considered; no man is bound to believe any article till it be declared, as no man is bound to obey a law till it be promulgated; faith comes by hearing; till there be hearing there can be no faith, and, therefore, no article of faith. The truth is eternal, but faith is but temporary, and depends upon the declaration. Now, then, suppose any article; I demand, did Christ and his apostles declare it to the church? If not, how does the pope know it, who pretends to no new revelations? If the apostles did not declare it, how were they faithful in the house of God? and how did St. Paul say truly,[c] "I have not failed or ceased," ἀναγγεῖλαι, to "declare," to annunciate to you all the whole counsel of God. But if they did say true, and were faithful, and did declare it all; then was it an article of faith before the pope's declaration, and then it was a sin of ignorance not to believe it,—and of malice, or pusillanimity, not to confess it,—and a worse sin to have contradicted it. And who can suppose that the apostolical churches and their descendants should be ignorant in any thing that was then a matter of faith? If it was not then, it cannot now be declared that it was so then; for to declare a thing properly, is to publish what it was before; if it was then, there needs no declaration of it now, unless by declaring we mean preaching it; and then every parish priest is bound to do it, and can do it as well as the pope. If, therefore, they mean more, as it is certain they do,—then, declaring an article of faith is but the civiller word for making it. Christ's preaching, and the apostles' imposing it, made it an article of faith, in itself, and to us; other declaration, excepting

[a] Chap. 1. sect. page 10. edit. Dublin, 1664.

[b] Gloss. ibid.

[c] Acts xx. 27.

only teaching, preaching, expounding, and exhorting, we know none, and we need none; for they only could do it, and, it is certain, they did it fully.

But I need not argue, and take pains to prove, that by declaring they mean more than mere preaching, themselves own the utmost intention of the charge. The pope can "statuere articulos fidei;" that is more than declare merely; it must be to appoint, to decree, to determine, that such a thing is, of necessity, to be believed unto salvation: and because Luther[d] said the pope could not do this, he was condemned by a bull of Pope Leo. But we may yet further know the meaning of this; for their doctors are plain in affirming, that "the pope is the foundation, rule, and principle of faith." So Turrecremata:[e] "For to him it belongs to be the measure, and rule, and science of things that are to be believed, and of all things which are necessary to the direction of the faithful unto life eternal."—And again, "It is easy to understand that it belongs to the authority of the pope of Rome,[f] as to the general and principal master and doctor of the whole world, to determine those things which are of faith; and by consequence to publish a symbol of faith; to interpret the senses of Holy Scriptures; o approve and reprove the sayings of every doctor belonging to faith."—Hence comes it to pass, that "the doctors say, that the apostolical see is called the mistress and mother of faith."[g] And what can this mean, but to do that which the apostles could not do; that is, to be lords over the faith of christendom? For to declare only an article of faith, is not all they challenge; they can do more. As he is pope, he can not only declare an article of faith, but introduce a new one: and this is that, which I suppose Augustinus Triumphus to mean, when he says,[h] "Symbolum novum condere ad papam solum spectat:" and, if that be not plain enough, he adds,[i] "As he can make a new creed, or symbol of faith; so he can multiply new articles, one upon another." For the conclusion of this particular, I shall give a very considerable instance, which relies not upon the credit and testimony of their doctors, but is matter of fact, and notorious to all the world.[k] For it will be to no purpose for them to deny it, and say, that the pope can only declare an article, but not make a new one. For it is plain, that they so declare an old one, that they bring a new one in; they pretend the old creed to be with child of a cushion, and they introduce a supposititious child of their own. The instance I mean, is that article of the apostles' creed, "I believe the holy catholic church." The question is made, what is meant by it? They that have a mind to it, understand it easily enough; it was a declaration of the coming of the Messias into the world; the great proof that Jesus of Nazareth was the Shiloh, or he that was to come. For whereas the Jews were the enclosure and peculiar people of God; at the coming of the Messias it should be so no more; but the gentiles being called, and the sound of the gospel going into all the world, it was no more the church of the Jews, but "Ecclesia totius mundi," "the church of the universe," the universal or catholic church, of Jews and gentiles, of all people and all languages. Now this great and glorious mystery we confess in this article; that is, we confess, that God hath given to his Son "the heathen for an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the world for a possession;" that "God is no respecter of persons,[l] but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." This is the plain sense of the article, and renders the article also highly considerable, and represents it as fundamental; and it is agreeable with the very economy of the gospel, and determines one of the greatest questions that ever were in the world, the dispute between the Jews and gentiles; and is not only easy and intelligible, but greatly for edification.

Now, then, let us see how the church of Rome, by her head and members, expounds or declares this article, "I believe the holy catholic church;" so it is in the apostles' creed. "I believe one holy, catholic, and apostolic church;" so the Nicene creed. Here is no difference, and no commentary,—but the same thing with the addition of one word to the same sense: only it includes also the first founders of this catholic church; as if it had been said, "I believe that the church of Christ is disseminated over the world, and not limited to the Jewish pale; and that this church was founded by the apostles upon the rock Christ Jesus." But the church of Rome hath handled this article after another manner; she hath explained it so clearly, that no wise man can believe it; she hath declared the article so as to make it a new one, and made an addition to it that destroys the principle: "Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco:" "I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches."—And at the end of this declaration of the creed, it is added, as at the end of the Athanasian, "this is the true catholic faith, without which no man can be saved;" and this is the creed of Pope Pius IV. enjoined to be sworn by all ecclesiastics, secular or religious. Now let it be considered, whether this declaration be not a new article, and not only so, but a destruction to the old. 1. The apostolical creed professes to believe the catholic or universal church. The pope limits it, and calls it the catholic Roman church; that, by all he means some, and the universal means but particular. But besides this, 2. It is certain, this must be a piece of a new creed; since it is plain, the apostles did no more intend the Roman church should be comprehended under the catholic church, than as every other church which was then, or should be after. And why Roman should be put in, and not the Ephesine, the Cæsarean, or the Hierosolymitan, it is not to be imagined.

[d] Art. 27. Certum est in manu ecclesiæ aut papæ prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, &c.
[e] Turrecrem, lib. ii. cap. 107. [f] Idem ibid.
[g] Extravag. de verb. signific. cap. Quia quorundam gloss.
[h] Qu. 59. art. 1. [i] Art. 2.
[k] Vide Salmeron. prolog. in comment. in epist. ad Roman. part 3. p. 176. Sect. Tertiò dicitur.
[l] Acts x. 35.

3. This must needs be a new article, because the full sense and mystery of the old article was perfect and complete, before the Roman church was in being. "I believe the holy catholic church" was an article of faith before there was any Roman church at all. 4. The interposing "the Roman" into the creed, as equal, and of the extent with the catholic, is not only a false, but a malicious addition. For they, having perpetually in their mouths, "that out of the catholic church there is no salvation;" and now against the truth, simplicity, interest, and design of the apostolical creed, having made the Roman and catholic to be all one;—they have also established this doctrine as a virtual part of the creed, that out of the communion of the church of Rome there is no salvation to be hoped for: and so by this means damn all the christians of the world, who are not of their communion; and that is the far biggest part of the catholic church. 5. How intolerable a thing it is to put the word "Roman" to expound "catholic" in the creed; when it is confessed among themselves,[m] that it is not of faith, "that the apostolic church cannot be separated from the Roman;" and Bellarmine proves this;[n] because there is neither Scripture nor tradition that affirms it: and then if ever they be separated, and the apostolic be removed to Constantinople, then the creed must be changed again, and it must run thus: "I believe the holy catholic and apostolic Constantinopolitan church." 6. There is, in this declaration of the apostolical creed, a manifest untruth decreed, enjoined, professed, and commanded to be sworn to; and that is, that "the Roman church is the mother of all churches;" when it is confessed that St. Peter sat bishop at Antioch seven years before his pretended coming to Rome; and that "Jerusalem is the mother of all churches."[o] For "the law went forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem:" and, therefore, the œcumenical council of Constantinople, in the consecration of St. Cyril, said, "We show unto you Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all other churches." The like is said of the church of Cæsarea, (with an exception only of Jerusalem,) "quæ prope mater omnium ecclesiarum, et fuit ab initio, et nunc quoque est, et nominatur: quam Christiana respublica, velut centrum suum circulus, undique observat."—How this saying of St. Gregory, the divine, can consist with the new Roman creed, I leave it to the Roman doctors to consider. In the mean time it is impossible that it should be true, that the Roman church is the mother of all churches, not only because it is not imaginable she could beget her own grandmother, but for another pretty reason, which Bellarmine hath invented;[p] "Though the ancients every where call the Roman church 'The mother of all churches,' and that all bishops had their consecration and dignity from her; yet, this seems not to be true, but in that sense, because Peter was bishop of Rome: he ordained all the apostles and all other bishops, by himself, or by others. Otherwise, since all the apostles constituted very many bishops in divers places, if the apostles were not made bishops by Peter, certainly the greatest part of bishops will not deduce their original from Peter." This is Bellarmine's argument, by which he hath perfectly overthrown that clause of Pius IV.'s creed; "that the Roman church is the mother of all churches." He confesses she is not, unless St. Peter did consecrate all the apostles: he might have added, no, nor then neither, unless Peter had made the apostles to be bishops after himself was bishop of Rome; for what is that to the Roman church, if he did this before he was the Roman bishop? But then, that Peter made all the apostles bishops is so ridiculous a dream, that in the world nothing is more unwarrantable. For, besides that St. Paul was consecrated by none but Christ himself, it is certain that he ordained Timothy and Titus, and that the succession in those churches ran from the same original in the same line; and there is no record in Scripture that ever St. Peter ordained any; not any one of the apostles who received their authority from Christ and the Holy Spirit, in the same times altogether; which thing is also affirmed by Azorius,[q] and Suarez,[r] who also quotes for it the authority of St. Austin,[s] and the gloss. So that from first to last, it appears that the Roman church is not the mother church, and yet every priest is sworn to live and die in the belief of it, that she is. However, it is plain, that this "assumentum" and shred of the Roman creed, is such a declaration of the old article of believing the catholic church, that it is not only a direct new article of faith, but destroys the old.

By thus handling the creed of the catholic church we shall best understand what they mean, when they affirm that the pope can interpret Scripture "authoritativè," and "he can make Scripture."—"Ad quem pertinet sacram Scripturam authoritativè interpretari; ejus enim est interpretari, cujus est condere:" "He that can make Scripture, can make new articles of faith surely."—Much to the same purpose are the words of Pope Innocent IV.,[t] "He can not only interpret the gospel, but add to it." Indeed, if he have power to expound it "authoritativè," that is as good as making it; for by that means he can add to it, or take from the sense of it. But that the pope can do this, that is, can interpret the Scriptures "authoritativè," "sententialitèr," "obligatoriè," so as it is not lawful to hold the contrary, is affirmed by Augustinus Triumphus,[u] Turrecremata,[x] and Hervey.[y] And Cardinal Hosius[z] goes beyond this, saying, "That although the words of the Scripture be not open, yet being uttered in the sense of the church, they are the express words of God; but uttered in any other sense, are not the express

[m] Dried. de dogmat. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 3. p. 3.
[n] Lib. iv. de Pontif. Rom. c. 4. sect. At secundum.
[o] Apud Baron. A. D. 382. n. 15. vide etiam S. Basil. tom. ii. ep. 30. et Greg. Theol.
[p] Lib. i. de Rom. Pontif. c. 23. sect. Secunda ratio.
[q] Institut. moral. part 2. lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Altera opinio.
[r] De tripl. virt. Theolog. disp. 10. sect. 1. n. 5. et 7.
[s] Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. q. 97.
[t] Innocent. IV. in cap. super eo. de Bigamis.
[u] Qu. 67. a. 2.
[x] Lib. ii. c. 107.
[y] De potestate Papæ.
[z] De expresso Dei verbo et in Epilogo.

word of God, but rather of the devil." To these I only add what we are taught by another cardinal;[a] who persuading the Bohemians to accept the sacrament of the Lord's supper in one kind, tells them; —and it is that I said before;—"if the church, viz. of Rome, (for that is with them the catholic church,) or if the pope, that is, the virtual church, do expound any evangelical sense contrary to what the current sense and practice of the catholic primitive church did; not that, but this present, interpretation must be taken for the way of salvation: for God changes his judgment, as the church does."[b] So that it is no wonder, that the pope can make new articles, or new Scriptures, or new gospel; it seems the church of Rome can make contrary gospel: that if in the primitive church to receive in both kinds was "via salutis," because it was understood then to be a precept evangelical; afterwards the way of salvation shall be changed, and the precept evangelical must be understood to take it in one kind. But this is denied by Balduinus,[c] who, to the question, "whether can the pope find out new articles of faith?" says, "I answer, yes: but not contrary." It seems the doctors differ upon that point: but that which the cardinal of Cusa, the legate of Pope Nicholas V. taught the Bohemians, was, how they should answer their objection: for, they said, if Christ commanded one thing, and the council, or the pope, or the prelates commanded contrary, they would not obey the church, but Christ. But how greatly they were mistaken, the cardinal legate[d] told them, "Possibile non est, Scripturam quamcunque sive ipsa præceptum sive consilium contineat, in eos qui apud ecclesiam existunt, plus auctoritatis ligandi habere aut solvendi fideles, quàm ipsa ecclesia voluerit, aut verbo aut opere expresserit:" and in the third epistle,[e] he tells them, "The authority of the church is to be preferred before the Scriptures."—The same also is taught by Elysius Neapolitanus.

It matters not what the primitive church did; no, nor much what the apostolical did: "for the apostles, indeed, wrote some certain things, not that they should rule our faith and our religion, but that they should be under it;"[f] that is, they submit the Scriptures to the faith, nay, even to the practice of the church. For "the pope can change the gospel," said Henry,[g] the master of the Roman palace,—"and, according to place and time, give it another sense:" insomuch, that if any "man should not believe Christ to be the true God and man, if the pope thought so too, he should not be damned," said the cardinal of St. Angelo; and Sylvester Prierias[h] expressly affirmed, that the authority of the church of Rome, and the pope's, is greater than the authority of the Scriptures. These things being so notorious, I wonder with what confidence Bellarmine can say, that "the catholics,—meaning his own parties,—"do not subject the Scripture, but prefer it before councils; and that there is no controversy in this;" when the contrary is so plain in the pre-alleged testimonies: but because his conscience checked him in the particular, he thinks to escape with a distinction. If the catholics sometimes say, that "the Scriptures depend upon the church, or a council," they do not understand it, in respect of authority or in themselves; but by explication, and in relation to us,[i] which is too crude an affirmative to be believed: for besides that Pighius, in his epistle to Paul III. before his books of ecclesiastical hierarchy, affirms, that the whole authority of the Scripture depends upon the church; and the testimonies above cited, do in terms confute this saying of his; the distinction itself helps not all: for if the Scriptures have "quoad nos," no authority, but what the pope or the church is pleased to give them; then they have in themselves none at all. For "the Scriptures were written for our learning; not to instruct the angels, but to conserve the truths of God for the use of the church; and they have no other use or design: and if a man shall say the Scriptures have in themselves great authority, he must mean that in themselves they are highly credible "quoad nos;" that is, that we are bound to believe them for their own truth and excellency. And if a man shall say, they have no authority "quoad nos," but what the church gives them; he says, they are not credible in themselves, and "in se" have no authority; so that this distinction is a metaphysical nothing, and is brought only to amuse men that have not leisure to consider. And he that says one, says the other; or as bad, under a thin and transparent cover. The church gives testimony external to the Scripture; but the internal authority is inherent, and derives only from God. But let the witness of the church be of as perfect force as can be desired, I meddle not with it here; but that which I charge on the Roman doctors, is, that they give to their church a power of introducing and imposing new articles of belief; and pretending that they have power so to do; and their definitions are of authority equal if not superior to the Scriptures. And this I have now proved by many testimonies: to all which I add that of the canon law itself. In which Gratian[k] most falsely alleges pretended words of St. Austin, (which Bellarmine[l] calls "a being deceived by a false copy,") and among the canonical Scriptures, reckons the decretal epistles of the popes, "inter quas sanè illæ sunt quas apostolica sedes habere, et ab eâ alii meruerunt accipere epistolas:" now who can tell of any copy of St. Austin, or has heard of any, in which these words were seen? Certainly, no man alive; but if Gratian was deceived, the deceivers were among themselves; and yet they loved

[a] Card. Cusan. Epist. 2. ad Bohemos de usu Communionis, p. 833.
[b] Epist. 3. p. 838.
[c] In I Decret. de summâ Trinitate et fide Cathol. n. 41. 15. dist. Canones.
[d] Epist. 2. ad Bohemos, p. 831. edit. Basil. A. D. 1565.
[e] In piorum Clypeo. qu. 29. artic. 5.
[f] Pighius Hierarch. lib. i. c. 2.
[g] Ad legatos Bohemicos sub Felice Papa, A. D. 1417. Vide Polan. in Dan. 11. 371.
[h] Sylvest. Prierias cont. Lutherum, conclu. 56.
[i] Bellarm. de Concil. autor. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. Diximus.
[k] Dist. 19. Can. in Canonicis.
[l] De Concil. autorit. lib. ii. c. 12. sect. Respondeo ad Gratianum.

the deception, or else they might have expunged those words, when Gregory XIII. appointed a committee of learned men to purge that βόρβορος. But it yet remains; and if they do not pass for St. Austin's words, yet they are good law at Rome. "And heretics indeed talk otherwise," said Eckius:[m] "Objiciunt hæretici, major est auctoritas Scripturæ quam ecclesiæ;" but he hath confuted them with an excellent argument. The church using blood and strangled, hath by authority changed a thing defined by the Scripture. "Behold," says he, "the power of the church over Scripture!" I love not to rake in such polluted channels; he that is pleased with it, may find enough to entertain his wonder, and his indignation, if he please to read Capistrano,[n] Cupers,[o] Andradius,[p] Antonius,[q] Pighius,[r] Silvester Prierias,[s] Johannes Maria Verratus,[t] Coster,[u] Zabarel,[x] and Bellarmine[y] himself, who yet, with some more modesty of expression, affirms the same thing in substance, which according as it hath been, is, and is still likely to be made use of, is enough to undo the church; "The word of the pope, teaching out of his chair, is 'non omnino,' 'not altogether,' or 'not at all' the word of man, that is, a word liable to error, but in some sort the word of God," &c. —Agreeable to which is that which the lawyers say, that the canon law is the Divine law; so said Hostiensis.[z] I hope I shall not be esteemed to slander her, when these writers think they so much honour the church of Rome in these sayings. In pursuance of this power and authority, Pope Pius IV. made a new creed; and putting his power into act, did multiply new articles one upon another. And in the council of Trent, amongst many other new and fine doctrines, this was one, that "it is heresy to say, that matrimonial causes do not pertain to ecclesiastical judges:" and yet we in England owe this privilege to the favour and bounty of the king, and so did the ancient churches to the kindness and religion of the emperor; and, if it were so, or not so, it is but matter of discipline, and cannot by a simple denial of it become a heresy. So that what I have alleged, is not the opinion of some private doctors, but the public practice of the Roman church. "Commissum ei (papæ) munus non modò articulos indeterminatos determinandi, sed etiam fidei symbolum condendi: atque hoc ipsum orthodoxos omnes omnium sæculorum agnovisse, et palam confessos esse;" it was said to Paulus Quintus, in an address to him.[a] And how good a catholic Baronius was in this particular, we may guess by what himself says concerning the business of the Apollinarists, in which the pope did and undid; "Ut planè appareat," says Baronius,[b] "ex arbitrio pependisse Romani pontificis, decreta sancire, et sancita mutare."

2. That which I am next to represent is, that the church of Rome hath reason and necessity to pretend to this power of making new articles; for they having in the body of their articles, and in the public doctrines allowed by them, and in the profession and practices of their church, so many new things, which at least seem contrary to Scripture, or are not at all in Scripture; and such for which it is impossible to show any apostolical or primitive tradition, do easily and openly betray their own weakness and necessity in this affair. My first instance is of their known arts of abusing the people, by pretended apparitions, and false miracles, for the establishing of strange opinions. "Non obscurum est quot opiniones invectæ sunt in orbem per homines, ad suum questum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præsidio," said Erasmus. These doctrines must needs be things that come over the walls, and in at the windows; they come not the right way. For besides that, as St. Chrysostom[c] says, "It was at first profitable that miracles should be done, and now it is profitable that they be not done; for then our faith was finished by miracles, but not by the Divine Scriptures:" miracles are like watering of plants, to be done when they are newly set, and before they have taken root. Hence the apostle saith, "Tongues are for a sign to them that believe not, and not for them that believe." So St. Gregory,[d] "Our ancestors followed after signs; by which it came to pass, that they should not be necessary to their posterity;" and "he[e] that yet looks for miracles that he may believe, is himself a miracle." Nay, to pretend miracles now-a-days, is the worst sign in the world. And here St. Austin,[f] in great zeal, gives warning of such things as these: "Let not a man say, this is true, because Donatus, Pontius, or another, hath done wonderful things; or because men praying at the memories of martyrs are heard; or because such or such things there happen, or because that brother of ours, or that sister of ours, waking saw such a vision, or sleeping dreamt such a dream: let those fictions of lying men, or wonders of deceitful spirits, be removed. For either those things which are spoken, are not true; or if any miracles of heretics be done, we ought to take heed the more. Because when our Lord said, some 'deceivers should arise which should do signs, and deceive, if it were possible, the very elect;' he commending this saying, vehemently added, 'Behold I have told you of it before.'" The same is also taught by the author[g] of the imperfect work on St. Matthew, imputed to St. Chrysostom, who calls the power of working miracles (after the first vocation of the gospel) "seductionis adjutoria," "the helps of seduction;" as at first they were used by Christ, and Christ's ser-

[m] Ios. Com. tit. 1. de Ecclesiâ et ejus autorit.
[n] Fol. 126. a. b. et 104. b. et 133. b.
[o] Pag. 42. n. 15. et p. 11. n. 18. et 124. n. 9.
[p] Defens. Trid. lib. i. et lib. ii. et Explic. Orthod. lib. ii.
[q] Pag. 3. lib. 23. c. 3. sect. 3.
[r] De fide et Justif. 7. 6. et Hierarch. Eccl. lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. et in præfatione ad Paulum tertium.
[s] Contr. Luther. Concl. 56.
[t] Dis. contr. Luther. 8. de Eccl. Concl. 1. lib. edit. 1551.
[u] Enchirid. c. 1.
[x] In 3. lib. Decret. de Convers. Conjug. c. ex Publico, n. 16.
[y] De Verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 10. sect. Ad decimum quintum.
[z] Super 2. de Cret. de Jurejur. c. Nimis, n. 1.
[a] Lib. Benedicti de Benedict. Bononiæ excusus, A. D. 1600.
[b] A. D. 373. n. 22.
[c] In 1 Cor. ii. tom. vi. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε χρησίμως ἐγίνετο, νῦν χρησίμως οὐ γίνεται.
[d] Homil. 29. in Evangel. [e] S. Aug. de verâ Relig. c. 25
[f] Id. de civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. 8.
[g] August. Tract. 13. in Evangel. Johan. Homil. 49.

vants, as instruments of vocation; and affirms, these helps of deceit were to be delivered to the devil. It was the same in the gospel, as it was in the law of Moses; after God had, by signs and wonders in the hand of Moses, fixed and established his law, which only was to be their rule; and caution was given, (Deut. i. 13.) that against that rule no man should be believed, though he wrought miracles. Upon which words Theodoret[h] says, "We are instructed, that we must not mind signs, when he that works them teaches any thing contrary to piety." And therefore these things can be to no purpose, unless it be to deceive; except this only, that where miracles are pretended, there is a warning also given, that there is danger of deception, and there is the seat of antichrist, "who is foretold should come in all signs, and lying wonders." "Generatio nequam signum quærit," said Christ. But it is remarkable by the doctrines, for which in the church of Rome[i] miracles are pretended, that they are a cover fitted for their dish; new miracles to destroy the old truths, and to introduce new opinions. For to prove any article of our creed, or the necessity of a Divine commandment, or the Divinity of the eternal Son of God, there is now no need of miracles, and for this way of proving these, and such articles as these, they trouble not themselves; but for transubstantiation, adoration of the consecrated bread and wine, for purgatory, invocation, and worship of saints, of their relics, of the cross, monastical vows, fraternities of friars and monks, the pope's supremacy, and double monarchy in the church of Rome, they never give over to make and boast prodigious miracles. But with what success we may learn from some of the more sober and wise amongst them. "In sacramento apparet caro, interdum humanâ procuratione, interdum operatione diabolicâ," said Alexander of Ales;[k] this, indeed, was an old trick; and St. Irenæus[l] reports, that it was done by Marcus, that great hæresiarch, that by his prayer he caused the eucharistical wine to appear as if it were turned into blood; and Biel[m] affirms, that "miracles are done to men who run to images, sometimes by operation of devils, to deceive those inordinate worshippers: God permitting it, and their infidelity exacting it." And when, in the question of the immaculate conception, there are miracles produced on both sides, (as the learned bishop[n] of the Canaries tells us,) it must needs be, that on one side the devil was the architect, if not on both. And such stories are so frequently related by the Romish legends, by St. Gregory, bishop of Rome, by Beda, by Vincentius Belvacensis Antoninus, by the "Speculum Exemplorum," and are accounted religious stories, and are so publicly preached and told by the friars in their sermons, and so believed by the people and the common sort of Roman catholics, and indifferently amongst many of the better sort, that their minds are greatly possessed with such a superstitious credulity, and are fed with such hypochondriacal and fond opinions, that it is observable, how they, by those usages, are become fond newsmongers, and reporters of every ridiculous story. "Hi piè nonnihil admentientes, supponunt reliquias, fabricant miracula, confinguntque (quæ exempla vocant) vel plausibiles, vel terribiles fabulas:" so Cornelius Agrippa[o] complains of the writers of such ridiculous stories in that church; that, as one of their own writers said, "they equal, if not exceed, Amadis and Clarianus." Who please to see more of this, may be satisfied with reading Canus, in the chapter above quoted: or, if he please, he may observe it in Bellarmine[p] himself; who out of those very legends and stories, which are disallowed by Canus, and out of divers others, as Garetius, Tilmanus, Bredenbachius, Thomas of Walden, and I know not who besides, recount seven miracles, to prove the proper natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; amongst which it is not the least which he tells, of the fellow's beast, who left his barley at the command of St. Anthony of Padua, and went to worship the sacrament. Such things as these it is no wonder that they are either acted or believed in the church of Rome, since so many popes and priests are magicians; and since that villain of a man, Pope Hildebrand, as Cardinal Beno relates in his life, could, by shaking of his sleeve, make sparks of fire fly from it. I end this, and make no other use of it than what is made by Aventinus,[q] saying, that "this pope under show of religion, is said to have laid the foundation of the empire of antichrist."—"Multi falsi prophetæ nebulas offundunt; fabulis, miraculis (exempla vocant) à veritate Christi plebem avertunt. Falsi tum prophetæ, falsi apostoli, falsi sacerdotes emersêre, qui simulatâ religione populum deceperunt, magna signa atque prodigia ediderunt, et in templo Dei sedere atque extolli super id quod colitur, cœperunt. Dumque suam potentiam, dominationemque stabilire conantur, caritatem, et simplicitatem Christianam extinxerunt." And they continue to do so to this day, where they have any hopes to prevail without discovery. Secondly, themselves acknowledge, that "there are many things of which was no inquiry in the primitive church, which yet, upon doubts arising, are now become perspicuous by the diligence of after-times;" it is the acknowledgment of the cardinal of Rochester. And Bellarmine[r] helps to make this good with a considerable instance, "Cum scriberentur Scripturæ, nondum cœperat usus vovendi sanctis;" and Cardinal Perron[s] adds, "Et quant aux autheurs plus proche du siècle apostolique, encore qu'il ne se trouve pas de vestiges de cette coûtume, &c." Neither in the age of the apostles, that is, "when the Scriptures were written, nor in the age next to it, are there any footsteps of vowing to saints: for then the custom was not begun." The pope's infallibility goes amongst very many for a catholic doctrine; in Spain and Italy, in Austria and Poland,

[h] Quæst. in Deuter. [i] Hic. 11. 19. vide Stellam; Ibid.
[k] Id. quartam sent. q. 53. [l] Iren. lib. i. c. 9.
[m] In canon Missa. lect. 49.
[n] Melchior Canus. loc. Commun. lib. xi. c. 6.
[o] De vani. Scien. c. 97.
[p] Bellar. lib. iii. de Euchar. c. 8. [q] Lib. v. et lib. vii.
[r] Lib. iii. De cultâ Sanctorum, c. 9. sect. Prætereà.
[s] Contre le Roi de la Grand Bretaigne.

it is so, and every where else where the Jesuits prevail: but when Bellarmine[t] had affirmed that Nilus, Gerson, Almain, Alphonsus à Castro, and Pope Adrian VI. had taught that the pope might be a heretic, if he defines without a general council; and in his censure of them, affirmed that this opinion is not "propriè hæretica," he plainly, by certain and immediate consequence, confesses, that for fourteen or fifteen hundred years the judgment of the pope was not esteemed infallible. Now if this be true, it is impossible that it can ever be determined as a catholic truth; for there is no catholic tradition for it. There was not for many ages; and, therefore, either there is no tradition in the present church for it, or if there be, it is contrary to the old tradition: and, therefore, either the tradition of the present church is no rule, or if it be, it is a very new one; and several ages are bound to believe contradictory propositions. That the pope is above a council is held by some Roman catholics, and it is held so by all the popes, and hath without scruple been determined in the chair, and contended for earnestly, for about two hundred years past; and yet all the world knows it was not so of old. For we know when the question began, even in the time of the first council of Pisa, a little before the council of Constance; and now, that the pope is above the council, is "sententia ferè communis;" nay, it is "ferè de fide," saith Bellarmine.[u] Which expression of his shows plainly, that articles of faith grow in the womb of the Roman church, as an embryo, to be perfected when the pope shall see his time. Nay, if the pope's definition "in cathedrâ" be infallible, or if it can be known where the pope does define "in cathedrâ;" this proposition that "the pope is above a council," is more than "ferè de fide;" for, that "the council is superior," is an heretical opinion, and the favourers of it heretics, Pius IV. affirmed,[x] in his complaint against Lansack, the French ambassador in the council of Trent, and he threatened to persecute and chastise them. And the like is to be said concerning that fine new article of faith made by Pope Paul IV., of which I have spoken in the first section, that a pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself, viz., by any oath; for that was the subject matter of the discourse. The number of the seven sacraments is now an article of the Roman faith, taught in their catechisms, determined in their councils, preached in their pulpits, disputed for against their adversaries; and yet the council of Florence was the first council, and Peter Lombard was the first man we find ever to have precisely fixed upon that number, as Bellarmine[y] and Valentia[z] sufficiently acknowledge, even when they would fain deny it. Here I might instance in the seal of confession, which, as they have at Rome passed it under a sacramental lock and key, and founded upon a Divine law, (for so they pretend,) is one of the new articles of faith, which wholly depends upon the authority of the church of Rome; who, for the sake of this, and many other articles, is compelled to challenge a strange power, even of making and imposing new creeds, or of quitting her new articles. But the whole order of sections in this chapter will be one continued argument of this particular.

[t] Lib. iv. De Pontifice Romano, c. 2. sect. Secunda opinio. et sect. Ex his quatuor.

[u] De Concil. Auctor. lib. ii. c. 14. sect. Ultima sententia; et c. 17. sect. Tertia propositio.

[x] A. D. 1562.

[y] De Effect. Sacr. lib. ii. c. 25. sect. Secunda probatio.

[z] In Thom. tom. iv. disp. 3. q. 6. punct. 2. sect. Tertiò objiciunt, &c.

SECTION VI.

Of the Expurgatory Indices in the Roman Church.

THEY use indirect and unworthy arts, that they may do it without reproach and discovery; and for this, I instance in the whole affair and annexes of their expurgatory indices; concerning which, three things are said in the first part of this Dissuasive. 1. That the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors, but with a clause of secrecy. 2. That they purged the indices of the fathers' works. 3. That they did also purge the works of the fathers themselves. The first and the last are denied by them that wrote against the "Dissuasive:" the second they confess, and endeavour to justify. But how well, will appear when I have first made good the first and the last.

1. That the king of Spain gave a clancular commission to the inquisitors, can be denied by no man, but by him that hath ignorance for his excuse; and then also the ignorance ought rather to be modestly confessed, than a fault charged upon him, who, knowing it, did affirm it.[a] But the commission is printed both in Dutch and Latin, together with the expurgatory indices of Belgium and Madrid, at Henovia or Henault, by Gulielmus Antonius, 1611, in which the king affirms, that he caused the Belgick index to be printed by his own chief printer, at his own charge, "Non quidem evulgandum, distrahendumque; sed distribuendum solis cognitoribus," &c. And a little after, giving faculty to the prelates to choose one or more assistants, he adds, "Iique ipsi privatim, nullisque consciis, apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt," &c. This then is soon at an end.

2. But Junius, that published the indices, seems to say that they did not purge the works of the fathers. To this the answer that Junius himself makes, is sufficient; for he instances in their purgation of Bertram, who yet was elder than Haymo,

[a] E. W. page 17. "He is false and faulty through this whole section; faulty, in telling us of a clancular commission given by the king of Spain to the inquisitors, &c. without directing us either to book or index where to find it."—This commission is in Junius's edition of the Indices Expurgatorii; and of this book the author of a Letter to a Friend did make use, as appears in his sixth page, under n. 16.

Theophylact, Œcumenius, and almost two hundred years before St. Bernard; and yet they openly professed to use him as they please; and when Bertram had said "visibilitèr," they commanded he should be read "invisibilitèr;" which is a pretty little change, and very meet to Bertram's sense surely. But Bellarmine[b] is also, in this particular, a witness beyond exception; for when he had recited an objection out of St. Chrysostom, proving that, in the times of heresy, there is no way of finding truth but by the Scripture; having nothing else to answer, he says, The book was either written or interpolated by an Arian; "Et propterea totus hic locus, tanquam ab Arianis insertus, è quibusdam codicibus nuper emendatis sublatus est." But the thing is plain also in the "indices" themselves; for in the Spanish index, by the command of Gaspar Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, and in that also of Sandoval, the purge hath passed upon the "Bibliotheca sanctorum Patrum," collected by Binius; where, not only the gloss upon St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, but the works of St. Anthony the abbot, St. Melito, Mark the hermit, Dorotheus, and divers others, are purged; and that the reader may be satisfied in the manner and design of the proceeding, the doctrines or sayings to be blotted out are these:[c] "We have learned to worship and venerate that nature *only*, that is uncreated:"—"dele *solummodò*," said the good fathers of the purges:—"Prudence, and life, and piety, make the priest:"—"A wicked mind cannot be justified:"—"He that keeps not the commandments, does not believe rightly:"—"Only the Holy Trinity is properly incorporeal:"—"A spiritual prayer helps not an unclean mind." These are all doctrines very dangerous and heretical, and, therefore, though the fathers teach them, yet "deleantur," let them pass through the fire, and leave their dross behind them. But I desire the reader to observe, that when, in the Sandoval edition of the index, an order was taken for the purging the "Bibliotheca Patrum," in the edition of it at Cologne, the Sandoval canon was not observed; and the reason given for it was this, "Lest the heretics may have occasion given them to insult;" which they could not do, unless they had taken their adversaries in their tampering. But they are gone yet one step further in this particular; for in the latter editions of the "Bibliotheca,"[d] they do not add the title of "sanctorum" to them, but "patrum" only, and "Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum;" according to the order of the Sandoval expurgatory index, printed at Madrid, 1612, and of the Quirogian index, printed there 1583. So that, as they are forced secretly to imply that they are not so right for their catholic cause, as they would have them; so they are resolved, whatsoever is not so shall not pass with them for holy. And in this diminution and dishonour of the memory of the ancient fathers, St. Clement of Alexandria's good name hath suffered shipwreck; for "in Clemente Alexandrino,[e] in duplici titulo operis, dele *titulum Divi*;" for now it happens in some measure to them that have in honour the memory of such men, that seemed to speak any thing against the errors of the Roman church,—as it did to Arulenus Rusticus praising of Pætus Thrasea, and to Herennius Senecio commending Helvidius Priscus, "capitale fuit," said Tacitus: and this is notorious in their tables, their new-fashioned diptychs, where men of honourable name and great worth are called "damnati auctores," and their very name commanded to be put out, and some periphrasis set down for them. 2. But that I may give one pregnant instance of their purging the fathers; I desire him that is curious and would be satisfied in this thing, to see the edition of St. Austin, at Venice; and in the inscription of his works, he shall find this confession, "In quo, præter locorum multorum restitutionem secundum collationem veterum exemplarium, curavimus removeri illa omnia, quæ fidelium mentes hæreticâ pravitate possent inficere, aut à catholicâ orthodoxâ fide deviare." And in the Quirogian index, which hath these words, "Sunt autem ferè omnia, quæ offendunt in prologis et marginalibus annotationibus," we may easily see, that not the prologues and annotations alone are guilty, but even St. Austin's text. But beyond conjecture, the thing is in itself evident. But the fathers' words are expunged in one place, and, consequently, condemned in every place; which is that I intended in the citation of those words by Junius, and which were also set down in the first part of this Dissuasive. But both in the text and index of St. Cyril[f] of Alexandria, these words are, and yet commanded to be, blotted, "Habitat Jesus per fidem in cordibus nostris." Which very words are not in St. Cyril only, but in St. Paul[g] too; and by St. Cyril quoted with a "sicut scriptum est."

And again, "Deleantur ex textu illa verba, fidei autem gratiam cum his qui valdè inquinati sunt, tum etiam paulum morbo affectis, satis ad emendationem valituram esse fidem, dicens fides sola justificat," are commanded to be blotted,[h] and yet they are both in the index and the text of St. Jerome. So the gloss of Epiphanius,[i] of "Creaturam non adorare," is commanded to be blotted out; when the words of Epiphanius's text are, "Sancta Dei ecclesia creaturam non adorat," and it is so in other places, of which the indices themselves are the best testimony. And that no man may question whether they purged the fathers, yea or no, Sixtus Senensis said it to Pius V., "Deinde expurgari et emaculari curâsti omnia catholicorum Scriptorum, ac præcipuè veterum patrum scripta:" "Especially the writings of the ancient fathers" were purged.

Now true it is, that in the following words he pretends a reason why he did so, and tells what things were purged; "even those things which were infected and poisoned by the heretics of our age." These last words, and this reason, was not cited in the first part, when the former words were made use of; and, therefore, an outcry was raised

[b] De Verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect. Sextò profert.
[c] Edit. Hanov. 1611. p. 282.
[d] Edit. Paris. 1610. [e] Index Expurg. Sandov. p. 83.
[f] In Esai. lib. i. c. 51. in fin. [g] Ephes. iii. 17.
[h] Index Quirog. p. 74.
[i] In Epist. ad Rom. c. 10. hæres. 69.

by them that wrote against it, as if they had been concealed by fraudulent design.[k] To which I answer, that I was not willing to interrupt the order of my discourse, with quoting words which are neither true nor pertinent. For they have in them no truth, and no good meaning. They are "protestatio contra factum;" as being set there to persuade the world, that none of the fathers, or modern catholics, were purged, unless the Lutherans had corrupted them; when all the world knows, they have purged the writings of the catholics, old and new, fathers and moderns, which themselves had printed, and formerly allowed; but now, being wiser, and finding them to give too much evidence against them, they have altered them. I could instance in many; but I shall not need, since enough may be seen in Doctor James's table of books, which were first set forth and approved, and afterwards censured by themselves. I shall trouble my reader but with one instance. That one is, the work of Ferus upon St. John's first epistle, which was printed at Antwerp, 1556, with the privilege given by King Philip to Martinus Nutius, with this elogy: "Nam suæ majestati patuit librum esse omnino utilem, et nihil continere quod pias aures meritò offendere possit." The same book was printed at Paris, 1555, by De Marnet, and 1556 by Audoën Petit, or Parvus; at Lyons, 1559, by Jacobus de Mellis; and the same year at Louvain, by Servatius Sessenus, and at Mentz, where he was preacher, by Francis Behem; and after all this, it was printed at Paris, 1563, by Gabriel Buon; and at Antwerp, 1565, by the heirs of Nutius. Now all these editions were made by the papists, and allowed of; and no protestant, "no heretic of that age," that I may use the words of Senensis, "had corrupted them;" neither is it pretended that they did: and yet this book was purged at Rome, 1577, and altered, added, and detracted, in one hundred and ninety-four places; of the nature and consequence of which alterations, I give this one instance: in the second chapter, where Ferus, in the old edition of Mentz, Louvain, Antwerp, &c., had these words, "Scriptura sacra data est nobis ceu certa quædam regula christianæ doctrinæ;" but in the Roman edition, 1577, the words are changed thus: "Sacra Scriptura et traditio nobis data sunt ceu certa quædam regula christianæ doctrinæ." By which instance it plainly appears, that the inquisitors general and the pope purge others than what the heretics have corrupted, and that these words of Sixtus Senensis are but a false cover to a foul dish, when they could no longer hide it. Nay, even the rules given by the pope himself, Clement VIII., give order for prohibiting the books of the catholics, before they be purged. "Si nonnulla contineant quæ sine delectu ab omnibus legi non expedit:" and in the preface to the Sandoval index,[l] it is said: "Obiter autem, in quorundam orthodoxorum libris, nonnulli lapsus aut quædam obscurius dicta deprehensa, quibus expurgatio, explicatio, aut cautio prudenter adhibita, ne minus cautos lectores contingat impingere." Which is a plain indication, that the church of Rome proceeds in her purging of books upon other accounts than removing the corruptions lately introduced by the Lutherans or Calvinists. And all this, and much more, being evident and notorious, there was reason then to think, as I do still, that those words were of no use to be added, unless to give occasion of impertinent wrangling; but that there could be no other design in it, is manifest by what I have now said. 3. But the expurgatory "Indices" had the less need to do much of this, since their work was done to their hands.[m] For the fathers' works had passed through fire ordeal many times before. I instanced in the edition of St. Ambrose, by Ludovicus Saurius, wherein many lines were cancellated, and the edition spoiled; and this was done by the authority of two Franciscans;[n] "Qui pro auctoritate has omnes paginas dispunxerunt ut vides, et illas substitui in locum priorum curaverunt, præter omnem librorum nostrorum fidem," said Saurius. Against this, it is said, that it is a slander, because the "Index Expurgatorius" was not appointed till the end of the council of Trent, which was A. D. 1563, and, therefore, could not put a force upon Saurius, who corrected this book, and assisted at the edition of it, 1559. To which I answer, that it was not said, that the "Index Expurgatorius" put a force upon Saurius; but only, a force was put upon him; and that it was so by two Franciscans, Junius, who tells the story, does affirm. 2. For aught appears to the contrary, nay, most probable it was so, that this force was put upon him by the authority of the "Expurgatorius Index:" for though the council of Trent appointed one, a little before its ending, which was in 1563, yet there was an index made before that, by Pope Paul IV., who died four years before the end of the council; and this he "made by the council of all the inquisitors, and of many famous men, who sent him advice from all parts, and he made a most complete catalogue, to which nothing can be added, except some book come forth within two years," said Friar Augustin Selvago,[o] archbishop of Genoa. So that here was authority enough, and there wanted no zeal, and here is matter of fact complained of, by the parties suffering. 4. It would, indeed, have been matter of great scandal and reproach, to have openly handled all the fathers indifferently, as they used the moderns; and though, as I have proved, this did not wholly restrain them, yet it abated much of their willingness; but there was less need of it, because they had very well purged them before, by cancellating the lines, by parting the pages, by corrupting their writings, by putting glosses in the margent, and afterwards putting these glosses into the text. "Quod lector ineptiens annotârat in margine sui codicis, scribæ retulerunt in contextum," said Erasmus, in his preface to the works of St. Austin, to the archbishop of Toledo; and the same also is observed by the Paris overseers of the press, in their preface to their edition of St. Austin's works, at Paris, 1571, by Martin and Nivellius. And this

[k] E. W. p. 12. and the author of a Letter, p. 7.
[l] Reg. 5. [m] By the author of the Letter, and E. W.
[n] Junius in Præfat. ad Ind. Expurg. Belgic.
[o] Concil. Trident. in primâ sessione sub Pio quarto.

thing was notorious in a considerable instance, in St. Cyprian, "de Unitate Ecclesiæ;[p] where, after the words of Christ spoken to St. Peter, and recorded by St. Matthew, there had been a marginal note, "Hîc Petro primatus datur;" which words they have brought into the Roman and Antwerp editions; but they have both left out "Hîc," and the Roman, instead of it, hath put "Et." And whereas, in the old editions of Cyprian, even the Roman itself, these words were, "He who withstandeth and resisteth the church, doth he trust himself to be in the church?" somebody hath made bold to put the words thus, in the text of the edition of Antwerp; "He who forsaketh Peter's chair, on which the church is founded, doth he trust himself to be in the church?"—But in how many places that excellent book of St. Cyprian's is interlined, and spoiled by the new correctors, is evident to him that shall compare the Roman edition with the elder copies, and them with the later edition of Antwerp; and Pamelius himself,[q] concerning some words, saith, "Atque adeò non sumus veriti in textum inserere." I could bring in many considerable instances, though it be more than probable, that of forty falsities in the abusing the fathers' writings by Roman hands, there was not perhaps above one or two discoveries; yet this, and many other concurrences, might make it less needful to pass their sponges upon the fathers. But when the whole charge of printing of books at Rome lies on the apostolical see, as Manutius[r] tells us; it is likely enough, that all shall be taken care of, so as shall serve their purposes. And so the printer tells[s] us, viz. "That such care was taken to have them so corrected, that there should be no spot which might infect the minds of the simple with the show or likeness of false doctrine." And now by this, we may very well perceive, how the force was put upon Saurius, in the purging St. Ambrose, even by the inquisitors; and that by the authority and care of the pope: and, therefore, though the works of most of the greater fathers were not put into the expurgatory indices, yet they were otherwise purged, that is, most shamefully corrupted, torn and maimed, and the lesser fathers passed under the file in the expurgatory indices themselves.

3. But then, that they purged the indices of the fathers' works, is so notorious, that it is confessed, and endeavoured to be justified.[t] But when we come to consider, that many times the very words of the fathers which are put into the index, are commanded to be expunged, it at once shows, that fain they would, and yet durst not, expunge the words out of the books, since they would be discovered by their adversaries, and they would suffer reproach without doing any good to themselves. Now whereas it is said,[u] that, "therefore, the words of the fathers are blotted out of the indices, because they are set down without antecedents and consequents, and prepare the reader to an ill sense:" this might be possible, but we see it otherwise in the instances themselves, which oftentimes are so plain, that no context, no circumstances, can alter the proposition: which is most of all notorious in the "deleaturs" of the indices of the Bible, set forth by Robert Stephens. "Credens Christo non morietur in æternum,"—this is to be blotted out; and yet Christ himself said it,[x] "Every one that lives, and believes in me, shall never die."—"Justus coram Deo nemo," is to be blotted out of Robert Stephens' index; and yet David prayed,[y] "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified."—Now what antecedent, or what context, or what circumstances, can alter the sense of these places; which being the same in the text and the index, shows the good-will of the inquisitors; and that like King Edward VI.'s tutor, they corrected the prince upon his page's back; and they have given sufficient warning of the danger of those words wherever they find them in the fathers, since they have so openly rebuked them in the indices. And, therefore, I made no distinction of places: but reckoned those words censured in the expurgatory tables as the fathers' words censured or expunged; and in this I followed the style of their own books, for in the Belgic index,[z] the style is thus; "In Hieronymi Operibus expungenda, quæ sequuntur," and yet they are the scholia, indices, and sense of the fathers set down, and printed in the same volume altogether; and, having the same fate, and all upon the same account, I have reason to charge it as I did.

And how far the evil of this did proceed, may easily be conjectured by what was done by the inquisition in the year 1559, in which there was a catalogue of sixty-two printers; and all the books which any of them printed, of what author or what language soever, prohibited; and all books which were printed by printers, that had printed any books of heretics: insomuch that not only books of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred years ago, and approbation, were prohibited, but there scarce remained a book to be read.

But by this means they impose upon men's faith and consciences; suffering them to allow of nothing in any man, no not in the fathers, but what themselves mark out for them; not measuring their own doctrines by the ancients, but reckoning their sayings to be or not to be catholic, according as they agree to their present opinions: which is infinitely against the candour, ingenuity, and confidence of truth, which needs none of these arts. And besides all this, how shall it be possible to find out tradition by succession, when they so interrupt and break the intermedial lines? And this is beyond all the foregoing instances very remarkable in their purging of histories. In Munster's Cosmography, there was a long story of Ludovicus, the emperor of the house of Bavaria, that made very much against the see of Rome. It is commanded to be left out; and "in

[p] Vide Pamelii annot. in librum. [q] Ibid.
[r] Epist. lib. ix. ad Jacobum Gorscium.
[s] In præf. ad Pium Quartum in librum Cardinalis Poli de Concilio.
[t] The author of a Letter to a Friend, p. 7. E. W. p. 20.
[u] E. W. p. 19.
[x] John xi. 26. [y] Psal. cxlii. v. 1. alias cxliii.
[z] Pag. 70. edit. 1611.

illius loco inseratur, si placet, sequens historia:"[a] and then there is made a formal story not consonant to the mind of the historian. And the same Lewis of Bavaria published a smart answer to the bull of Pope John XXII., an information of the nullity of the pope's proceedings against him: but the records and monuments of these things they tear out by their expurgatory tables; lest we of later ages should understand how the popes of Rome invaded the rights of princes, and by new doctrines and occasions changed the face, the body, the innocence, and the soul of christian religion. The whole apology of the emperor Henry IV., and the epistles of prince Frederic II.,[b] they pull out of the fifth tome of the writers of the German affairs, "Neque in ipsos modò auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum," (that I may use the words of Tacitus,[c] complaining,) "delegato Triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet, illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatûs et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bonâ arte in exilium actâ ne quid usquam honestum occurreret."—For thus they not only destroy the liberty of the church, and the names of the honourable, and the sentences of the wise; but even hope to prevail upon the consciences of all mankind, and the history of the world, that nothing may be remembered by which themselves may be reproved. But this is not agreeable to the simplicity and ingenuity of the christian religion.

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Christus eget.

But what Arnobius[d] said to the heathen, in their violent and crafty arts to suppress the growth of christianity, may be a good admonition to these artists of the inquisition; "Intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere."

One thing more I am to add here, that they are so infinitely insecure in their errors, and so unsatisfied with the learning of the world, and they find it so impossible to resist the frequent and public testimonies of truth; or indeed rather they so grow in error, and so often change their propositions; that they neither agree at one time, nor does one time agree with another, in their purgations; that a saint to-day may be a common person to-morrow; and that which is an allowed doctrine now, next year may be heretical, or temerarious, or dangerous. The "Speculum Oculare" of Johannes Capnio was approved by Pope Leo X. It was afterwards rejected by Pope Paul IV.; and him the council of Trent following, and rejecting the sentence of Pope Leo, did also condemn it; and the inquisitors, to whom the making of the index was committed by Paul IV., caused it to be burnt: but afterwards the censors of Douay permit the book, and so it is good again. What uncertainty can be greater to consciences, than what the ignorance or faction of these men cause? Here is pope against pope, a council against the pope; and the monks inquisitors of Douay against both pope and council; and what can be the end of these things? When the Quirogian Index came forth, a man would think there had been an end of so much as was there purged: and certain it is, they were cautious enough, and they purged all they thought deserved it: but yet when they of Salamanca published the Bible of Robert Stephens, and strictly had observed the rules of Cardinal Quiroga, "Ita ut in contextu pauca, in annotationibus plurima omiserint;"[e] yet other inquisitors, being wiser by a new light, did so blot and raze, and scratch out many things more, that the Bible, which was a very fair one in A. D. 1584, came forth exceedingly defaced and spoiled in the year 1586.

I need not observe, that in all the expurgatory indices you shall not find Gasper Schioppius or the Jesuits censured; nor Baronius, although he declared the kingdom of Sicily to belong to the pope, and not to the king of Spain; but if any thing escape which lessens the pope's omnipotence, (it is their own word,) then it is sure to fall under the sponges and the razor: so that this mystery of iniquity is too evident to be covered by the most plausible pretences of any interested advocate. But if this be the way, to stop all mouths, but those that speak the same thing, it is no wonder if they boast of unity: they might very well do so; but that the providence of God, which overrules all events, hath by its almighty power divided them, in despite of all their cunning arts to seem to be sons of one mother: only it will be now a much more hard province, to tell when their errors first began, since they have taken order to cut out the tongues of them that tell us. And this they have done to their own canon law itself, and to the old glosses, in which there were remaining some footsteps of the ancient and apostolical doctrine; upon which the craft of the enemy of mankind, and the arts of interested persons, had not quite prevailed; as is largely to be seen in the very censures themselves upon the glosses, published by the command of Pope Pius V., 1580.[f]

SECTION VII.

The Uncharitableness of the Church of Rome in her judging of others.

4. The next thing I charge upon them, is, that having done these things to propagate their new doctrines, and to suppress those which are more ancient and catholic; they are so implacably angry at all that dissent from them, that they not only kill them, (where they have power,) but damn them all, as far as their sentence can prevail. If you be a Roman

[a] Index Belg. p. 161. Impres. A. D. 1611. Hanoviæ.
[b] Cancellarias Bavariæ egregiè vindicavit principis sui memoriam à Bzovianis imposturis.
[c] In vitâ Julii Agric.
[d] Lib. iii. adv. gentes.
[e] Vide Præfationem ad Lectorem in Ind. Sandov.
[f] Imprimebantur etiam Hanoviæ, procurantibus Junio et Pappo, 1611.

catholic, let your life be what it will, their sacrament of penance is πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετικὸν, "it takes away all their sins" in a quarter of an hour; but if you differ from them, even in the least point they have declared, you are not to be endured in this world, nor in the world to come. Indeed this is one of the inseparable characters of a heretic; he sets his whole communion and all his charity upon his article; for to be zealous in the schism, that is the characteristic of a good man, that is his note of christianity: in all the rest he excuses you or tolerates you, provided you be a true believer; then you are one of the faithful, a good man and a precious, you are of the congregation of the saints, and one of the godly. All solifidians do thus; and all that do thus are solifidians, the church of Rome herself not excepted; for though in words she proclaims the possibility of keeping all the commandments; yet she dispenses easier with him that breaks them all, than with him that speaks one word against any of her articles, though but the least; even the eating of fish, and forbidding flesh in Lent. So that it is faith they regard more than charity, a right belief more than a holy life; and for this you shall be with them upon terms easy enough, provided you go not a hair's breadth from any thing of her belief. For if you do, they have provided for you two deaths and two fires, both inevitable and one eternal. And this certainly is one of the greatest evils of which the church of Rome is guilty; for this in itself is the greatest and unworthiest uncharitableness. But the procedure is of great use to their ends. For the greatest part of christians are those that cannot consider things leisurely and wisely, searching their bottoms, and discovering the causes, or foreseeing events, which are to come after; but are carried away by fear and hope, by affection and prepossession: and, therefore, the Roman doctors are careful to govern them as they will be governed: if you dispute, you gain, it may be, one, and lose five; but if you threaten them with damnation, you keep them in fetters; for they that are "in fear of death, are all their lifetime in bondage," saith the apostle:[a] and there is in the world nothing so potent as fear of the two deaths, which are the two arms and grapples of iron by which the church of Rome takes and keeps her timorous or conscientious proselytes. The easy protestant calls upon you from Scripture, to do your duty, to build a holy life upon a holy faith, the faith of the apostles and first disciples of our Lord; he tells you if you err, and teaches you the truth; and if ye will obey, it is well; if not, he tells you of your sin, and that all sin deserves the wrath of God; but judges no man's person, much less any states of men. He knows that God's judgments are righteous and true; but he knows also, that his mercy absolves many persons, who in his just judgment were condemned: and if he had a warrant from God to say, that he should destroy all the papists, as Jonas had, concerning the Ninevites; yet he remembers that every repentance, if it be sincere, will do more, and prevail greater, and last longer than God's anger will. Besides these things, there is a strange spring and secret principle in every man's understanding, that it is oftentimes turned about by such impulses, of which no man can give an account. But we all remember a most wonderful instance of it, in the disputation between the two Reynoldses, John and William; the former of which being a papist, and the latter a protestant, met, and disputed, with a purpose to confute, and to convert each other, and so they did: for those arguments which were used, prevailed fully against their adversary, and yet did not prevail with themselves. The papist turned protestant, and the protestant became a papist, and so remained to their dying day. Of which some ingenious person gave a most handsome account, in an excellent epigram, which for the verification of the story, I have set down in the margent.[b] But further yet, he considers the natural and regular infirmities of mankind; and God considers them much more: he knows that in man there is nothing admirable but his ignorance and weakness; his prejudice, and the infallible certainty of being deceived in many things; he sees that wicked men oftentimes know much more than many very good men; and that the understanding is not of itself considerable in morality, and effects nothing in rewards and punishments: it is the will only that rules man, and can obey God. He sees, and deplores it, that many men study hard, and understand little; that they dispute earnestly, and understand not one another at all; that affections creep so certainly, and mingle with their arguing, that the argument is lost, and nothing remains but the conflict of two adversaries' affections; that a man is so willing, so easy, so ready to believe what makes for his opinion, so hard to understand an argument against himself, that it is plain, it is the principle within, not the argument without, that determines him: he observes also that all the world (a few individuals excepted) are unalterably determined to the religion of their country, of their family, of their society; that there is never any considerable change made, but what is made by war and empire, by fear and hope: he remembers that it is a rare thing to see a Jesuit of the Dominican opinion, or a Dominican (until of late) of the Jesuit; but every order gives laws to the understanding of their novices, and they never change: he considers there is such ambiguity in words, by which all lawgivers express their meaning; that there is such abstruseness in mysteries of religion, that some things are so much too high

[a] Heb. ii. 15.

[b] Bella, inter geminos, plusquam civilia, fratres
Traxerat ambiguus religionis apex.
Ille reformatæ fidei pro partibus instat:
Iste reformandam denegat esse fidem.
Propositis causæ rationibus; alter utrinque
Concurrêre pares, et cecidêre pares.
Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alter uterque;
Quod fuit in fatis, perdit uterque fidem.
Captivi gemini sine captivante fuerunt,
Et victor victi transfuga castra petit.
Quod genus hoc pugnæ est, ubi victus gaudet uterque;
Et tamen alteruter se superâsse dolet?

for us, that we cannot understand them rightly; and yet they are so sacred, and concerning, that men will think they are bound to look into them as far as they can; that it is no wonder if they quickly go too far, where no understanding, if it were fitted for it, could go far enough: but in these things it will be hard not to be deceived; since our words cannot rightly express those things; that there is such variety of human understandings, that men's faces differ not so much as their souls; and that if there were not so much difficulty in things, yet they could not but be variously apprehended by several men; and then considering that in twenty opinions, it may be, not one of them is true; nay, whereas Varro reckoned, that among the old philosophers, there were eight hundred opinions concerning the "summum bonum," and yet not one of them hit the right: they see also that in all religions, in all societies, in all families, and in all things, opinions differ; and since opinions are too often begot by passion, by passions and violences they are kept, and every man is too apt to overvalue his own opinion; and out of a desire that every man should conform his judgment to his that teaches, men are apt to be earnest in their persuasion, and over-act the proposition; and from being true, as he supposes, he will think it profitable; and if you warm him either with confidence, or opposition, he quickly tells you, it is necessary; and as he loves those that think as he does, so he is ready to hate them that do not; and then secretly from wishing evil to him, he is apt to believe evil will come to him; and that it is just it should: and by this time, the opinion is troublesome, and puts other men upon their guard against it; and then while passion reigns, and reason is modest and patient, and talks not loud like a storm, victory is more regarded than truth, and men call God into the party, and his judgments are used for arguments, and the threatenings of the Scripture are snatched up in haste, and men throw "arrows, firebrands, and death," and by this time all the world is in an uproar. All this, and a thousand things more, the English protestants considering, deny not their communion to any christian who desires it, and believes the apostles' creed, and is of the religion of the four first general councils; they hope well of all that live well; they receive into their bosom all true believers of what church soever; and for them that err, they instruct them, and then leave them to their liberty, to stand or fall before their own master.

It was a famous saying of Stephen, the great king of Poland; that God had reserved to himself three things. 1. To make something out of nothing. 2. To know future things, and all that shall be hereafter. 3. To have the rule over consciences. It is this last, we say, the church of Rome does arrogate and invade.

1. By imposing articles, as necessary to salvation, which God never made so. Where hath God said, that it is necessary to salvation, that every human creature should be subject to the Roman bishop? But the church of Rome says it;[c] and, by that, at one blow, cuts off from heaven all the other churches of the world, Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian, Russian, protestants: which is an act so contrary to charity, to the hope and piety of christians, so dishonourable to the kingdom of Christ, so disparaging to the justice, to the wisdom and the goodness of God, as any thing which can be said. Where hath it been said, that it shall be a part of christian faith, to believe, that though the fathers of the church did communicate infants, yet they did it without any opinion of necessity? And yet the church of Rome hath determined it, in one of her general councils,[d] as a thing, "sine controversiâ credendum," "to be believed without doubt," or dispute: it was indeed the first time that this was made a part of the christian religion; but then let all wise men take heed how they ask the church of Rome, where was this part of her religion before the council of Trent? for that is a secret: and, that this is a part of their religion, I suppose will not be denied, when a general council hath determined it to be a truth without controversy, and to be held accordingly. Where hath God said, that those churches that differ from the Roman church in some propositions, cannot confer true orders, nor appoint ministers of the gospel of Christ? and yet, "Super totam materiam," the church of Rome is so implacably angry and imperious with the churches of the protestants, that, if any English priest turn to them, they re-ordain him; which yet themselves call sacrilegious, in case his former ordination was valid; as it is impossible to prove it was not, there being neither in Scripture, nor catholic tradition, any laws, order, or rule, touching our case in this particular. Where hath God said, that penance is a sacrament, or that, without confession to a priest, no man can be saved? If Christ did not institute it, how can it be necessary? and if he did institute it, yet the church of Rome ought not to say, it is therefore necessary; for with them an institution is not a command, though Christ be the institutor; and if institution be equal to a commandment, how then comes the sacrament not to be administered in both kinds; when it is confessed, that in both kinds it was instituted?

2. The church of Rome does so multiply articles, that few of the laity know the half of them, and yet imposes them all under the same necessity; and if in any one of them, a man make a doubt, he hath lost all faith, and had as good be an infidel; for the church's authority being the formal object of faith, that is the only reason why any article is to be believed; the reason is the same in all things else: and, therefore, you may no more deny any thing she says, than all she says; and an infidel is as sure of heaven, as any christian is that calls in question any of the innumerable propositions, which, with her, are esteemed "de fide." Now, if it be considered, that some of the Roman doctrines are a

[c] Extrav. de Majorit. et obedien. dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolutè necessarium ad salutem omni humanæ creaturæ subesse Romano pontifici.

[d] Sess. 1. cap. 4.

state of temptation to all the reason of mankind, as the doctrine of transubstantiation; that some are at least of a suspicious improbity, as worship of images, and of the consecrated elements, and many others; some are of a nice and curious nature, as the doctrine of merit, of condignity and congruity; some are perfectly of human inventions, without ground of Scripture, or tradition, as the forms of ordination, absolution, &c. When men see, that some things can never be believed heartily, and many not understood fully, and more not remembered, or considered perfectly, and yet all imposed upon the same necessity; and as good believe nothing, as not every thing; this way is apt to make men despise all religion, or despair of their own salvation. The church of Rome hath a remedy for this; and by a distinction, undertakes to save you harmless: you are not tied to believe all with an explicit faith; it suffices that your faith be implicit, or involved in the faith of the church; that is, if you believe that she says true in all things, you need inquire no further: so that by this means, the authority of their church is made authentic, for that is the first and last of the design; and you are taught to be saved by the faith of others; and a faith is preached, that you have no need ever to look after it; a faith, of which you know nothing; but it matters not, as long as others do: but then it is also a faith, which can never be the foundation of a good life; for upon ignorance, nothing that is good can be built; no, not so much as a blind obedience; for even blindly to obey, is built upon something that you are bidden explicitly to believe, viz. the infallibility or the authority of the church; but upon an implicit faith, you can no more establish a building, than you can number that which is not. Besides this, an implicit faith in the articles of the church of Rome is not sense; it is not faith at all, that is not explicit; "Faith comes by hearing," and not "by not hearing;" and the people of the Roman church believe one proposition explicitly, that is, that their church cannot err; and then indeed, they are ready to believe any thing they tell them; but as yet they believe nothing but the infallibility of their guides: and to call that faith, which is but a readiness, or disposition to have it, is like filling a man's belly with the meat he shall eat to-morrow night; an act of understanding antedated. But when it is considered in its own intrinsic nature and meaning, it effects this proposition, that these things are indeed no objects of that faith, by which we are to be saved (for it is strange, that men having the use of reason, should hope to be saved by the merit of a faith that believes nothing, that knows nothing, that understands nothing); but that our faith is completed in the essential notices of the evangelical covenant, in the propositions which every christian man and woman is bound to know; and that the other propositions are but arts of empire, and devices of government, or the scholastic confidence of opinions; something to amuse consciences, and such by which the mystic persons may become more knowing and revered than their poor parishioners.

3. The church of Rome determines trifles and inconsiderable propositions, and adopts them into the family of faith. Of this nature are many things which the popes determine in their chairs, and send them into the world as oracles. What a dangerous thing would it be esteemed to any Roman catholic, if he should dare to question, whether the consecration of the bread and wine be to be done by the prayer of the priest, or by the mystic words of "Hoc est corpus meum," said over the elements! For, that by the force of those words, said with right intention, the bread is transubstantiated and made the body of Christ, "Ecclesia catholica magno consensu docet," said Bellarmine;[e] so it is also in the council of Florence, in the instruction of the Armenians; so it is taught in the catechism of the council of Trent; so it is agreed by the Master of the Sentences and his scholars; by Gratian, and the lawyers; and so it is determined in the law itself, "cap. cum Martha extr. de celebratione missarum." And yet this is no certain thing; and not so agreeable to the spirituality of the gospel, to suppose such a change made by the saying so many words. And, therefore, although the church does well in using all the words of institution at the consecration; for so they are carefully recited in the liturgies of St. James, St. Clement, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, the Anaphora of the Syrians, in the universal canon of the Ethiopians, only they do not do this so carefully in the Roman missal,[f] but leave out words very considerable, words which St. Luke and St. Paul recite; viz. "which is broken for you," or "which is given for you:" and to the words of consecration of the chalice, they add words which Christ did not speak in the institution and benediction; yet, besides this, generally the Greek fathers, and divers of the Latin, do expressly teach, that the consecration of the elements is made by the prayers of the church, recited by the bishop or priest: for the Scripture tells us, that Christ took the bread, he blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, "Take, eat." It is to be supposed, that Christ consecrated it before he gave it to them; and yet, if he did, all the consecration was effected by his benediction of it: and if (as the Romanists contend) Christ gave the sacrament of the eucharist to the two disciples at Emmaus, it is certain there is no record of any other consecration, but by Christ's blessing or praying over the elements. It is, indeed, possible, that something more might be done than was set down, but nothing less; and, therefore, this consecration was not done without the benediction; and, therefore, "Hoc est corpus meum" alone cannot do it; at least there is no warrant for it in Christ's example. And when St. Peter, in his ministry, did found and establish churches, "Orationum ordinem, quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur, à St. Petro primò fuisse institutum," said Isidore, Remigius, Hugo de St. Victore, and Alphonsus à Castro; "St. Peter first instituted the order

[e] Lib. iv. de Sacra. Euchar. cap. 12. sect. Est igitur. Lib. iv. sent. dist. 8.

[f] Inter Evangelistas, quæ omittuntur ab uno, supplentur ab alio. Innocentius de offic. Missæ. lib. iii. c. 17.

of prayers, by which the sacrifices offered to God were consecrated:" and in the liturgy of St. James, after the words of institution are recited over the elements, there is a prayer of consecration, " O Lord, make this bread to be the body of thy Christ," &c. Which words, although Bellarmine troubles himself to answer, as Cardinal Bessarion did before him; yet, we shall find his answers to no purpose; expounding the prayer to be only a confirmation, or an " amen" to what was done before; for if that consecration was made before that prayer, how comes St. James to call it " bread" after consecration? And as weak are his other answers, saying, the prayer means that " God would make it so to us, not in itself;" which, although St. James hath nothing to warrant that exposition; yet it is true upon another account, that is, because the bread becomes Christ's body only to us, to them who communicate worthily, but never to the wicked, and it is not Christ's body but in the using it, and that worthily too. And, therefore, his third answer (which he uses first) is certainly the best; and that is the answer which Bessarion makes, that, for aught they know, " the order of the words is changed; and that the prayer should be set before, not after the words of consecration." Against which, although it is sufficient to oppose that, for aught they or we know, the order is not changed; for to this day, and always (so far as any record remains) the Greeks kept the same order of the words; and the Greek fathers had their sentiment and doctrine agreeable to it. And, as in St. James's liturgy, so in the missal, said to be of St. Clement, the same order is observed; and after the words of the institution or declaration, God is invocated to send his Holy Spirit to make the oblation to become the body and blood of Christ. And in pursuance of this Justin Martyr[f] calls it, Τὴν δὶ εὐχῆς εὐχαριστηθείσαν τροφὴν, and Origen,[g] ἄρτους συναγνωμένους διὰ τὴν εὐχήν· " Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur," said St. Jerome;[h] and St. Austin calls the sacrament, " Prece mystica consecratum." But of this thing I have given an account in other places:[i] the use I make of it now, is this; that the church of Rome is not only forward to decree things uncertain, or to take them for granted, which they can never prove; but when she is by chance, or interest, or mistake, fallen upon a proposition, she will not endure any one to oppose it; and, indeed, if she did suffer a change in this particular, not only a great part of their Thomistical theology would be found out to be sandy and inconsistent, but the whole doctrine of transubstantiation would have no foundation. True it is, this is a new doctrine in the church of Rome; for Amularius affirms, that the apostles did consecrate only by benediction; and Pope Innocent III., and Pope Innocent IV., taught that Christ did not consecrate by the words of " Hoc est corpus meum:" so that the doctrine is new; and yet I make no question, he that shall now say so shall not be accounted a catholic.

But the instances are many of this nature, not necessary to be enumerated, because they are notorious; and when the " quæstiones disputatæ," as St. Thomas Aquinas calls a volume of his disputations, are (at least many of them) past into catholic propositions, and become the general doctrine of their church; they do not so much insist upon the nature of the propositions, as the securing of that authority by which they are taught. If any man dissent in the doctrine of purgatory, or concomitancy, and the half-communion, then presently " Hannibal ad portas;" they first kill him, and then damn him (as far as they can). But in the great questions of predetermination, in which, man's duty, and the force of laws, and the powers of choice, and the attributes of God, are deeply concerned, they differ infinitely, and yet they endure the difference, and keep the communion. But if the heats and interests that are amongst them, had happened to be employed in this instance, they would have made a dissent in these questions as damnable as any other. But the events of salvation and damnation (blessed be God) do not depend upon the votes and sentences of men, but upon the price which God sets upon the propositions; and it would be considered, that there are some propositions in which men are confident and err securely, which yet have greater influence upon the honour of God, or his dishonour, or upon good or bad life respectively, than many others, in which the φιλοπρωτεύοντες make more noise, and have less consideration. For these things they teach not " as the scribes, but as having authority;" not as doctors, but as lawgivers: which because Christ only is, the apostles, by the assistance of an infallible Spirit, did publish his sanctions; but gave no laws of faith, but declared what Christ had made so: and St. Paul was careful to leave a note of difference, with a " hoc dico ego, non Dominus:" it follows that the church of Rome does " dominari fidei et conscientiis," " make herself mistress of faith and consciences:" which being the prerogative of God, it is part of his glory that he will not impart unto another. But this evil hath proceeded unto extremity, and armies have been raised to prove their propositions; and vast numbers of innocent persons have been put to the sword, and burnt in the fire, and exposed to horrible torments, for denying any of their articles; and their saints have been their ensign-bearers, particularly St. Dominick; and an office of torment and inquisition is erected in their most zealous countries. " Nempe hoc est esse christianum," this is the Roman manner of being christian: and whom they can, and whom they cannot kill they excommunicate, and curse, and say they are damned. This is so contrary to the communion of saints, and so expressly against the rule of the apostle, commanding us to " receive them that are weak in faith, but not to receive them unto doubtful disputations;" and so ruinous to the grace of charity, which hopes and speaks the best, and not absolutely the worst thing in the world; and so directly opposed to Christ's precept, which commands us, " not to judge, that we be not judged;"

[f] Apol. 2. [g] Lib. viii. cont. Celsum. [h] Lib. iii. de Trinit. c. 4.

[i] Vide Divine instit. of the office Ministerial, sect. 7. Of the real and spir. Presence, sect. 4.

and is an enemy to public peace, which is easily broken with them whom they think to be damned wretches, and is so forgetful of human infirmity; and but little considers, that in so innumerable a company of old and new propositions, it is great odds but themselves are or may be deceived; and lastly, it is so much against the very law of nature, which ever permits the understanding free, though neither tongue nor hand; and leaves all that to the Divine judgment, which ought neither to be invaded nor antedated; that this evil doctrine and practice is not more easily reproved than it is pernicious and intolerable, and of all things in the world the most unlike the spirit of a christian. I know that against this they have no answer to oppose, but to recriminate; and say that "we in the church of England do so; and hang their priests, and punish by fines and imprisonment their lay proselytes." To which the answer need not be long, or to trouble the order of the discourse. For, 1. We put none of their laity to death for their opinion; which shows that it is not the religion is persecuted, but some other evil appendix. 2. We do not put any of their priests to death who is not a native of the kingdoms; but those subjects who pass over hence, and receive orders abroad, and return with evil errands. 3. Neither were these so treated, until by the pope our princes were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their duty to them, and encouraged to take up arms against them; and that the English priests returned with traitorous designs, and that many conspiracies were discovered. 4. And lastly, when much of the evil and just causes of fear did cease, the severity of procedure is taken off, and they have more liberty than hitherto they have deserved. Now, if any of these things can be said by the church of Rome in her defence, I am content she shall enjoy the benefit of her justification. For her rage extends to all, laity as well as clergy; foreign clergy as well as domestic, their own people and strangers, the open dissentients and the secretly suspected: those that are delated, and those whom they can inquire of; and own that, which we disavow; and which if we did do, we should be reproved by our own sentences and public profession to the contrary.

But now, after all this, if it shall appear that the danger is on the part of the Roman church, and safety on our side; and yet that we, in our censure of their doctrines, are not so fierce, and in our fears of their final condition not so decretory and rash; then this doctrine of theirs against us, is both the more uncharitable and the more unreasonable.

1. That the church of Rome is infinitely confident they are in the right, I easily believe, because they say they are; and they have causes but too many to create or to occasion that confidence in them: for they never will consider concerning any of their articles; their unlearned men not at all, their learned men only to confirm their own, and to confute their adversaries, whose arguments, though never so convincing, they are bound to look upon as temptations, and to use them accordingly; which thing, in case they can be in an error, may prove so like the sin against the Holy Ghost, as milk is to milk; if, at least, all conviction of error, and demonstrations of truth, be the effect and grace of the Spirit of God; which ought very warily to be considered.

But this confidence is no argument of truth; for they telling their people, that "they are bound to believe all that they teach with an assent, not equal to their proof of it, but much greater, even the greatest that can be," they tie them to believe it without reason or proof: for to believe more strongly than the argument infers, is to believe something without the argument; or at least to have some portions of faith, which relies upon no argument; which if it be not effected by a supreme and more infallible principle, can never be reasonable; but this they supply with telling them, that they cannot err; and this very proposition itself, needing another supply; (for why shall they believe this, more than any thing else, with an assent greater than can be effected by their argument?) they supply this also with affrighting homilies and noises of damnation. So that it is no wonder, that the Roman people are so confident; since it is not upon the strength of their argument or cause, (for they are taught to be confident beyond that,) but it is upon the strength of passion, credulity, interest, and fear, education, and pretended authority; all which, as we hope God will consider in passing his unerring sentence upon the poor misled people of the Roman communion; so we also, considering their infirmity and our own, dare not enter into the secret of God's judgment, concerning all or any of their persons; but pray for them, and offer to instruct them; we reprove their false doctrines, and use means to recall them from darkness, into some more light than there they see; but we pass no further; and we hope that this charity and modesty will not, we are sure it ought not, be turned to our reproach, for this in the ἀνοχὴ καὶ μακροθυμία,[k] that "toleration" of our erring brethren, and "long-sufferance," which we have learned from God, and it ought to procure repentance in them; and yet if it does not, we do but our duty, always remembering the words of the great apostle, which he spake to the church of Rome, "Thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest another; for in what thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself;"[l] and we fear, and every man is bound to do so too, lest the same measure of judgment we make to the errors of our brother, be heaped up against our own, in case we fall into any. And the church of Rome should do well to consider this; for she is not the less likely to err, but much more, for thinking she cannot err; her very thinking and saying this thing, being her most capital error, as I shall afterwards endeavour to make apparent. I remember that Paganinus Gaudentius, a Roman gentleman, tells that Theodore Beza, being old, and coming into the camp of Henry IV. of France, was asked by some, "Whether he were sure that he followed the true religion?" He modestly answered, that "he did daily pray to God to direct him with his Holy

[k] Rom. ii. 4. [l] Verse 1.

Spirit, and to give him a light from heaven to guide him." Upon which answer, because they expounded it to be, in Beza, uncertainty and irresolution, he says, that "many who heard him took that hint, and became Roman catholics." It is strange it should be so, that one man's modesty should make another man bold, and that the looking upon a sound eye should make another sore. But so it is, that in the church of Rome very ill use is made of our charity and modesty. However, I shall give a true account of the whole affair as it stands, and then leave it to be considered.

SECTION VIII.

The Insecurity of the Roman Religion.

1. As to the security which is pretended in the church of Rome, it is confidence rather than safety, as I have already said; but if we look upon the propositions themselves, we find that there is more danger in them than we wish there were. I have already, in the preface to the First Part, instanced in some particulars, in which the church of Rome hath suffered infirmity, and fallen into error; and the errors are such, which the fathers of the church (for we meddle not with any such judgment) call damnable. As for example; "to add any thing to Scriptures, or to introduce into the faith any thing that is not written; or to call any thing Divine, that is not in the authority of the Holy Scriptures; which, Tertullian says, whosoever does, may fear the woe pronounced in Scripture against adders and detractors;" and St. Basil says, "is a manifest note of infidelity, and a most certain sign of pride;" and others add, it "is an evil heart of immodesty, and most vehemently forbidden by the apostles." Against the testimonies then brought, some little cavils were made, and many evil words of railing published, which I have not only washed off in the second section of this Second Part, but have, to my thinking, clearly proved them guilty of doing ill in this question, and receding from the rule of the primitive church; and have added many other testimonies concerning the main inquiry, to which the weak answers offered can no way be applied, and to which the more learned answers of Bellarmine and Perron are found insufficient; as it there is made to appear. So that I know nothing remains to them to be considered, but whether or no the primitive and holy fathers were too zealous in condemning this doctrine and practice of the Roman church too severely? We are sure the thing which the fathers so condemn, is done without warrant, and contrary to all authentic precedents of the purest and holiest ages of the church, and greatly derogatory to the dignity and fulness of Scripture; and infinitely dangerous to the church for the intromitting the doctrines of men into the canon of faith, and a great diminution to the reputation of that providence, by which it is certain, the church was to be secured in the records of salvation; which could not be done by any thing so well, as by writing what was to be kept inviolate; especially in the propositions of faith, relying oftentimes upon a word, and a phrase, and a manner of expression; which, in the infinite variety of reporters, might too easily suffer change. Thus far we can safely argue concerning the error of the church of Rome; and to this not we, but the fathers, add a severe censure. And when some of these censures were set down by way of caution and warning, not of judgment and final sentence, it seems a wonder to me how these gentlemen of the Roman communion,[a] that wrote against the book, should recite all these terrible sayings out of the fathers against their superaddition of articles to the faith contained in Scriptures, and be so little concerned as to read them with a purpose only to find fault with the quotations, and never be smitten with a terror of the judgment, which the fathers pronounce against them that do so. Just as if a man being ready to perish in a storm, should look up and down the ship to see if the little paintings were exact; or if a man, in a terrible clap of thunder, should consider whether he ever heard so unmusical a sound, and never regard his own danger. 2. The same is the case in their ἀρτολάτρεια, "worshipping of consecrated bread:" in which, if they be not deceived, all the reason and all the senses of all the men in the world are deceived; and if they be deceived, then it is certain, they give Divine worship to what they naturally eat and drink; and how great a provocation of God that is, they cannot but know by the whole analogy of the Old and New Testament, and even by natural reason itself, and all the dictates of religion which God hath written in our hearts. On the other side, if we consider that if the Divine worship they intend to Christ, were passed immediately to him sitting in heaven, and not through that blessed thing upon the altar, but directly and primarily to him whose passion there is represented, and the benefits of whose death are there offered and exhibited;—there could be no diminution of any right due to Christ. Nay, to them who consider, that in the first institution and tradition of it to the apostles, Christ's body was still whole and unbroken, and separate from the bread, and could not then be transubstantiate, and pass from itself into what it was not before, and yet remain still itself what it was before; and that neither Christ did command the apostles to worship, neither did they worship any thing but God the Father, at that time;—it must needs seem to be a prodigious venture of their souls, to change that action into a needless and ungrounded superstition: especially since after Christ's ascension, his body is not only in heaven, "which must contain it until his coming to judgment;" but is so changed, so immaterial, or spiritual, that it is not capable of being broken by hands or teeth. In not adoring that which we see to be bread, we can be as safe as the apostles were, who, we find, did not worship it; but in giving Divine honours to it, we can be no more safe, in case their proposition be amiss, than he that

[a] Letter, and "Truth will out," &c.

worships the sun, because he verily believes he is the God of heaven. A good meaning in this case will not justify his action; not only because he hath enough to instruct him better, and to bring him to better understanding, but especially because he may mean as well, if he worships Christ in heaven, "ad sua templa oculis, animo ad sua numina spectans;" yea, and better, when he does actually worship Christ at that time, directing the worship to him in heaven, and would terminate his worship on the host, if he were sure it were Christ, or were commanded so to do. Add to this, that to worship Christ is an affirmative precept; and, so it be done in wisdom, and holiness, and love, in all just ways of address to him, in praying to him, reciting his prayers, giving him thanks, trusting in him, hoping in him, and loving him with the best love of obedience: not to bow the knee, "hîc et nunc," when we fear to displease him by so doing, cannot be a sin, because for that "hîc et nunc" there is no commandment at all. And after all, if we will suppose that the doctrine of transubstantiation were true, yet because the priest that consecrates may, indeed, secretly have received invalid orders, or have evil intention, or there may be some undiscernible nullity in the whole economy and ministration; so that no man of the Roman communion can say, that by Divine faith he believes that this host is, at this time, transubstantiated; but only hath conjectures and ordinary suppositions that it is so, and that he does not certainly know the contrary. He that certainly gives Divine honour to that which is not certain to be the body of Christ,—runs into a danger too great, to promise to himself he shall be safe. Some there are who go further yet, and consider that the church of Rome say only, that the bread is changed into the body of Christ, but not into his soul; for then the same bread would be, at the same time, both material and immaterial; and that, if it were, to give honours absolutely Divine to the humanity of Christ, abstracted from consideration of his Divinity, into which certainly the bread is not transubstantiated,—is too near the doctrine of the Socinians, who suppose the humanity to be absolutely deified, and Divine honours to be due to Christ, as a man whom God hath exalted above every name. But if they say that they worship the body in concretion with the Divinity; it is certain that may be done at all times, by looking up to heaven in all our religious addresses. And, therefore, that is the safe way, and that is the way of the church of England. The other way, viz. of the church of Rome, at the best, is full of dangers; and "qui amat periculum, peribit in illo," was the wise man's caution.

3. The like to this is the practice of the church of Rome in worshipping angels; which as it is no where commanded in the New Testament, so it is expressly forbidden by an angel[b] himself twice, to St. John, adding an unalterable reason; "for I am thy fellow-servant, worship God;" or as some ancient copies read it, "worship Jesus;" meaning that, although in the Old Testament the patriarchs and prophets did bow before the angels that appeared to them as God's ambassadors, and in the person of God; and to which they were greatly inclined, because their law was given by angels;—yet, when God had exalted the Son of Man to be "the Lord of men and angels,"[c] we are all fellow-servants; and they are not to receive religious worship as before, nor we to pay it them. And by this we understand the reproof which St. Paul makes of the Gnostics, of whose practice he forewarns the christians that "they suffer not themselves to be deceived by the worshipping of angels." Now by these authorities it is plain that it can at least be no duty to worship angels; and therefore they that do it not, cannot be blamed: but if these words mean here, as they do in all other places, there is at least great danger to do it.

4. And of the like danger is invocation of saints; which if it be no more than a mere desire to them to pray for us, why is it expressed in their public offices in words that differ not from our prayers to God? If it be more, it creates in us, or is apt to create in us, confidence in the creatures; it relies upon that which St. Paul used as an argument against worship of angels; and that is, "intruding into those things we understand not;" for it pretends to know their present state, which is hid from our eyes; and it proceeds upon the very reason upon which the Gnostics and the Valentinians went; that is, that it is fit to have mediators between God and us; that we may present our prayers to them, and they to God. To which add, that the church of Rome presenting candles and other donaries to the Virgin Mary as to the queen of heaven, do that which the Collyridians did; the gift is only differing, as candle and cake, gold and garments, this vow or that vow. All which being put together makes a dangerous liturgy; not like to the worship and devotion used in the primitive church, but so like to what is forbidden in Scripture, that it is much the worse. The advantage got by these things cannot countervail the evil of the suspicion; and the wit of them that do so, cannot by a secure answer escape the force of a prohibition; and therefore it was infinitely more safe to let it alone; and to invocate and adore him only who is πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων, "the Father of the Æönes,"—the Father of men and angels,—and God, through Jesus Christ; and that answers all objections.

5. What good does the worship of images do to the souls of christians? What glory is done to God by being represented in little shapes and human or fantastic figures? What Scripture did ever command it? What prophet did not reprove it? Is it not, in all appearance, and grammatical and proper understanding of words, forbidden by an express commandment of God? Is there any duty incumbent on us to do it? Certainly, all the arts of witty men of the Roman side, are little enough, and much too little to prove, that it is lawful to make and worship them: and the distinctions and elusions, the tricks and artifices, are so many, that it is a great piece of impertinent learning to re-

[b] Rev. xxii.

[c] Colos. ii.

member them, and no small trouble to understand them; and they that most need the distinctions, (that is, the common people,) cannot use them; and at the best, it is very hard to think it lawful, but very easy to understand that it is forbidden; and most easy to be assured it is very innocent to let it alone. "Where an image is, there is no religion," said Lactantius;—and "we ought rather to die than to pollute our faith with such impieties," said Origen. Now let us suppose that these fathers speak[d] against the heathen superstition of worshipping the images of their gods; certainly, if it was a fault in them, it is worse in christians, who have received so many commands to the contrary, and who are tied "to worship the Father in spirit and in truth," and were never permitted to worship him by an image. And true it is that images are more fit for false gods than for the true God, the Father of spirits; the superstition of images is more proportioned to the idolatry of false gods, than to true religion, and the worship of him "whom eye hath not seen," and cannot see, nor heart can comprehend. And it is a vain illusion to say, that these fathers did not severely censure the use of images among christians; for all that time among the christians there was no use of images at all in religion; and for the very reasons by which they condemned the heathen superstition of image-worship, for the same reasons they would never endure it at all amongst christians. But then if this be so highly criminal, (as these ancient fathers say,) I desire it may be considered, for what pretended reasons the church of Rome should not only permit, but allow, and decree, and urge the use of images in their religious adorations? If it be only for instruction of the laity, that might be better supplied by catechisings and frequent homilies; and if instruction be intended, then the single statutes are less useful; but histories and hieroglyphics are to be painted upon tables; and in them, I suppose, there would be less temptation of doing abomination. But when the images, simple or mixed, are painted or carved, the people must be told what their meaning is; and then they will not need such books, who may with less danger learn their lesson by heart: and besides this, they are told strange stories of the saints whose images they see, and of the images themselves that represent the saints; and then it may be, these laymen's books may teach them things that they must unlearn again. But yet if they be useful for instruction, what benefit is done to our spirits by giving them adoration? That God will accept it as an honour done to himself, he hath no where told us; and he seems often to have told us the contrary; and if it be possible by man's wit to acquit this practice from being (what the prophets so highly reprove) "spiritual whoredom," in giving God's due to an image; yet it can never be proved to be a part of that worshipping of God in spirit and in truth which he requires. And though it would never have been believed in Origen's, Tertullian's, or Lactantius's days, that ever there would arise a sort of christians that should contend earnestly for the worshipping images, or that ever the heathen way of worship, viz. of what they called God, by an image, should become a great part of christianity, or that a council of bishops should decree the worship of images, as an article of faith; or that they should think men should be damned for denying worship to images; yet after all this, when it is considered that the worshipping of images by christians is so great a scandal to the Indians, that they think themselves justified in their religion by this; and so great a scandal to Jews and Turks, that they hate christianity itself for that very reason; it is a strange pertinacy in the church of Rome to retain this practice for so little pretensions of good, and with so evident a mischief: to which, if this be added, that many of the ruder people do downright worship the image without a distinction, or scruple, or difference; and that for aught we know, many souls perish by such practices, which might be secured by the taking away the images and forbidding the superstition; I for my part cannot imagine, how the guides of souls can answer it to God, or satisfy their consciences in their so vilely and cheaply regarding souls, and permitting them to live in danger, and die in sin, for no spiritual good which can accrue to the church, which can countervail the danger, much less the loss, of one soul. However, it will be very hard from any principle of christian religion, to prove it is a damnable sin not to worship images; but every man that can read, hath very much to say, that to worship them is a provocation of God to anger and to jealousy.

6. Thus also it must needs be confessed, that it is more safe for the church of God, to give the holy communion in both kinds, than but in one; and Bellarmine's foolish reason of the wine sticking to laymen's beards, is as ridiculous as the doctrine itself is unreasonable; and if they would shave laymen's beards, as they do the clergy, it would be less inconvenience than what they now feel; and if there be no help for it, they had better lose their beards, than lose their share of the blood of Christ. And what need is there to dispute such uncertain and unreasonable propositions, as that Christ's blood is with the body, by way of concomitancy, as if the sacrament were not of Christ's body broken, and the blood poured out; and as if, in case it be so, Christ did not know, or not consider it, but for all that instituted the supper in both kinds? And what more is gotten by the host alone, than by that and the chalice too? And what can be answered to the pious desires of so many nations, to have the chalice restored; when they ask for nothing but their part of the legacy which Christ left them in his Testament? And the church of Rome, which takes upon her to be sole executrix, or at least, overseer of it, tells them that "the legacy will do them no good;"

[d] Against these quotations used in the preface of the first part, the author of the "Letter to a Friend," p. 3, and the author of "Truth will out," p. 6, object that these fathers speak against the worshipping of the images of heathen gods, not of the use of images amongst christians; which cavil the reader may see largely refuted in the section "Of Images."

and keeps it from them by telling them, "it is not necessary;" nay, it is worse than so; for when in the time of the council of Trent, instance was made, that leave might be given to such as desire it; the oracle was uttered by the cardinal [e] of Alexandria, but was given after the old manner, so that no man was the better. For no man was capable of receiving the favour, but he that professed he did not believe it necessary; and then there could be no great reason to desire it; he that thought he needed it could not receive it; and he that found no want of it, in all reason would not be importunate for it, and then he should be sure not to have it: so that, in effect, there were two sorts of persons denied it; those that required it, and those that did not require it. And to what christian grace to refer the wisdom and piety of this answer, I cannot yet learn. Neither can I yet imagine why the cardinal St. Angelo [f] should call "giving the cup to the laity, a giving them a cup of deadly poison;" since certain it is, that the blood of Christ is "a savour of life," and not of death; and, as the French ambassador replied, "The apostles who did give it, were not empoisoners; and the many ages of the primitive church did receive it with very great emolument and spiritual comfort."—To this I know it will be said by some, who cannot much defend their church in the thing itself, that "it is no great matter; and if all things else were accorded, this might be dispensed withal; and the pope could give leave to the respective churches, to have according as it might be expedient, and fit for edification." But this will not serve the turn: for, first, the thing itself is no small matter, but of greatest concernment. It is the sacramental blood of Christ. The holy bread cannot be the sacrament of the blood; and if Christ did not esteem it as necessary to leave a sacrament of his blood, as of his body,—he would not have done it; and if he did think it as necessary, certainly it was so. But, 2. Suppose the matter be small, why then shall a schism be made by him, that would be thought the great father of christians? and all christendom almost displeased and offended, rather than he will comply with their desires of having nothing but what Christ left them? If the thing be but little, why do they take a course to make it, as they suppose, damnation to desire it? And if it be said, "because it is heresy to think the church hath erred all this while in denying it;" to this, the answer will be easy,—that themselves who did deny it, have given the occasion, and not they who do desire it; neither have all the christian churches denied it; for I think none but the Roman church does; and if the Roman church, by granting it now to her own children, will be supposed to have erred in denying it; to continue this denial, will not cure that inconvenience: for that which at first was but an error, will now become heresy, if they be pertinacious in the refusal. But if it were not for political and human considerations, and secular interests, there will be little question, but that it will be safer, and more agreeable to Christ's institution, and the apostolical doctrine, and the primitive practice, to grant it lovingly, than to detain it sacrilegiously: for, at least, the detention will look like sacrilege; and the granting it cannot but be a fatherly and pious ministration; especially since, when it is granted, all parties are pleased, and no man's authority, real or pretended, is questioned. But whatever become of this consideration, which is nothing but a charitable desire, and way of peace with our adversaries, and a desire to win them by our not intermeddling with their unalterable and pertinacious interest; yet as to the thing itself, it is certain, that to communicate in both kinds, is justifiable by the institution of Christ, and the perpetual practice of the church for many ages; which thing certainly is, or ought to be, the greatest rule for the church's imitation. And if the church of Rome had this advantage against us in any article, as I hope there would not be found so much pertinacy amongst us, as to resist the power of such an argument; so it is certain there would not be amongst them so much modesty as to abstain from the most absolute triumph, and the fiercest declamations: in the mean time, our safety in this article also is visible and notorious. Against the saying of St. Ambrose, which, in the preface to the first part, I brought to reprove this practice,—those who thought themselves obliged to object, will find the quotation justified in the section of the "half-communion;" to which I refer the reader.

7. What a strange uncharitableness is it, to believe and teach, that poor babes, descending from christian parents, if they die unbaptized, shall never see the face of God, and that "of such is not the kingdom of heaven?" The church of England enjoins the parents to bring them, and her priests to baptize them, and punishes the neglect where it is criminal; and yet teaches no such fierce and uncharitable proposition, which can serve no end, but what may with less damage and affrightment be very well secured; and to distrust God's goodness to the poor infants, whose fault it could not be, that they were not baptized; and to amerce their no-fault with so great a fine,—even the loss of all the good which they could receive from him that created them, and loves them,—is such a playing with heads, and a regardless treatment of souls, that for charity's sake, and common humanity, we dare not mingle in their counsels. But if we err, it is on the safer side; it is on the one side of mercy and charity. These seven particulars are not trifling considerations; but as they have great influence into the event of souls, so they are great parts of the Roman religion, as they have pleased to order religion at this day. I might instance in many more, if I thought it necessary, or did not fear they would think me inquisitive for objections: therefore, I shall add no more; only I profess myself to wonder at the obstinacy of the Roman prelates, that will not consent that the liturgy of their church should be understood by the people. They have some pretence of political reason, why they forbid the translation of the Scriptures; though all wise men know they have other reasons than what they pretend, yet this also would be considered; that

[e] Concil. Trident. lib. v. A. D. 1561. sub Pio quarto.

[f] Ibid.

if the people did read the Scriptures, and would use that liberty well, they might receive infinite benefit by them; and that if they did abuse that liberty, it were the people's fault, and not the ruler's; but that they are forbidden, that is the ruler's fault, and not the people's: but for prohibiting the understanding of their public, and sometimes of many of their private devotions, there can be no plausible pretence, no excuse of policy, no end of piety; and if the church of England be not in this, also, of the surer side, then we know nothing, but all the reason of all mankind is fallen asleep.

Well, however, these things have, at least, very much probability in them; yet for professing these things according to the Scriptures, and catholic tradition, and right reason, (as will be further demonstrated in the following paragraphs,) they call us heretics, and sentence us with damnation; with damnation, I say; for not worshipping of images; for not calling the sacramental bread,[g] our God and Saviour; for not "teaching for doctrines, the commandments of men;" for not equalling the sayings of men to the sayings of God; for not worshipping angels, for not putting trust in saints, and speaking to dead persons, who are not present; and for offering to desire to receive the communion, as Christ gave it to his disciples, and they to all to whom they preached. If these be causes of damnation; what shall become of them that do worship images; and that do take away half of the sacrament from the people, to whom Christ left it? and keep knowledge from them, and will not suffer the most of them to pray with the understanding; and worship angels, and make dead men their guardians, and erect altars, and make vows, and give consumptive offerings to saints, real or imaginary? Now truly, we know not what shall become of them; but we pray for them as men not without hope: only as long as we can, we repeat the words of our blessed Saviour, "He that breaks one of the least commandments, and teaches men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven."[h]

SECTION IX.

That the Church of Rome does teach for Doctrines, the Commandments of Men.

THE former charge hath occasioned this, which is but an instance of their adding to the christian faith new articles upon their own authority. And here, first, I shall represent what is intended in the reproof, which our blessed Saviour made of the Pharisees; saying, "They taught for doctrines, the commandments of men." And, 2. I shall prove that the church of Rome is guilty of it, and the church of England is not.

The words of our blessed Saviour are to be understood *συνθετικῶς*, or conjunctively; that is, "In vain do ye worship me, teaching doctrines, and commandments of men;"[i] that is, things which men only have delivered; and if these once be esteemed to be a worshipping of God, it is *ματαῖον σέβασμα*, "a vain worship." Now this expressed itself in two degrees; the first was in overvaluing human ordinances; that is, equalling them to Divine commandments; exacting by the same measures, by which they require obedience to God's laws, and this with a pretended zeal for God's honour and service. Thus the Pharisees were noted and reproved by our blessed Saviour.

1. The things of decency, or indifferent practices, were counselled by their forefathers; in process of time they became approved by use and custom; and then their doctors denied their communion to them that omitted them, found out new reasons for them, were severe in their censures concerning the causes of their omission, would approve none, no, not the cases and exceptions of charity or piety. And this is instanced in their washings of cups and platters, and the outside of dishes; which either was at first instituted for cleanliness and decency, or else as being symbolical to the purifications in the law: but they changed the scene, enjoined it as necessity; were scandalized at them that used it not; practised it with a frequency, passing into an intolerable burden; insomuch that at the marriage of Cana in Galilee there were six "water-pots, set after the manner of the purification of the Jews;" because they washed often in the time of their meals; and then they put new reasons, and did it for other causes than were in the first institution. And, although these washings might have been used without violation of any commandment of God; yet even by this tradition they made God's commandment void, by making this necessary, and imposing these useless and unnecessary burdens on their brethren, by making snares for consciences, and making religion and the service of God to consist in things indifferent. So they made void God's commandment by turning religion into superstition.

2. Whereas, human laws, customs, and traditions may oblige in public, and for order's sake, and decency, and for reputation and avoiding scandal, and to give testimony of obedience; and are not violated if they be omitted without scandal, and contempt, and injury, with a probable reason: yet, to think they oblige beyond what man can see, or judge, or punish, or feel, is to give to human laws the estimate which is due to Divine laws. So did the Pharisees: "Quicquid sapientes vetant palàm fieri, id etiam in penetralibus vetitum est," said Rabbi Bachai. But this is the prerogative of Divine laws, which oblige as much in private as in public; because God equally sees in the closet and in the temple: men cannot do this; and, therefore, cannot make laws to bind, where they can have no cognizance and no concern.

3. Human authority is to command, according to its own rate; that is, at the rate of human understanding, where the obedience may be possibly de-

[g] Suarez and Bellarmine confess, that to believe transubstantiation is not absolutely necessary to salvation.

[h] Matt. v. 19. [i] Matt. xv. 9.

ficient, because the understanding is fallible. But the Divine authority is infallible, and absolute, and supreme; and, therefore, our obedience to it must be as absolute, perpetual, and indeficient. But the Pharisees had a saying, and their practice was accordingly; "Si dixerint scribæ dextram esse sinistram, et sinistram esse dextram, audi eos," said the forenamed rabbi.

2. The second degree in which this expressed itself among the Pharisees, was, that they did not only equal, but preferred the commandments of men before the commands of God. "Plus est in verbis scribarum quàm in verbis legis;"[k] and of this, the instance that our blessed Saviour gives, is in the case of the Corban, and not relieving their parents. "Sacrum erit, quicquid paravero in futurum ad os patris;"[l] if they said it was dedicated, their father's hungry belly might not be relieved by it. And this our blessed Saviour calls, as being the highest degree of this superstition, "A making the commandment of God of no effect by their tradition;" this does it directly; as the other did it by necessary and unavoidable consequence.

Now that the church of Rome is greatly guilty of this criminal way of teaching and misleading the consciences of her disciples, will appear in these (amongst many other) instances.

SECTION X.

Of the Seal of Confession.

1. I first instance in their *seal of confession;* and the question is not, whether a priest is to take care of his penitent's fame, or whether he be not, in all prudent and pious ways, to be careful, lest he make that intercourse odious; for certainly he is:—but whether the seal of confession be so sacred and impregnable, that it is not to be opened in the imminent danger of a king, or kingdom; or for the doing the greatest good, or avoiding the greatest evil, in the world: that is now the question, and such a broad seal as this, is no part of the christian religion,—was never spoken of by the prophets or apostles, in the Old or the New Testament,—never was so much as mentioned in the books of the ancient fathers and doctors,—not so much as named in the ancient councils of the church; and was not heard of, until after the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh. Now how this is determined and practised in the church of Rome, we may quickly see. The first direct rule in the western church we find in this affair, is the canon of the Lateran council; "cap. Omnis Utriusque;"[a] in which to confess at Easter was made an ecclesiastical law; and as an appendix to it, this caution; "Caveat autem omninò, ne verbo, aut signo, aut alio quovis modo, aliquatenus prodat peccatorum: sed, si prudentiore consilio indiguerit, illud, absque ullâ expressione personæ, requirat." This law concerning them that do confess their secret sins to a priest, in order to counsel, comfort, and pardon from God by his ministry, is very prudent and pious; and it relates only to the person, not to the crimes: these may, upon the account of any doubt, or the advantage of better counsel and instruction, be revealed; the person, upon such accounts, may not, "nisi veritas aut obedientia aliud exigat," as St. Bonaventure[b] said well; "unless truth or obedience require the contrary:" for indeed the person is not often so material as to the inquiry of future counsel or present judgment, as the greatness and other circumstances of the sin. But this was an ancient ecclesiastical rule, as we find it related by Sozomen:[c] "Presbyterum aliquem vitæ integritate quam maximè spectabilem, secretorum etiam tenacem, ac sapientem, huic officio præfecerunt;" "A penitentiary priest was appointed for the penitents, a man that was of good life, wise, and secret." So far was well, and agreeable to common prudence, and natural reason, and the words of Solomon:[d] "Qui ambulat fraudulenter, revelat arcanum; qui autem fidelis est, celat amici commissum." There is, in this case, some more reason than in ordinary secrets; but still the obligation is the same, and to be governed by prudence, and is subject to contradiction, by greater causes. The same also is the law in the Greek church, mentioned by St. Basil:[e] "Our fathers permitted not, that women, that had committed adultery, and were penitent, should be delated in public."[f] This is the whole ground and foundation, on which the seal of confession does or can rely; save only, that, in several churches, there were several laws in after-ages to the same purpose, and particularly, in the eleventh canon of the church of England; adding also the penalty of irregularity, to every priest that shall reveal any thing committed to him in private confession, but with this proviso; that it be not binding, in such cases where the concealment is made capital by the laws of the kingdom: which because it is very strict, and yet very prudent, I shall make it appear, that the church of England walks wisely in it, and according to the precedents of the ancient catholic church, in commanding the seal to be broken up in some cases; and yet she hath restrained it more than formerly was observed in the churches of God.

Burchard[g] expressly affirms, that before the Nicene council, the penitentiary priest might publish what he heard in confessions, if it were for the good of the penitent, or, for the greatness of the crime, it seemed fit to the confessor.

And that he says true, we have sufficient testimony from Origen:[h] "Tantummodo circumspice

[k] In titulis Thalmudicis Baba Metzias Berechoth, &c.
[l] Rabbi Nissim.
[a] Decretal. de Pœnitentiis et Remissionibus.
[b] In 3. dist. 21.
[c] Lib. 7. cap. 16. Hist. Eccles.
[d] Prov. xi. 13.
[e] Epist. ad Amphilochium.
[f] Τὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναῖκας καὶ ἐξαγορευσας δι' εὐλάβειαν δημοσιεύειν οὐκ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. A. D. 1603.
[g] Lib. 19. Decreti sui, c. 37. Concil. Mogual. cap. 10. 21.
[h] Homil. 2. in Psal. xxxvii.

diligentius, cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum—Si intellexerit et præviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et cæteri ædificari poterunt, et tu ipse facilè sanari, multâ hoc deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est." By which words he affirms, 1. That it was in the power of the confessor to command the publication of certain crimes. 2. That though it was not lightly to be done, yet, upon great reason, it might. 3. That the spiritual good of the penitent, and the edification of others, were causes sufficient for the publication. 4. That of these, the confessor was judge. 5. That this was no otherwise done by the consent of the party, but because he was bound to consent, when the confessor enjoined it: and the matter is evident, in the case of the incestuous Corinthian; who either was restored without private confession; or, if he was not, St. Paul caused it to be published in the church, and submitted the man to the severest discipline, and yet public, that was then or since in the world. The like to this we find in a decretal epistle of Pope Leo;[i] for when some confessors, exceeding the ancient ecclesiastical rule, were not so prudent and deliberate in conducting their penitents, as formerly they were, but commanded that all their whole confessions should be written down and publicly read; he says, "Though the plenitude of faith might be laudable, that is not afraid to blush in public, yet the confession is sufficient, if it be made in secret, first to God, and then to the priest:" and adds, "Non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata, ut ea quæ pœnitentiam poscunt, non timeant publicare;" All sins are not of that nature, that are fit to be published; and therefore "removeatur tam improbabilis consuetudo;" "let such a reprovable custom be taken away." In which words of St. Leo, we find, 1. That the seal of confession, as at this day it is understood at Rome, was no such inviolable and religious secret; for by a contrary custom, it was too much broken. 2. That he blames not the publication of some sins, but that they indiscriminately did publish all. 3. That the nature of some sins did not permit it; for, as he adds afterwards, men by this means were betrayed to the malice of their enemies, who would bring them before tribunals, in some cases. 4. That this was not spoken in case of public crimes, delated, and brought into public notice, but such as were spoken in private confession. And here I cannot but desire there had been some more ingenuity in Bellarmine,[k] who, relating to this epistle of St. Leo, affirms, that St. Leo says, "It is against the apostolical rule, to reveal secret sins, declared in confession;" when it is plain, that St. Leo only blames the custom of revealing all; saying, "that all sins are not of that nature, as to be fit to be revealed." And by these precedent authorities, we shall the easier understand that famous fact of Nectarius, who abolished the custom of having sins published in the church, and therefore took away the penitentiary priest; whose office was, (as I proved out of Origen, Sozomen, and Burchard,) to enjoin the publication of some sins, according to his discretion. It happened in Constantinople, that a foul fact was committed, and it was published in the ears of the people, and a tumult was raised about it; and the remedy was, that Nectarius took away the office and the custom together. "Consulentibus quibusdam, ut unicuique liberum permitteret, prout sibi ipse conscius esset et confideret, ad mysteriorum communionem accedere, pœnitentiarum illum presbyterum exauctoravit." Every man was thenceforth left to his liberty, according to the dictate and confidence of his own conscience, to come to the communion; and this afterwards passed into a rite; for the manners of men growing degenerate, and worse sins being now confessed than, as he supposes, formerly they had been; the judges having been more severe, and the people more modest, it was fit enough that this custom, upon the occasion of such a scandal, and so much mischief like to follow it, should be laid aside wholly; and so it was. Here is a plain story, truly told by Sozomen, and the matter is easy to be understood. But Bellarmine seeing the practice and doctrine of the church of Rome pinched by it, makes a distinction, derived from the present custom of his church, of public confession and private, saying, that Nectarius took away the public, and not the private. This I shall have occasion to discuss in the next section. I am now only to speak concerning the seal of confession; which, from this authority, is apparent, was not such a sacred thing, but that it was made wholly to minister to the public and private edification of the penitent, and the whole church.

Thus this affair stood in the primitive church. In descending ages, when private confessions grew frequent, and were converted into a sacrament; the seal also was made more tenacious; and yet by the discipline of the church, there were divers cases, in which the seal might be broken up. 1. There is a famous gloss in "cap. Tua nos, lib. 4, Decretal. tit. 1. de Sponsalibus et Matrimonio;" where the pope answering to a question concerning a pretended contract of marriage, says, that the marriage is good, unless the inquiring bishop of Brescia could have assured him, that the man did never consent, or intend the marriage, "Quod qualiter tibi constiterit, non videmus." The gloss upon these words say, "Imò benè potuit constare: quia vir ille hoc ei confitebatur," "The bishop might well know it, because the man had confessed it to him; or because he had revealed it to him in penitential confession. For though, in judicial confession before a tribunal, no man is to be believed to the prejudice of a third person, yet, in penitential confession, he is to be believed; because it is not to be supposed, that he then is unmindful of his salvation." Where the gloss observing that he did or might have received it in confession, and yet make use of it in consultation with his superiors, and upon that answer was to pronounce it to be, or not to be, a marriage, and to treat the persons accordingly; it follows that the thing itself might be revealed for the good of the penitent's soul; and this was done by the cardinal of St. Lawrence in the case of a woman introducing

[i] Epist. 80. ad Episc. Campaniæ.

[k] De Pœnitentiâ, lib. 3. cap. 14. sect. Denique cum Secreta.

a suppositious child to the inheritance of her husband; and this revelation of the confession produced a decretal epistle[l] from the pope in that particular case; and of this the doctors[m] give this reason; because a thing so odious, and that would bring so certain ruin to souls, might not be permitted with so great scandal and so great mischief. 2. And that confession may be revealed for the regulating a doubtful case of marriage, is the opinion of many great canonists. 3. That it may be revealed in the case of heresy confessed, I think there was no doubt of it at any time. 4. And that every confessor may reveal the confession by the penitent's leave, is taught by Durandus, Almain, Medina, and Navar; and generally by all the ancient scholars of St. Thomas. Now if a law be made that, in certain cases, the confessor shall publish the confession, then every man's consent is involved in it, as his private right is in the public interest; of which it is a part, and to which it is subordinate and must yield. But who pleases to see how this affair once did stand in the church of Rome, and more especially in the catholic church, if he be not yet, may be satisfied by the proofs which Altisiodorensis gives of the lawfulness of publishing confessions in certain cases. 5. Lastly, if a sinful intention of committing a grievous crime be revealed in confession, and the person confessing cannot desist from, or will not alter his purpose; then that the seal of confession may be broken open, is affirmed by Alexander of Ales,[n] by "the Summa Angelica,"[o] which also reckons five cases more, in which it is lawful to reveal confessions. The same also is taught by Panormitan,[p] Hostiensis,[q] the "Summa Sylvestrina,"[r] and by Pope Innocent himself.[s]

But now, if we consider, how it is in the church of Rome at this day, and hath been this last age for the most part; we shall find that this human constitution relying upon prudent and pious considerations, is urged, as a sacramental obligation and a great part of the religion; and is not accounted obliging only for the reasons of its first sanction; nor as an act of obedience to the positive law, but as a natural, essential, divine, and unalterable obligation. And from thence these doctrines are derived. 1. That what a priest knows in confession, he knows it not as a man, but as God: which proposition, as it is foolish, and too near to blasphemy, and may as well infer, that the priest may be then adored by the penitent with the distinction, viz. not as man, but as God; so is expressly confuted by the gloss above cited, and by Scotus;[t] but taught by the modern casuists, and is the ground of a strange practice. For, 2. As a consequent of the former, it is taught in the church of Rome by their greatest guides, that if a priest having heard a thing only in confession;[u] if being asked and sworn, he shall say, he never heard that thing, he neither lies nor forswears. So Emanuel Sà teaches;[x] and adds, that in the same manner the penitent may also swear, that he said nothing, or no such thing in confession. But how this should be excused, or whether they think the penitent to have spoken to none but God, I am not yet satisfied. 3. It is not lawful to reveal any thing that is told only in confession, though it be to avoid the greatest evil that can happen, so said Bellarmine;[y] to save a whole commonwealth from damage temporal or spiritual, so Suarez;[z] to save the lives of all the kings in christendom, so Binet[a] told Isaac Casaubon in the king's library at Paris. The same is openly avowed by Eudæmon Johannes,[b] that there is no evil so great, for the avoiding of which it can be lawful to reveal confession; and that this may appear to be a catholic doctrine, the same author reckons up so many moderns teaching the same, that the very names of the authors and books fill up several pages; and that it is the catholic doctrine, is expressly taught by the author of the famous apology made for the Jesuits, after the horrid parricide of Henry the Fourth of France. They add, even beyond this, all the curiosity of the very circumstances of silence; that this silence does not only oblige in the case of perfect confession, but if it be begun, not only in case of confession clear and express, but if it be so much as in relation to confession: not only the confessor, but the messenger, the interpreter, the counsellor, he that hears it by chance, or by stealth; and he that was told of it by him that should, but did not conceal it: the seal is to be kept by all means, directly and indirectly, by words and signs, judicially and extrajudicially, unless the penitent give leave: but that leave is to be express, and is not to be asked but in the case of a compelling necessity; neither can the confessor impose a public penance upon him who hath confessed privately. Which things, especially the last, are most diametrically opposed to the doctrine and discipline of the primitive church, as I have already proved; but these things are expressly taught, as the doctrine of the most famous casuists of the church of Rome, by Escobar,[c] who comparing his book in method to the seven seals of the Revelation, which the four living creatures read,—Suarez the ox, Molina the man, Vasquez the eagle, and Valentia the lion,—and twenty-four elders, that is, twenty-four Jesuits also read these seven seals; though when they come to be reckoned, they prove twenty-five, so fatal is that antichristian number to the church of Rome, that it occurs in every accident: but his meaning is, that the doctrines he teaches are the doctrines of all those twenty-five famous leading men; "Penes quos imperium literarum et conscientiarum." If now it be not the catholic doctrine, then is it here-

[l] Lib. 5. Decret. tit. 38. cap. Officii. de Pœnit. et Remiss.
[m] Vide Suarez. de Paz in Pract. Criminal. Eccles. cap. 109.
[n] Part. 4. q. 28. mem. 2. art. 2. in Respons.
[o] Confessio ult. num. 7.
[p] Cap. Omnis. de Pœnit. et. Remis. num. 21.
[q] Super 5. cap. Omni. [r] In Confess. 3. num. 2.
[s] In cap. Omnis. Verb. prodit.
[t] In quartum librum Sent. dist. 21.
[u] Vide Richard. in lib. 4. Sent. dist. eâd. art. 4. q. 1.
[x] Aphor. v. Confess. n. 23.
[y] Apolog. adv. Reg. M. Brit.
[z] Disp. 33. in 3. par. D. Thom. sect. 1. n. 2.
[a] Præstaret Reges omnes perire, quam si vel semel Confessionis sigillum violaretur: Epist. ad Fontonem Ducæum, p. 140.
[b] Apolog. pro Garnette, c. 13.
[c] Moral. Theol. tract. 7. examen. 4. de Pœnit. sect. 6. n. 63—65. &c.

tical? And then, why is it not disowned? Why are not they that say so, censured? Why is not the doctrine condemned? Why is it publicly maintained and allowed by authority? Why is it pleaded in bar against execution of justice in the case of treason; as it was by F. Garnet himself, and all his apologists? But if this be the catholic doctrine, then let it be considered, how cheap are the lives of kings in their eyes, who consult more with the safety of a villain, whom they dare not absolve,[d] than of a king, who is worthy ten thousands of his people; and let it be also considered, that, by using all the ways in the world to make confession easy to traitors and homicides, they make it odious to kings and princes, and to all that love the safety of their sovereigns, and of the public. We find that the laws of God yield to charity and necessity, and Christ followed the act of David; who, "when he was hungry, ate the shew-bread, which was unlawful to be eaten but by the priest alone:" and he that commanded us to go, and learn what that means, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," intended not that the seal of confession should, upon pretence of religion, be used to the most uncharitable ends in the world; no, though it had been made sacred by a Divine commandment; which it is not, but is wholly introduced by custom and canons ecclesiastical: and when we see that things dedicated to God, and made sacred by religion, and the laws of God confirming such religion, can be aliened and made common in cases of extreme necessity, or great charity; it is a strange superstition, that shall hold that fast with teeth and nails, and never let it go, no, not to save a soul, not to preserve the life of kings, not to prevent the greatest mischief in the world; this is certainly a making the commandments of men greater and more sacred than the commandments of God, and a passing them into a doctrine, great, necessary, and unalterable, as a fundamental article.

SECTION XI.

Of the imposing Auricular Confession upon Consciences, without Authority from God.

THAT confession to a priest is a doctrine taught as necessary in the church of Rome, is without all question; and yet that it is but the commandment of men, I shall, I hope, clearly enough evince; and if I do, I suppose the charge laid against the church of Rome, which is the same Christ laid against the Pharisees, will be fully made good, as to this instance; for this is one of the sorts of that crime, to say, "Dixit Dominus, Dominus autem non dixit;" to pretend a rite to be of Divine institution when it is not so, but, "humanum inventum," "a device of man's brain."—The other (which is, still supposing an institution to be human and positive, yet to urge it with the same severe religion as they do a Divine commandment) I shall consider in other instances. For the present the inquiry is concerning *auricular confession*, and its pretended necessity. The first decree concerning it was in the Lateran council;[e] in which "every person of years of discretion is commanded to confess all his sins to his own priest, at least once in the year; or to another priest, with the leave of his own; otherwise, while he is living, he must be driven from entrance into the church; and when he is dead, he must have no christian burial."—This is very severe; but yet here is no damnation to them that neglect it; and the duty is not pretended to be by Divine commandment: and therefore, lest that severity might seem too much to be laid upon human law, they made it up in the new forge at Trent;[f] and there it was decreed that, "To confess all, and every mortal sin, which, after diligent inquiry we remember, and every evil thought or desire, and the circumstances that change the nature of the sin, is necessary for the remission of sins, and of Divine institution; and he that denies this, is to be anathema."

Whether to confess to a priest be an advisable discipline, and a good instance, instrument, and ministry of repentance, and may serve many good ends in the church, and to the souls of needing persons,—is no part of the question. We find that, in the Acts of the Apostles, divers converted persons came to St. Paul, either publicly or privately, "and confessed their deeds;"[g] and burnt their books of exorcism, that is, did what became severe and hearty penitents, who needed counsel and comfort, and that their repentance should be conducted by wise guides. And when St. James exhorts all christians "to confess their sins to one another," certainly it is more agreeable to all spiritual ends, that this be done rather to the curates of souls, than to the ordinary brethren. The church of England is no way engaged against it, but advises it, and practises it. The Calvinist churches do not practise it much, because they know not well how to divest it from its evil appendages, which are put to it by the customs of the world, and to which it is too much exposed by the interests, weaknesses, and partialities of men. But they commending it, show they would use it willingly, if they could order it unto edification. "Interim quin sistant se pastori oves, quoties sacram cœnam participare volunt, adeò non reclamo, ut maximè velim hoc ubique observari."[h]—And for the Lutheran churches, that it is their practice, we may see it in Chemnitius,[i] who was one of greatest fame amongst them; and he is noted to this purpose by[k] Bellarmine; only they all consent, that it is not necessary nor of Divine institution; and being but of man's invention, it ought not to pass into a doctrine; and, as the apostles said in the matter of circumcision, "a burden ought not to be put upon the necks of the disciples;" and that, "in lege gratiæ,

[d] Script. Garnetti apud Is. Casauboni Ep. ad Fron. Ducæum, p. 137.
[e] Can. 21. [f] Sess. 14. cap. 6, 7.
[g] Πράξεις i. e. magicas incantationes; simile illud ibidem, ἱκανοὶ τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων πράξεις nimirum τῶν περιέργων.
[h] Calvin. Instit. lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 12, 13.
[i] 2. Part. Exam. Concil. Trid. cap. 5. de Pœnit.
[k] Lib. 3. de Pœnit. cap. 1. sect. Martinus Kemnitius.

longè difficillimum" too, as Major[l] observes truly, by far greater than any burden in the law of grace, the time of the gospel. Let it be commanded to all, to whom it is needful or profitable; but let it be free, as to the conscience precisely, and bound but by the cords of a man, and as other ecclesiastical laws are, which are capable of exceptions, restrictions, cautions, dispensations, rescindings, and abolitions, by the same authority, or upon greater reasons.

The question then is, whether to confess all our greater sins to a priest, all that upon strict inquiry we can remember, be necessary to salvation? This the church of Rome now affirms; and this the church of England and all protestant churches deny; and complain sadly, that the commandments of men are changed into the doctrines of God, by a pharisaical empire, and superstition. Here then we join issue.

1. And in the first place, I shall represent, that the doctrine of the necessity of confession to a priest, is a new doctrine, even in the church of Rome, and was not esteemed any part of the catholic religion before the council of Trent. For first, the gloss "de Pœnit. dist. 5. c. in Pœnitentiâ," inquiring where or when oral confession was instituted, says, some say it was instituted in Paradise; others say it was instituted when Joshua called upon Achan to confess his sin; others say it was instituted in the New Testament by St. James: "it is better said that it was instituted by a certain universal tradition of the church, and the tradition of the church is obligatory as a precept. Therefore confession of deadly sins is necessary with us, (viz. Latins,) but not with the Greeks; because no such tradition hath come to them." This is the full state of this affair, in the age when Semeca, who was the glossator, lived; and it is briefly this. 1. There was no resolution or agreement whence it came. 2. The glossator's opinion was, it came from the universal tradition of the church. 3. It was but a kind of universal tradition; not absolute, clear, and certain. 4. It was only a tradition in the Latin church. 5. The Greeks had no such tradition. 6. The Greeks were not obliged to it: it was not necessary to them. Concerning the Greek church, I shall afterwards consider it in a more opportune place; here only I consider it as it was in the Latin church: and of this I suppose there needs no better record than the canon law itself, and the authentic glosses upon it; which glosses, although they be not law, but as far as they please, yet they are perfect testimony as to matter of fact, and what the opinions of the doctors were at that time. And therefore to the former I add this; that in "cap. Convertimini," Gratian hath these words: "Unde datur intelligi, quod etiam ore tacente veniam consequi possumus;" "Without confession of the mouth we may obtain pardon of our sins;" and this point he pursues in all that long chapter; and in the chapter "Resuscitatus," out of St. Austin's doctrine; and in the chapter "Qui Natus," out of the doctrine of St. John's Epistle; the conclusion of which chapter is, "Cum ergo ante confessionem (ut probatum est) sumus resuscitati per gratiam, et filii lucis facti; evidentissimè apparet quod solâ cordis contritione sine confessione oris, peccatum remittitur:" and, in the chapter "Omnis qui non diligit," he expressly concludes out of St. John's words: "Non ergo in confessione peccatum remittitur, quod jam remissum esse probatur: fit itaque confessio ad ostensionem pœnitentiæ, non ad impetrationem veniæ." And at the end of this chapter, according to his custom in such disputable things; when he says, "alii è contrario testantur;" "others witness to the contrary," that, without confession oral, and works of satisfaction, no man is cleansed from his sin; the gloss upon the place says thus: "Ab hoc loco usque ad 'Sed his auctoritatibus' pro aliâ parte allegat, quod scil. adulto peccatum non dimittitur sine oris confessione, quod tamen falsum est:" only he says, that "Confession doth cleanse, and satisfaction doth cleanse: so that though by contrition of the heart the sin is pardoned; yet these still cleanse more and more, as a man is more innovated," or amended. "But these authorities brought in," viz. that sin is not pardoned without confession, "if they be diligently expounded, prove but little." But Friar Maurique, who by Pius V. made and published a censure upon the glosses, appointed these words, "quod tamen falsum est," to be left out; but the Roman correctors under Gregory XIII. let them alone; but put in the margent a mark of contradiction upon it; saying, "Imò verissimum est." But that was new doctrine, and although Semeca, the author of the gloss, affirmed it expressly to be false, yet Gratian himself was more reserved; but yet not of the new opinion, but left the matter indifferent: for after he had alleged Scripture, and authorities of fathers on one side, and authority of fathers on the other; he concludes, "Quibus auctoritatibus vel quibuslibet rationum firmamentis utraque sententia satisfactionis et confessionis innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros."[m] Now how well this agrees with the determination of the council of Trent,[n] every man, by comparing, can easily judge; only it is certain, this doctrine cannot pretend to be derived by tradition from the apostles. Of the same opinion was the Abbot of Panormo; saying, "That opinion (viz. of the gloss) does much please me: because there is no manifest authority that does intimate, that either God or Christ instituted confession to be made to a priest." But it were endless to name the sentences of the canonists in this question; once for all, the testimony of Maldonat[o] may secure us: "Juris pontificii periti, secuti suum primum interpretem, omnes dicunt confessionem tantum esse introductam jure ecclesiastico." But to clear the whole question, I shall, 1. prove, that the necessity of confessing our sins to a priest is not found in Scripture; but very much to disprove it. 2. That

[l] In 4. dist. 17. q. 2. ex Scoto.
[m] De Pœnit. d. 1. cap. Quamvis Plenitudo.
[n] Lib. 5. de Decret. de Pœnit. et Rem. in cap. Omnis utriusque sexus.
[o] Disp. de Sacr. tom. 2. de Confess. Orig. c. 2.

there is no reason enforcing this necessity, but very much against it. 3. That there is no ecclesiastical tradition of any such necessity; but apparently the contrary: and the consequent of these things will be, that the church of Rome hath introduced a new doctrine, false and burdensome, dangerous and superstitious.

1. If we consider how this article is managed in Scripture, we shall find that our blessed Saviour said nothing at all concerning it; the council of Trent indeed makes their new doctrine to rely upon the words of Christ recited by St. John;[p] "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted," &c. But see with what success: for, besides that all the canonists allow not, that confession was instituted by Christ; Aquinas, Scotus, Gabriel Clavasinus, the author of the "Summa Angelica," Hugo de S. Victore, Bonaventure, Alensis, Tho. Waldensis, Ferus, Cajetan, Erasmus, B. Rhenanus, and Jansenius, though differing much in the particulars of this question, yet all consent that, precisely from the words of Christ, no necessity of confession to a priest can be concluded. 2. Amongst those of the Roman church, who did endeavour to found the necessity of confession upon those words, none do agree about the way of drawing their argument; as may be seen in Scotus,[q] Aureolus, Johannes Major, Thomas de Argentina, Richardus, Durandus Almain, Dominicus à Soto, Alphonsus à Castro, Adrianus, Petrus de Aquila, and others, before the council of Trent. 3. Though these men go several ways, (which shows, as Scotus expresses it, "hoc verbum non est præcisum,") yet they all agree well enough in this, that they are all equally out of the story, and none of them well performs what he undertakes; it is not mine alone, but the judgment which Vasquez[r] makes of them, who confuted many of them by arguments of his own, and by the arguments which they use one against another, and gives this censure of them: "Inter eos qui planè fatenter ex illis verbis Joh. xx. necessitatem confessionis, (supple, *elici*,) vix invenias qui efficaciter deducat."—And therefore this place of St. John is but an infirm foundation to build so great a structure on it as the whole economy of their sacrament of penance, and the necessity of confession upon it; since so many learned and acute men, master-builders, believe nothing at all of it; and others that do, agree not well in the framing of the structure upon it, but make a Babel of it; and at last their attempts prove vain and useless, by the testimony of their fellow-labourers.

There are some other places of Scripture, which are pretended for the necessity of confession, but they need no particular scrutiny; not only because they are rejected by their own parties as insufficient;[s] but because all are principally devolved upon the twentieth of St. John; and the council of Trent itself wholly relies upon it. This therefore being the foundation, if it fails them as to their pretensions, their building must needs be ruinous. But I shall consider it a little.

When Christ said to his apostles, "Whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to them; and whose sins ye retain, they shall be retained;" he made (says Bellarmine, and generally the latter school of Roman doctors) the apostles, and all priests, judges upon earth; that without their sentence, no man, that hath sinned after baptism, can be reconciled. But the priests, who are judges, can give no right or unerring sentence, unless they hear all the particulars they are to judge. Therefore by Christ's law they are tied to tell in confession all their particular sins to a priest.—This is the sum of all that is said in this affair. Other light skirmishes there are, but the main battle is here.

Now all the parts of this great argument must be considered: and 1. I deny the argument; and supposing both the premises true, that Christ had made them judges, and that without particular cognizance they could not give judgment according to Christ's intention; yet it follows not, that therefore it is necessary, that the penitent shall confess all his sins to the priest. For, who shall compel the penitent to appear in judgment? Where are they obliged to come and accuse themselves before the judges? Indeed if they were before them, we will suppose the priests to have power to judge them; but how can it be hence deduced, that the penitents are bound to come to this judicatory, and not to stand alone to the Divine tribunal. A physician may have power to cure diseases, yet the patients are not bound to come to him; neither, it may be, will they, if they can be cured by other means. And if a king sends a judge with competent authority to judge all the questions in a province; he can judge them that come, but he cannot compel them to come; and they may make an end of their quarrels among themselves, or by arbitration of neighbours; and if they have offended the king, they may address themselves to his clemency, and sue for pardon. And since it is certain, by their own confession, that a penitent cannot, by the force of these words of Christ, be compelled to confess his venial sins, how does it appear, that he is tied to confess his mortal sins? For if a man be tied to repent of all his sins, then repentance may be performed without the ministry of the priest, or else he must repent before the priest for all his sins. But if he may repent of his venial sins, and yet not go to the priest, then to go to the priest is not an essential part of the repentance: and if it be thus in the case of venial sins, let them show from the words of Christ any difference in the case between the one and the other; especially if we consider, that though it may be convenient to go to the priest to be taught and guided, yet the necessity of going to him is to be absolved by his ministry. But that of this there was no necessity believed in the primitive church,

[p] John xx. 21.

[q] In lib. 4. sent. dist. 17.

[r] Qu. 90. in 3. Thom. dub. 2.

[s] Primum istorum esset magis conveniens tenendum, si posset evidenter haberi istud præceptum ex evangelio. Nec oportet ad hoc adducere illud Matthæi xvi. "Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum," quia non est nisi promissio de datione futurâ. Sed si aliquid in evangelio, videlicet, ad hoc videtur illud Joh. xx. "Accipite Spir. S. Quorum remiseritis," &c. dicitur quod sic, de illo verbo Jacob. v. "Confitemini alterutrùm peccata," &c. sed nec per hoc videretur mihi quod Jacobus præceptum hoc dedit, nec præceptum à Christo promulgavit.—SCOTUS in lib. 4. dist. 17. sect. de secundo.

appears in this; because they did not expect pardon from the bishop or priest in the greatest crimes, but were referred wholly to God for the pardon of them: "Non sine spe tamen remissionis, quam ab eo planè sperare debebit qui ejus largitatem solus obtinet; et tam dives misericordiæ est, ut nemo desperet:" so said the bishops of France in their synod held about the time of Pope Zephyrinus. To the same purpose are the words of Tertullian: "Salvâ illâ pœnitentiæ specie post fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit, aut majoribus et irremissibilibus à Deo solo." The like also is in the thirty-first epistle of St. Cyprian. Now, first, it is easy to observe how vast the difference is between the old catholic church and the present Roman: these say, that venial sins are not of necessity to be confessed to the priest or bishop; and that, without their ministry, they can be pardoned: but they of old said, that the smaller sins were to be submitted to the bishop's ministry. On the other side, the Roman doctors say, it is absolutely necessary to bring our mortal sins, and confess them, in order to be absolved by the priest; but the old catholics said, that the greatest sins are wholly to be confessed and submitted to God, who may pardon them, if he please, and will, if he be rightly sought to; but to the church they need not be confessed, because these were only and immediately fit for the Divine cognizance. What is now-a-days a reserved case to the pope, was anciently a case reserved to God; and what was only submitted formerly to the bishop, is now not worth much taking notice of by any one. But now put these together. By the Roman doctrine you are not, by the duty of repentance, tied to confess your venial sins; and by the primitive, it is to no purpose to bring the greatest crimes to ecclesiastical repentance; but by their immediate address to God they had hopes of pardon: from hence it follows, that there is no necessity of doing one or other, that is, there is no commandment of God for it; nor yet any necessity in the nature of the thing requiring it.

Venerable Bede[t] had an opinion, that those sins only which are like to leprosy, ought to be submitted to the judgment of the church: "Cætera verò vitia, tanquam valetudines, et quasi membrorum animæ atque sensuum, per semetipsum interius in conscientiâ et intellectu Dominus sanat." And Goffridus Vindocinensis[u] tells of one William, a learned man, whose doctrine it was, that there were but four sorts of sins which needed confession, the error of gentilism, schism, heretical pravity, and judicial perfidiousness: "Cætera autem peccata à Domino sine confessione sanari." But besides this, I demand, whether or no hath the priest a power to remit venial[x] sins, and that this power (in the words of St. John, chap. xx.) was given to him by Christ? If Christ did, in these words, give him power to remit venial sins, and yet the penitent is not bound to recount them in particular, or at all to submit them to his judicatory; it will follow undeniably, that the giving power of remission of sins to the priest, does not infer a necessity in the penitent to come to confess them. And these things I suppose Vasquez understood well enough; when he affirms expressly, that it may well stand with the ordinary power of a judge, that his power be such as that it be free for the subjects to submit to it, or to end their controversies another way. And that it was so in this case is the doctrine of Scotus,[y] before cited, and many others. Add to this, the argument of Scotus,[z] the priest retains no sins, but such which, some way or other, are declared to him to have no true signs of repentance; and yet those, which are no way manifested to the priest, God retains unto the vengeance of hell: therefore neither is that word, "Whose sins ye remit," precise; that is, if God retains some which the priest does not retain, then also he does remit some which the priest does not remit; and therefore, there is no negative affixed to the affirmative, which shows that the remission or retention does not necessarily depend on the priest's ministration. So that, supposing it to be true, that the priest hath a power to remit or retain sins, as a judge, and that this power cannot be exercised without knowing what he is to judge; yet it follows not from hence, that the people are bound to come this way, and to confess their sins to them, or to ask their pardon. But,

2. The second proposition is also false; for, supposing the priest, by the words of Christ, hath given to him the ordinary power of a judge; and that, as such, he hath power of remitting and retaining sins: yet this power of judging may be such, as that it may be performed without enumeration of all the particulars we remember. For the judgment the priest is to make, is not of the *sins* but of the *persons*. It is not said "Quæcunque," but "Quorumcunque remiseritis peccata." Our blessed Saviour, in these words, did not distinguish two sorts of sins, one to be remitted, and another to be retained; so that it should be necessary to know the special nature of the sins: he only reckoned one kind, that is, under which all sins are contained. But he distinguished two sorts of sinners; saying, "Quorum," and "Quorum;"[a] the one of penitents, (according to the whole design and purpose of the gospel,) and their sins are to be remitted; and another of impenitent, whose sins are not to be remitted, but retained. And therefore it becomes the ministers of souls, to know the state of the penitent, rather than the nature and number of the sins. Neither gave he any power to punish, but to pardon, or not to pardon. If Christ had intended to have given to the priests a power to impose a punishment according to the quality of every sin; the priest indeed had been the executioner of the Divine wrath: but then, because no punishment in this life can be

[t] In Lucæ Evang. cap. 69. tom. 5. Colon. Agripp. 1612.
[u] Lib. 5. ep. 16.
[x] Concil. Trid. sess. 14. c. 5. Nam venialia quibus à gratiâ Dei non excludimur, et in quæ frequentiùs labimur, quanquam rectè et utiliter citraque omnem præsumtionem in confessione dicantur, quod piorum hominum usus demonstrat, taceri tamen citra culpam, multisque aliis remediis expiari possunt.
[y] Vide Vasquez in 3. tom. 1. q. 90. art. 1. dub. 2. sect. 3.
[z] Ubi supra.
[a] Vid. Padre Paolo Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 4.

equal to the demerit of a sin, which deserves the eternal wrath of God; it is certain, the priest is not to punish them by way of vengeance. We do not find any thing in the words of Christ, obliging the priest directly to impose penances on the penitent sinner; he may voluntarily submit himself to them if he please, and he may do very well, if he do so: but the power of retaining sins, gives no power to punish him, whether he will or no; for the power of retaining is rather to be exercised upon the impenitent, than upon the penitent. Besides this, the word of "remitting" sins, does not certainly give the priest a power to impose penances; for it were a prodigy of interpretation to expound "remittere" by "punire." But if by "retaining" it be said, this power is given him; then this must needs belong to the impenitent, who are not remitted; and not to the penitent, whose sins at that time they remit, and retain not; unless they can do both at the same time. But if the punishment designed be only by way of remedy, or of disposing the sinners to true penitence; then if the person be already truly penitent, the priest hath nothing to do, but to pardon him in the name of God. Now certainly both these things may be done without the special enumeration of all his remembered sins. For, 1. The penitent may, and often does, forget many particulars; and then, in that case, all that the priest can expect, or proceed to judgment upon, is the saying in general, "He is truly sorrowful for them, and for the time to come will avoid them:" and if he then absolve the penitent, as he must, and usually does; it follows, that if he does well, (and he can do no better,) he may make a judgment of his penitent without special enumeration of his sins; and if the priest pardons no sins but those which are enumerated, the penitent will be in an evil condition in most cases: but if he can and does pardon those which are forgotten, then the special enumeration is not indispensably necessary; for it were a strange thing, if sins should be easier remitted for being forgotten, and the harder for being remembered; there being in the gospel no other condition mentioned, but "the confessing and forsaking them:' and if there be any difference, certainly he, who out of carelessness of spirit, or the multitude of his sins, or want of the sharpness of sorrow, (for these commonly are the causes of it,) forgets many of his sins, is, in all reason, further from pardon, than he whose conscience, being sore wounded, cannot forget that which stings him so perpetually. If he that remembers most, because he is most penitent, be tied to a more severe discipline than he that remembers least,—then, according to this discipline, the worst man is in the best condition. But what if the sinner, out of bashfulness, do omit to enumerate some sin? Is there no consulting with his modesty? Is there no help for him, but he must confess, or die? St. Ambrose[a] gives a perfect answer to this case: "Lavant lacrymæ delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri, et veniæ fletus consulunt, et verecundæ lacrymæ sine horrore culpam loquuntur. Lacrymæ crimen sine offensione verecundiæ confitentur."—And the same is almost in words affirmed by Maximus Taurinensis:[b] "Lavat lacrymæ delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrymæ ergo verecundiæ pariter consulunt et saluti; nec erubescunt in petendo, et impetrant in rogando."—And that this may not seem a propriety of St. Peter's repentance, because sacramental confession was not yet instituted; (for that Bellarmine offers for an answer;) besides that sacramental confession was, as I have made to appear, never instituted, either then, or since then in Scripture, by Christ, or by his apostles; besides this I say, St. Ambrose[c] applies the precedent of St. Peter to every one of us;—"Flevit ergo amarissimè Petrus: flevit ut lacrymis suum posset lavare delictum; et tu si veniam vis mereri, dilue culpam lacrymis tuam."—And to the same sense also is that of Cassian: "Quòd si, verecundiâ retrahente, revelare [peccata] coram hominibus erubescis, illi quem latere non possunt, confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere, 'Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci,' qui et absque illius verecundiæ publicatione curare, et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit."—To these I shall add a pregnant testimony of Julianus Pomerius, or of Prosper;[d] "Quòd si ipsi sibi judices fiant, et veluti suæ iniquitatis ultores hic in se voluntariam pœnam severissimæ animadversionis exerceant temporalibus pœnis mutaverint æterna supplicia, et lacrymis ex verâ cordis compunctione fluentibus restinguent æterni ignis incendia." And this was the opinion of divers learned persons in Peter Lombard's time,[e] that if men fear to confess lest they be disgraced, or lest others should be tempted by their evil example; and therefore conceal them from man, and reveal them to God; they obtain pardon.

Secondly: For those sins, which they do enumerate; the priest by them cannot make a truer judgment of the penitent's repentance and disposition to amendment, than he can by his general profession of his true and deep contrition, and such other human indications, by which such things are signified. For still it is to be remembered, he is not the judge of the sin, but of the man. For Christ hath left no rules, by which the sin is to be judged; no penitential tables, no chancery tax, no penitential canons; neither did the apostles: and those which were in use in the primitive church, as they were vastly short of the merit of the sins, so they are very vastly greater than are now in use, or will be endured: by which it plainly enough appears, that they impose penances at their pleasure, as the people are content to take them; and for the greatest sins, we see they impose ridiculous penances; and themselves profess they impose but a part of their penance that is due: which certainly cannot be any compliance with any law of God, which is always wiser, more just, and more to purpose. And therefore, to exact a special enumeration of all our sins remembered, to enable the priest only to impose

[a] In Lucam, lib. 10. cap. 22.
[b] Homil. 3. de Pœnitentiâ Petri.
[c] Collat. 20. c. 8.
[d] De Vitâ Contemplativâ, lib. 2. cap. 7.
[e] Lombard. Sent. lib. 4. d. 7. ad finem lit. C.

a part of penance, is as if a prince should raise an army of ten thousand men to suppress a tumult, raised in a little village against the petty constable. Besides which, in the church of Rome they have an old rule, which is to this day in use among them;

> Sitque modus pœnæ justæ moderatio culpæ
> Quæ tanto levior, quanto contritio major.

And therefore, "fortiter contritus leviter plectatur;" "he that is greatly sorrowful needs but little penance." By which is to be understood, that the penance is but to supply the want of internal sorrow; which the priest can no way make judgment of, but by such signs as the penitent is pleased to give him. To what purpose then can it be to enumerate all his sins; which he can do with a little sorrow or a great one, with attrition or contrition, and no man knows it, but God alone? And it may be done without any sorrow at all, and the sorrow may be put on, or acted; and when the penance is imposed, as it must needs be less than the sin, so it may be performed without true repentance. And therefore, neither is the imposing penance any sufficient signification of what the priest inquires after. And because every deliberate sin deserves more than the biggest penance that is imposed on any man for the greatest, and in that, as to the sin itself, there can be no error in the greatness of it; it follows, that by the particular enumeration, the priest cannot be helped to make his judgment of the person; and by it or any thing else he can never equally punish the sin; therefore, supposing the priest to be a judge, the necessity of particular confession will not be necessary: especially if we consider,

Thirdly: That by the Roman doctrine, it is not necessary to salvation, that the penitent should perform any penances, he may defer them to purgatory if he please; so that special confession cannot be necessary to salvation, for the reason pretended, viz. that the priest may judge well concerning imposing penances, since they are necessary only for the avoiding purgatory, and not for the avoiding damnation. 4. This further appears in the case of baptism; which is the most apparent and evident use of the power of the keys, it being truly and properly the intromission of catechumens into the house of God, and an admitting them to all the promises and benefits of the kingdom, and, which is the greatest, the most absolute and most evident remission of all the sins precommitted; and yet towards the dispensing this pardon, no particular confession of sins is previous, by any necessity or Divine law. Repentance in persons of choice and discretion is, and was always, necessary: but because persons were not tied to confess their sins particularly to a priest before baptism, it is certain, that repentance can be perfect without this confession. And this argument is yet of greater force and persuasion against the church of Rome; for since baptizing is for remission of sins, and is the first act of the power of the keys, and the evident way of opening the doors of the house of God, and yet the power of baptizing is, in the church of Rome, in the absence of a priest, given to a layman, and frequently to a deacon; it follows, that the power of the keys, and a power of remitting sins, is no judiciary act; unless a layman be declared capable of the power of judging, and of remitting of sins. 5. If we consider, that, without true repentance, no sin can be pardoned; and with it all sins may; and that no one sin is pardoned as to the final state of our souls, but at the same time all are pardoned: it must needs follow, that it is not the number of sins, but the condition of the person, the change of his life, the sorrow of his heart, the truth of his conversion, and his hatred of all sin, that he is to consider. If his repentance be a true change from evil to good, from sin to God, a thousand sins are pardoned as soon as one; and the infinite mercy of God does equally exceed one sin and one thousand. Indeed, in order to counsel or comfort, it may be very useful to tell all that grieves the penitent, all that for which he hath no rest, and cannot get satisfaction: but as to the exercising any other judgment upon the man, either for the present, or for the future; to reckon up what is past seems not very useful, or at all reasonable: but as the priest, who baptizes a convert, judges of him, as far as he can and ought; that is, whether he hath laid aside every hinderance, and be disposed to receive remission of sins by the Spirit of God in baptism; so it is in repentance,—the man's conversion and change are to be considered; which cannot be by what is past, but by what is present, or future.

And now, 3. Although the judicial power of the priest cannot infer the necessity of particular confession; yet if the judicial power be also of another nature than is supposed, or rather be not properly "judicium fori," "the judgment of a tribunal," coercive, penal, and exterminating, by proper effect, and real change of state and person; then the superstructure, and the foundation too, will be digged down. And this therefore shall be considered briefly. And here the scene is a little changed, and the words of Christ to St. Peter are brought in as auxiliaries, to prove the priest's power to be judicial; and that with the words of Christ to his apostles, John xx. must demonstrate this point. 1. Therefore I have the testimony and opinion of the Master of the Sentences,[f] affirming that the priest's power is declarative, not judicial; the sentence of an ambassador, not of a judge: "Sacerdotibus tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi; id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos;" "The priest's power of loosing and binding, is a power of showing and declaring who are bound, and who are loosed. For when Christ had cured the leper, he sent him to the priest, by whose judgment he was to be declared clean: and when Lazarus was first restored to life by Christ, then he bade his disciples loose him and let him go." And if it be inquired, To what purpose is the priest's solution, if the man be pardoned already? it is answered; that "Although he be absolved before God, yet he is not accounted loosed in the face of the church, but by the judgment of the priest." But we have the sentence

[f] Sent. lib. 4. dist. 18. lit. F

of a greater man[g] in the church than Peter Lombard; viz. of St. Jerome himself, who discourses this affair dogmatically and fully, and so as not to be capable of evasion: speaking of those words of Christ to St. Peter, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven:" "This place (saith St. Jerome) some bishops and priests not understanding, take upon them something of the superstitiousness of the Pharisees, so as to condemn the innocent or think to acquit the guilty; whereas God inquires not, what is the sentence of the priest, but the life of the guilty. In Leviticus, the lepers were commanded to show themselves to the priests, who neither make them leprous nor clean; but they discern who are clean, and who are unclean. As therefore there the priest makes the leprous man clean, or unclean; so here, does the bishop, or the priest, bind or loose; i. e. according to their office, when he hears the variety of sins, he knows who is to be bound, and who is be loosed." —St. Ambrose[h] adds one advantage more, as consequent to the priests' absolving of penitents; but expressly declares against the proper judicial power: "Men give their ministry in the remission of sins, but they exercise not the right of any power; neither are sins remitted by them in their own, but in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Men pray, but it is God who forgives: it is man's obsequiousness, but the bountiful gift is from God. So likewise, there is no doubt, sins are forgiven in baptism, but the operation is of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Here St. Ambrose affirms the priest's power of pardoning sins to be wholly ministerial, and optative, or by way of prayer. Just as it is in baptism, so it is in repentance after baptism: sins are pardoned to the truly penitent; but here is no proper judicial power. The bishop prays, and God pardons: the priest does his ministry, and God gives the gift. Here are three witnesses, against whom there is no exception; and what they have said, was good catholic doctrine in their ages; that is, from the fourth age after Christ to the eleventh: how it hath fallen into heresy since that time, is now not worth inquiring; but yet how reasonable that old doctrine is, is very fit to consider.

4. Of necessity it must be true; because whatever kind of absolution or binding it is, that the bishops and priests have power to use; it does its work intended, without any real changing of state in the penitent. The priest alters nothing; he diminishes no man's right; he gives nothing to him but what he had before. The priest baptizes, and he absolves, and he communicates, and he prays, and he declares the will of God; and, by importunity, he compels men to come, and if he find them unworthy, he keeps them out; but it is such, as he finds to be unworthy: such who are in a state of perdition, he cannot, he ought not, to admit to the ministries of life. True it is, he prays to God for pardon, and so he prays that God will give the sinner the grace of repentance; but he can no more give pardon, than he can give repentance; he that gives this, gives that.

And it is so also in the case of absolution: he can absolve none but those that are truly penitent: he can give thanks indeed to God on his behalf; but as that thanksgiving supposes pardon, so that pardon supposes repentance; and if it be true repentance, the priest will as certainly find him pardoned, as find him penitent. And therefore we find, in the old penitentials and usages of the church, that the priest did not absolve the penitent in the indicative or judicial form. To this purpose it is observed by Goar, in the Euchologion,[i] that now, "many do freely assert, and tenaciously defend, and clearly teach, and prosperously write, that the solemn form of reconciling, 'Absolvo te à peccatis tuis,' is not perhaps above the age of four hundred years; and that the old form of absolution in the Latin church, was composed in words of deprecation, so far forth as we may conjecture out of the ecclesiastical history, ancient rituals, tradition, and other testimonies without exception."—And in the Opuscula[k] of Thomas Aquinas, he tells that a doctor said to him, that the optative form, or deprecatory, was the usual, and that then it was not thirty years since the indicative form of "Ego te absolvo" was used; which computation comes near the computation made by Goar. And this is the more evidently so, in that it appears, that in the ancient discipline of the church, a deacon might reconcile the penitents, if the priest were absent: "Si autem necessitas evenerit, et presbyter non fuerit præsens, diaconus suscipiat pœnitentem, ac det sanctam communionem:"[l] and if a deacon can minister this affair, then the priest is not indispensably necessary, nor his power judicial and pretorial.

But besides this, the power of the keys is under the master in the hands of the steward of the house; who is the minister of government: and the power of remitting and retaining being but the verification of the promise of the keys, is to be understood by the same analogy, and is exercised in many instances, and to many great purposes, though no man had ever dreamt of a judicial power of absolution of secret sins; viz. in discipline and government, in removing scandals, in restoring persons "overtaken in a fault" to the peace of the church, in sustaining the weak, in cutting off of corrupt members, in rejecting heretics, in preaching peace by Jesus Christ, and repentance through his name, and ministering the word of reconciliation, and interceding in the ministry of Christ's mediation; that is, being God's ambassador, he is God's messenger in the great work of the gospel, which is repentance and forgiveness. In short, binding and loosing, remitting and retaining, are acts of government relating to public

[g] St. Jerome in Matt. lib. 3. ad cap. 16.

[h] Homines in remissione peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus potestates exercent: neque enim in suo, sed in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, peccata dimittuntur. Isti rogant, divinitas donat, &c.—St. Ambros. de Spir. S. lib. 3. cap. 19.

[i] Pag. 676.

[k] Opusc. 22.

[l] Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. de Jejunio.

discipline. And of any other pardoning or retaining, no man hath any power but what he ministers in the word of God and prayer, unto which the ministry of the sacraments is understood to belong. For what does the church, when she binds a sinner or retains his sin, but separate him from the communication of public prayers and sacraments? according to that saying of Tertullian;[m] "Summum futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur."—And the like was said by St. Austin;[n] "Versetur ante oculos imago futuri judicii, ut cum alii accedunt ad altare Dei, quo ipse non accedit, cogitet quàm sit contremiscenda illa pœna, qua percipientibus aliis vitam æternam, alii in mortem præcipitantur æternam."—And when the church, upon the sinner's repentance, does restore him to the benefit of public assemblies and sacraments; she does truly pardon his sins, that is, she takes off the evil that was upon him for his sins. For so Christ proved his power on earth to forgive sins, by taking the poor man's palsy away; and so does the church pardon his sins by taking away that horrible punishment of separating him from all the public communion of the church; and both these are, in their several kinds, the most material and proper pardons.

But then, as the church gives pardon proportionable to the evil she inflicts, which God also will verify, if it be done here in truth and righteousness; so there is a pardon which God only gives. He is the injured and offended person, and he alone can remit of his own right. But yet to this pardon the church does co-operate by her ministry. Now what this pardon is, we understand best by the evils that are by him inflicted upon the sinner. For to talk of a power of pardoning sins, where there is no power to take away the punishment of sin, is but a dream of a shadow: sins are only then pardoned, when the punishment is removed. Now who but God alone can take away a sickness, or rescue a soul from the power of his sins, or snatch him out of the devil's possession? The Spirit of God alone can do this; "it is the Spirit that quickeneth," and raiseth from spiritual death, and giveth us the life of God. Man can pray for the Spirit, but God alone can give it; our blessed Saviour obtained for us the Spirit of God by this way, by prayer. "I will pray unto the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, even the Spirit of truth;" and therefore much less do any of Christ's ministers convey the Spirit to any one, but by prayer, and holy ministries in the way of prayer: but this is best illustrated by the case of baptism. "It is a matter of equal power, (said Alexander of Ales,[o]) to baptize with internal baptism, and to absolve from deadly sin. But it was not fit that God should communicate the power of baptizing internally unto any, lest we should place our hope in man." And St. Austin (if at least he be the author of the "Scala Paradisi")[p] says, "The office of baptizing the Lord granted unto many; but the power and authority of remitting sins in baptism, he retained unto himself alone; wherefore St. John, "antonomasticè et discretivè," "by way of distinction and singularity," affirms, that "He it is who baptizes with the Holy Ghost." And I shall apply this to the power of the keys in the ministry of repentance, by the words of St. Cyprian:[q] "Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, propriè Spiritûs Sancti est, et ipsi soli hujus efficientiæ privilegium manet."—As therefore the bishop, or the priest, can give the Holy Ghost to a repenting sinner, so he can give him pardon, and no otherwise; that is, by prayer, and the ministry of the sacraments to persons fitly disposed, who also can and have received the Holy Ghost, without any such ministry of man; as appears in St. Peter's question; "What hinders these men to be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And it is done every day, and every hour, in the communion of saints, in the immissions and visitations from heaven, which the saints of God daily receive, and often perceive and feel. "Every man is bound by the cords of his own sins, which ropes and bands the apostles can loose, imitating therein their Master, who said to them, "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." "Solvunt autem eos apostoli, sermone Dei, et testimoniis Scripturarum, et exhortatione virtutum," saith St. Jerome.[r] For the word of God, which is intrusted to the ministry of the church, is that rule and measure, by which God will judge us all at the last day; and therefore, by the word of God we stand or fall, we are bound or loosed: which word when the ministers of the gospel dispense rightly, they bind or loose; and what they so bind or loose on earth, God will bind and loose in heaven. That is, by the same measures he will judge the man, by which he hath commanded his ministers to judge them by; that is, they preach remission of sins to the penitent, and God will make it good; and they threaten eternal death to the impenitent, and God will inflict it. But other powers of binding and loosing than what hath been already instanced, those words of Christ prove not. And these powers, and no other, do we find used by the apostles: "To us (saith St. Paul[s]) is committed the word of reconciliation: now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Christ is the great minister of reconciliation; we are his ambassadors to the people to that purpose: and we are to preach to them, and to exhort them: to pray them, and to pray for them; and we also, by our ministry, reconcile them; and we pardon their sins; for God hath set us over the people to that purpose: but then it is also in that manner that God set the priest over the leprous; Μιάνσει μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς, "The priest with pollution shall pollute them,"[t] and the priest shall

[m] Apolog. c. 39.
[n] Homil. 50. c. 9.
[o] Summ. part. 4. q. 21. memb. 1.
[p] Tom. Operum August. Scala Parad. cap. 3.
[q] De operibus Cardinalibus Christi inter Cypriani opera; sed varius Arnoldi Bonævallensis.
[r] Lib. 6. Comment. in Isai. cap. xiv.
[s] 2 Cor. v. 19, 20.
[t] Lev. xiii. 44. 5. 7.

cleanse him, that is, shall declare him so. And it is in the same manner that God set the prophet Jeremy[u] over the nations, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, to throw down, to build, and to plant: that is, by "putting his word into his mouth" to do all this, to preach all this, to promise or to threaten respectively, all this. The ministers of the gospel do pardon sins, just as they save men; "This doing, thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee;" that is, "by attending to and continuing in the doctrine of Christ:"[x] and "He that converts a sinner from the error of his way, saves a soul from death, and covers a multitude of sins."[y] Bringing the man to repentance, persuading him to turn from vanity to the living God; thus he brings pardon to him, and salvation. And if it be said, that a layman can do this; I answer, it is very well for him if he does; and he can, if it please God to assist him: but the ordinary ministry is appointed to bishops and priests: so that although a layman do it extraordinarily, that can be no prejudice to the ordinary power of the keys in the hands of the clergy; which is but a ministry of prayer, of the word and sacraments: according to the saying of their own Ferus[z] upon this place: "Christ in this word shows how, and to what use, he at this time gave them the Holy Ghost, to wit, for the remission of sins; neither for the apostles themselves alone; 'sed ut eundem Spiritum, eandemque remissionem peccatorum verbo prædicationis, et sacramentis verbo annexis, distribuerunt.'" And again, he brings in Christ saying, "I therefore choose you, and I seal your hearts by the Holy Ghost unto the word of the gospel, and confirm you, that going into the world, ye may preach the gospel to every creature, and that ye may distribute that very remission by the word of the gospel, and the sacraments." For the words of Christ are general and indefinite; and they are comprehensive of the whole power and ministry ecclesiastical: and in those parts of it which are evident and confessed, viz. preaching remission of sins and baptism, a special enumeration of our sins is neither naturally necessary, nor esteemed so by custom, nor made so by virtue of these words of Christ; therefore it is no way necessary, neither have they at all proved it so by Scripture. And to this I add only what Ambrosius Pelargus, a divine of the elector of Triers, said in the council of Trent; "that the words of our Lord, 'Quorum remiseritis,' were perhaps not expounded, by any father, for an institution of the sacrament of penance: and that by some they were understood of baptism; by others, of any other thing by which pardon of sins is received."[a]

But since there is no necessity declared in Scripture of confessing all our sins to a priest, no mention of sacramental penance or confession, it must needs seem strange that a doctrine, of which there is no commandment in Scripture, no direction for the manner of doing so difficult a work, no office or officer described to any such purpose; that a doctrine, I say, of which in the fountains of salvation there is no spring, should yet become, in process of time, to be the condition of salvation: and yet for preaching, praying, baptizing, communicating, we have precept upon precept, and line upon line; we have in Scripture three epistles written to two bishops, in which the episcopal office is abundantly described; and excellent canons established; and the parts of their duty enumerated; and yet no care taken about the office of "father confessor." Indeed we find a pious exhortation to all spiritual persons, that, "if any man be overtaken in a fault, they should restore such a one in the spirit of meekness;" "restore him," that is, to the public peace and communion of the church, from which by his delinquency he fell; and restore him also, by the word of his proper ministry, to the favour of God; by exhortations to him, by reproving of him, by praying for him: and besides this, we have some little limits more, which the church of Rome, if they please, may make good use of in this question; such as are, "that they who sin, should be rebuked before all men, that others also may fear;"[b] which indeed is a good warranty for public discipline, but very little for private confession. And St. Paul charges Timothy, that he should "lay hands suddenly on no man," that he be not partaker of other men's sins; which is a good caution against the Roman way of absolving them that confess, as soon as they have confessed, before they have made their satisfactions. The same apostle speaks also of "some that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women;" I should have thought, he had intended it against such as then abused auricular confession, it being so like what they do now; but that St. Paul knew nothing of these lately-introduced practices, and lastly, he commands every one that is to receive the holy communion, "to examine himself, and so let him eat:" he forgot, it seems, to enjoin them to go to confession to be examined; which certainly he could never have done more opportunely than here; and if it had been necessary, he could never have omitted it more indecently. But it seems, the first christians were admitted upon other terms by the apostles, than they are at this day by the Roman clergy. And indeed it were infinitely strange, that since in the Old Testament, remission of sins was given to every one that confessed to God, and turned from his evil way,[c] that in the New Testament, to which liberty is a special privilege, and the imposed yoke of Christ infinitely more easy than the burden of the law; and repentance is the very formality of the gospel-covenant; and yet, that pardon of our sins shall not be given to us christians on so easy terms as it was to the Jews; but an intolerable new burden shall be made a new condition of obtaining pardon. And this will appear yet the more strange, when we consider, that all the sermons of the prophets concerning repentance, were not derivations from Moses's law, but homilies evangelical, and went before to prepare the way of the Lord; and John Baptist was the last

[u] Jer. i. 10. [x] 1 Tim. iv. 16. [y] Jam. v. 20. [z] John xx. [a] Hist. Concil. Trid. A. D. 155. sub. Julio Tertio.
[b] 1 Tim. v. 20.

[c] Isai. i. 16—18. Ezek. xviii. 22. xxxiii. 15, 16. Isai. xxx. 15. secundùm LXX. Ὅταν ἀποστραφεὶς στενάξῃς τότε σωθήσῃ.

of them; and that in this matter the sermons of the prophets were but the gospel antedated; and in this affair, there was no change but to the better and to a clearer manifestation of the Divine mercy, and the sweet yoke of Christ; the disciples of Christ preached the same doctrine of repentance that the Baptist did, and the Baptist the same that the prophets did, and there was no difference; Christ was the same in all, and he that commanded his disciples to fast to God alone in private, intended that all the parts of repentance transacted between God and our consciences, should be as sufficient as that one of fasting, and that other of prayer: and it is said so in all; "for if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." It is God alone that can cleanse our hearts, and he that cleanses us, he alone does forgive us; and this is upon our confession to him: his justice and faithfulness are at stake for it; and therefore it supposes a promise; which we often find upon our confessions made to God, but it was never promised upon confession made to the priest.

But now, in the next place, if we consider whether this thing be reasonable, to impose such a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which upon their fathers was not put in the Old Testament, nor ever commanded in the New; we shall find, that, although many good things might be consequent to the religious and free and prudent use of confession; yet by changing into a doctrine of God, that which, at most, is but a commandment of man, it will not, by all the contingent good, make recompence for the intolerable evils it introduces. And here first I consider, that many times things seem profitable to us, and may minister to good ends; but God judges them useless and dangerous; for he judges not as we judge. The worshipping of angels, and the abstaining from meats, which some false apostles introduced, looked well, and pretended to humility, and mortification of the body; but the apostle approved them not: and of the same mind were the succeeding ages of the church; who condemned the dry diet and the ascetic fasts of Montanus, though they were pretended only for discipline; but when they came to be imposed, they grew intolerable. Certainly, men lived better lives when, by the discipline of the church, sinners were brought to public stations and penance, than now they do by all the advantages, real or pretended, from auricular confession; and yet the church thought fit to lay it aside, and nothing is left but the shadow of it.

2. This whole topic can only be a prudential consideration, and can no way infer a Divine institution; for though it was as convenient before Christ as since, and might have had the same effects upon the public or private good then as now; yet God was not pleased to appoint it in almost forty ages; and we say, he hath not done it yet. However, let it be considered, that there being some things, which, St. Paul says, are not to be "so much as named" amongst christians; it must needs look indecently, that all men and all women should come and make the priest's ears a common sewer to empty all their filthiness; and that which a modest man would blush to hear, he must be used to, and it is the greatest part of his employment to attend to. True it is, that a physician must see and handle the impurest ulcers; but it is, because the cure does not depend upon the patient, but upon the physician, who, by general advertisement, cannot cure the patient, unless he had a universal medicine, which the priest hath: the medicine of repentance, which can indifferently cure all sins, whether the priest know them or no. And therefore, all this filthy communication is therefore intolerable, because it is not necessary: and it not only pollutes the priest's ears, but his tongue too; for, lest any circumstance, or any sin, be concealed, he thinks himself obliged to interrogate, and proceed to particular questions in the basest things. Such as that which is to be seen in Burchard,[d] and such which are too largely described in Sanchez; which thing does not only deturpate all honest and modest conversation, but it teaches men to understand more sins than ever they (it may be) knew of. And, I believe, there are but few in the world at this day that did ever think of such a crime as Burchard hath taught them by the question; and possibly it might have expired in the very first instances, if there had been no further notice taken of it. I need not tell how the continual representment of such things to the priest must needs infect the fancy and the memory with filthy imaginations, and be a state of temptation to them that are very often young men and vigorous, and always unmarried and tempted. *Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί.* Aretine's tables do not more pollute the heart through the eyes, than a foul narrative of a beastly action with all the circumstances of perpetration does through the ears; for, as it was said of Thomas Cantipratanus, "vexatis exteriùs auribus, interiùs tentationem stimulis agitabitur."[e] And Marcus Eremita, that lived in that age, in which this auricular confession began to be the mode of the Latin church, speaks against it severely: "If thou wilt offer to God an unreprovable confession, do not recount thy sins particularly, for so thou dost greatly defile thy mind; but generously endure their assaults, or what they have brought upon thee."[f] We need no further witness of it, but the question and case of conscience which Cajetan puts: "Utrum confessor cognoscens ex his quæ audit in confessione, sequi in seipso emissionem seminis sibi displicentem, peccet mortaliter audiendo vel prosequendo tales confessiones?"[g] The question is largely handled, but not so fit to be read; but instead of it, I shall only note the answer of another cardinal; "Confessarius, si fortè dum audit confessiones, in tales incidit pollutiones, non ob id tenetur non audire alios, nisi sit periculum complacentiæ in pollutione; tunc enim tenetur relinquere confessiones, et auferre peccati occasionem;

[d] Lib. 19. Decret. de Matrimonio.
[e] In vitâ ejus apud Hagiolog. Brabant.
[f] De iis qui putant se operibus justificari. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. Gr. Lat.
[g] Opusc. Cajet. tract. 22.

secus non."[h] This question and this answer I here bring to no other purpose, but to represent that the priests dwell in temptation; and that their manner of receiving confessions is a perpetual danger, by which he that loves it may chance to perish. And of this there have been too many sad examples remarked, evidencing that this private confession hath been the occasion and the opportunity of the vilest crimes. There happened but one such sad thing in the ancient Greek church, which became public by the discipline of public confession, but was acted by the opportunity of the private intercourse; and that was then thought sufficient to alter that whole discipline: but it is infinitely more reasonable to take off the law of private confession, and in that manner as it is enjoined; if we consider the intolerable evils which are committed frequently upon this scene. Erasmus[i] makes a sad complaint of it, that the penitents do often light upon priests, who, under the pretext of confession, commit things not to be spoken of; and instead of physicians become partners, or masters, or disciples, of turpitude. The matter is notorious, and very scandalous, and very frequent: insomuch that it produced two bulls of two popes "contra sollicitantes in confessione:" the first was of Pius the Fourth to the bishop of Seville, A. D. 1561, April 16; the other of Gregory the Fifteenth, 1622, August 30, which bulls take notice of it, and severely prohibit the confessors to tempt the women to indecencies, when they come to confession. Concerning which bulls, and the sad causes procuring them, even the intolerable and frequent impieties acted by and in confessions, who desires to be plentifully satisfied, may please to read the book of Johannes Escobar à Corro, a Spanish lawyer; which is a commentary on those two bulls:[k] and in the beginning he shall find sad complaints and sadder stories. But I love not to stir up so much dirt. That which is altogether as remarkable, and, it may be, much more, is that this auricular confession not only can, but oftentimes hath been made the most advantageous way of plotting, propagating, and carrying on, treasonable propositions and designs. I shall not instance in that horrid design of the gunpowder treason; for that is known every where amongst us; but in the holy league of France. "When the pulpits became unsafe for tumultuous and traitorous preachers, the confessors in private confessions did that with more safety; they slandered the king, and endeavoured to prove it lawful for subjects to covenant or make leagues and confederacies without their king's leave; they sometimes refused to absolve them, unless they would enter into the league; and persuaded many miserable persons to be of the faction. But this thing was not done so secretly, but notice enough was taken of it; and complaint was made to the bishop, and then to Franciscus Maurocenus the cardinal legate; who gave notice and caution against it; and the effect it produced was only this; they proceeded afterwards more warily, and began to preach this doctrine; that it was as great a fault if the confitent reveal what he hears from the confessor in confession, as if the priest should reveal the sins told him by the penitent:" this narrative I have from Thuanus.[l] To which I add one more, related in the life of Padre Paolo; that "Hippolito da Lucca fù in fama sinistra d' haver nelle confessioni, e raggionamenti corrotto con larghe promesse e gran speranza persuaso alla Duchessa d' adherir alla fazione ecclesiastica:" "Hippolitus of Lucca was evil reported to have, in discourse or in confession, persuaded the Duchess of Urbin against Cæsar d'Este, and to have corrupted her into the faction of the church." For which he was made a bishop,[m] and in Rome was always one of the prelates deputed in the examination of that controversy. If it were possible, and if it could be in the world, I should believe it to be a baser prostitution of religion to temporal designs, which is written of F. Arnold the Jesuit,[n] confessor to Lewis the Thirteenth of France; that he caused the king at confession solemnly to swear, never to dislike what Luines the great favourite did, nor himself to meddle with any state affair. Now what advantage the pope hath over christian princes in this particular, and how much they have, and how much more they may suffer, by this economy, is a matter of great consideration: "Admonetur omnis ætas posse fieri, quod jam factum vidimus."

3. There is yet another very great evil that attends upon the Roman way of auricular confession; and that is, an eternal scruple of conscience, which to the timorous and melancholy, to the pious, and considering, and zealous, is almost unavoidable. For, besides that there is no certainty of distinction between the mortal and the venial sins; there being no catalogues of one and the other, save only that they usually reckon but seven deadly sins; and the rest are, or may be, easily by the ignorant supposed to be venial; and even those sins, which are under those seven heads, are not all mortal; for there are amongst them many ways of changing their mortality into veniality; and consequent to all this, they are either tempted to slight most sins, or to be troubled with perpetual disputes concerning almost every thing; besides this, I say, there can be no peace (because there can be no certain rule given) concerning the examination of our consciences; for who can say, he hath done it sufficiently, or who knows what is sufficient; and yet if it be not sufficient, then the sins which are forgotten by carelessness, and not called to mind by sufficient diligence, are not pardoned, and then the penitent hath had much trouble to no purpose. There are some confessions imperfect but valid, some invalid for their imperfection, some perfect and yet invalid: and they that made the distinction made the rule, and it binds as they please; but it can cause scruples beyond their power of remedy; because there is no certain principle, from whence men can derive peace and a

[h] Lib. 5. Inst. Sacerd. c. 3. sub. fig. 5. edit. Paris. 1619. p. 372.
[i] In Exomolog. p. 128, 129, &c.
[k] Videatur etiam Orlandini Hist. Societ. J. lib. 9. sect. 70.
[l] Hist. lib. 85. pag. 100. in Leida, 1646.
[m] By Card. Aldobrandino, the nephew of P. Clement VIII.
[n] Memoires de Duc de Rohan, lib. I.

certain determination, some affirming, and some denying, and both of them by chance, or humour. There are also many reserved cases; some to the bishop, some to the patriarch, some to the pope; and when you shall have run through the fire for these before the priest, you must run once or twice more; and your first absolution is of no force: and amongst these reserved cases, there is also great difference; some are reserved by reason of censures ecclesiastical, and some by reason of the greatness of the sin; and these things may be hidden from his eyes, and he, supposing himself absolved, will perceive himself deceived; and absolved but from one half. Some indeed think that if the superior absolve from the reserved cases alone, that grace is given by which all the rest are remitted; and on the other side, some think if the inferior absolves from what he can, grace is given of remitting even of the reserved: but this is uncertain, and all agree, that the penitent is never the nearer, but that he is still obliged to confess the reserved cases to the superior, if he went first to the inferior; or all to the inferior, in case he went first to the superior, confessing only the reserved. There are also many difficulties in the confession of such things, in which the sinner had partners: for if he confess the sin, so as to accuse any other, he sins; if he does not, in many cases he cannot confess the circumstances, that alter the nature of the crime. Some therefore tell him he may conceal such sins till a fitter opportunity; others say, he may let it quite alone: others yet say he may get another confessor; but then there will come another scruple, whether he may do this with leave, or without leave; or, if he ask leave, whether or no, in case it be denied him, he may take leave in such an accident. Upon these and many other like accounts, there will arise many more questions concerning the iteration of his confession; for if the first confession be by any means made invalid, it must be done over again. But here, in the very beginning of this affair, the penitent must be sure that his former confession was invalid. For if it was, he cannot be pardoned unless he renew it; and if it was not, let him take heed; for to confess the same things twice, and twice to be absolved, it may be, is not lawful; and against it, Cajetan,[o] after the scholastical manner, brings divers reasons. But suppose the penitent at peace for this, then there are very many cases in which confession is to be repeated; and though it was done before, yet it must be done over again. As if there be no manner of contrition, without doubt it must be iterated; but there are many cases concerning contrition: and if it be all, though imperfect, it is not to be iterated. But what is and what is not contrition; what is perfect and what is imperfect; which is the first degree that makes the confession valid, can never be told. But then there is some comfort to be had; for, the sacrament of penance may be true, and yet without form or life, at the same time.[p] And there are divers cases, in which the confession that is but materially half, may be reduced to that which is but formally half: and if there be but a propinquity of the mind to a carelessness concerning the integrity of confession, the man cannot be sure that things go well with him. And sometimes it happens that the church is satisfied, when God is not satisfied, as in the case of the "informis confessio;" and then the man is absolved, but his sin is not pardoned; and yet, because he thinks it is, his soul is cozened. And yet this is but the beginning of scruples. For, suppose the penitent hath done his duty, examined himself strictly, repented sadly, confessed fully, and is absolved formally; yet all this may come to nothing, by reason that there may be some invalidity in the ordination of the priest, by crime, by irregularity, by direct deficiency of something in the whole succession and ordination; or, it may be, he hath not ordinary or delegate jurisdiction; for, it is not enough that he is a priest, unless he have another authority, says Cajetan;[q] besides his order, he must have jurisdiction, which is carefully to be inquired after, by reason of the infinite numbers of friars that take upon them to hear confessions; or if he have both, yet the use of his power may be interverted or suspended for the time, and then his absolution is worth nothing. But here there is some remedy made to the poor distracted penitent; for by the constitution of the council of Constance, under Pope Martin the Fifth, though the priest be excommunicate, the confession is not to be iterated: but then this also ends in scruples; for this constitution itself does not hold, if the excommunication be for the notorious smiting of a clergyman; or if it be not, yet if the excommunication be denounced, be it for what it will, his absolution is void: and therefore the penitent should do well to look about him; especially since, after all this, there may be innumerable deficiencies; yea, some even for want of skill and knowledge in the confessor; and when that happens, when the confession is to be iterated, there are no certain rules, but it must be left to the opinion of another confessor. And when he comes, the poor penitent, it may be, is no surer of him than of the other; for if he have no will to absolve the penitent, let him dissemble it as he list, the absolution was but jocular, or pretended, or never intended; or, it may be, he is secretly an atheist, and laughs at the penitent and himself too, for acting, as he thinks, such a troublesome, theatrical nothing; and then the man's sins cannot be pardoned. And, is there no remedy for all this evil? It is true, the cases are sad and dangerous, but the church of Rome hath (such is her prudence and indulgence) found out as much relief as the wit of man can possibly invent. For though there may be thus many, and many more deficiencies; yet there are some extraordinary ways to make it up as well as it can. For, to prevent all the contingent mischiefs, let the penitent be as wise as he can, and choose his man upon whom these defailances may not be observed; for a man in necessity, as in danger of death, may be absolved by any one that is a priest; but yet, if the penitent escape the sickness, or that danger, he must go to him again, or to somebody else; by which it appears, that his

[o] Quæst. quodlibet. quæst. 6. de Confess.
[p] Cajetan. summ. verb. Confessio.
[q] Summ. verb. Absolutio.

affair was left but imperfect. But some persons have liberty by reason of their dignity, and some by reason of their condition, as being pilgrims or wanderers; and they have greater freedom, and cannot easily fall into many nullities; or they may have an explicit or an implicit license: but then they must take heed; for, besides many of the precedent dangers, they must know, that the license extends only to the paschal confessions, or the usual; but not the extraordinary or emergent: and moreover, they can go but to the appointed confessors, in the places where they are present; and because under these there is the same danger, as in all that went before, the little more certainty which I hoped for in some few cases, comes to nothing. But I go about to reckon the sands on the shore. I shall therefore sum this up with the words of a famous preacher, reported by Beatus Rhenanus[r] to have made this observation, that "Thomas Aquinas and Scotus, men too subtle, have made confession to be such, that, according to their doctrines, it is impossible to confess;" and that the consciences of penitents, which should be extricated and eased, are, by this means, catched in a snare, and put to torments, said Cassander;[s] so that although confession to a priest, prudently managed, without scruple, upon the case of a grieved and an unquiet conscience, and in order to counsel and the perfections of repentance, may be of excellent use; yet to enjoin it in all cases, to make it necessary to salvation, when God hath not made it so; to exact an enumeration of all our sins in all cases, and of all persons; to clog it with so many questions and innumerable, inextricable difficulties, and all this, besides the evil manage and conduct of it, is the rack of consciences, the slavery of the church, the evil snare of the simple, and the artifice of the crafty: it was or might have been, as the brazen serpent, a memorial of duty, but now it is "Nehushtan," "æs corum;" something of their own framing.

And this will yet further appear in this, that there is no ecclesiastical tradition of the necessity of confessing all our sins to a priest in order to pardon. That it was not the established doctrine of the Latin church, I have already proved in the beginning of this section; the case is notorious; and the original law of this we find in Platina, in the life of Pope Zephyrinus. "Idem prætereà instituit, ut omnes christiani, annos pubertatis attingentes, singulis annis, in solenni die paschæ, publicè communicarent. Quod quidem institutum Innocentius Tertius deinceps non ad communionem solum, verum etiam ad confessionem delictorum traduxit." Platina was the pope's secretary, and well understood the interests of that church, and was sufficiently versed in the records and monuments of the popes; and tells, that as Zephyrinus commanded the eucharist to be taken at Easter, so Innocent III. commanded confession of sins. Before this there was no command, no decree of any council or pope enjoining it; only in the council of Cabaillon,[t] it was declared to be profitable, that penance should be enjoined to the penitent by the priest after confession made to him. But there was no command for it; and in the second council of Cabaillon,[u] it was but a disputed case, whether they ought to confess to God alone, or also to the priest. Some said one, and some said another, "quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit ecclesiam."[x] And Theodulfus, bishop of Orleans, tells the particulars: "The confession we make to the priests, gives us this help, that having received his salutary counsel, by the most wholesome duties of repentance, or by mutual prayers, we wash away the stains of our sins. But the confession we make to God alone, avails us in this, because by how much we are mindful of our sins, by so much the Lord forgets them; and on the contrary, by how much we forget them, by so much the Lord remembers them, according to the saying of the prophet, 'and I will remember thy sins.'" But the fathers of the council gave a good account of these particulars also. "Confessio itaque, quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea verò quæ sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata: Deus enim salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor, plerunque hanc præbet suæ potentiæ invisibili administratione,[y] plerunque medicorum operatione:" which words are an excellent declaration of the advantages of confession to a priest, but a full argument that it is not necessary, or that, without it, pardon of sins is not to be obtained. Gratian quoting the words, cites Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury; but falsely; for it is in the second council of Cabaillon, and not in Theodore's Penitential. But I will not trouble the reader further, in the matter of the Latin church; in which it is evident, by what hath been already said, there was concerning this no apostolical tradition.

How it was in the Greek church, is only to be inquired. Now we might make as quick an end of this also, if we might be permitted to take Semeca's word,[z] the gloss of the canon law; which affirms, that "Confession of deadly sins is not necessary among the Greeks, because no such tradition hath descended unto them." This acknowledgment and report of the Greeks, not esteeming confession to a priest to be necessary, is not only in the gloss above cited; but in Gratian[a] himself, and in the more ancient collection of canons by Burchard and Ivo Carnotensis. Bellarmine fancies that these words "ut Græci" are crept into the text of Gratian out of the margent. Well! suppose that; but then how came they into the elder collections of Burchard and Ivo? That is not to be told; but creep in they did, some way or other; because they are not in the Capitular of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury; and yet from thence this canon was taken; and that Capitular was taken from the second council of Cabaillon; in which also

[r] Præfat. in lib. Tertul. de Pœniten.
[s] Consult. art. 11. videatur etiam Johannes de Sylvâ in fine tractat. de jurejurando.
[t] Can. 8. [u] Can. 33.
[x] In tom. 2. Concil. Gallic. c. 30. p. 219.
[y] Sola Contritione, ait glossa, ibid. et habetur de Pœnit. dist. 1. cap. Quidam Deo.
[z] De Pœnit. dist. 5. c. in Pœnit.
[a] De Pœnit. dist. 1. c. Quidam Deo.

there are no such words extant; so the cardinal.[b] In which Bellarmine betrays his carelessness or his ignorance very greatly. 1. Because there is no such thing extant in the world, that any man knows and tells of, as the Capitular of Theodore. 2. He indeed made a Penitential, a copy of which is in Bene't-college library in Cambridge, from whence I have received some extracts, by the favour and industry of my friends; and another copy of it is in Sir Robert Cotton's library. 3. True it is, there is in that Penitential no such words as "ut Græci," but a direct affirmation, "Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est, licebit agere." 4. That Theodore should take this chapter out of the second council of Cabaillon, is an intolerable piece of ignorance or negligence in so great a scholar as Bellarmine; when it is notorious, that the council was after Theodore, above one hundred and twenty years. 5. But then lastly, because Theodore, though he sat in the seat of Canterbury, yet was a Greek born; his words are a good record of the opinion of the Greeks, that "Confession of sins is, if there be need, to be made to God alone." But this I shall prove with firmer testimonies; not many, but pregnant, clear, and undeniable.

St. Gregory Nyssen[c] observed, that the ancient fathers before him, in their public discipline, did take no notice of the sins of covetousness, that is, left them without public penance, otherwise than it was ordered in other sins; and therefore, he interposes his judgment thus. "But concerning these things, because this is pretermitted by the fathers, I do think it sufficient to cure the affections of covetousness with the public word of doctrine, or instruction, curing the diseases, as it were, of repletion by the word." That is plainly thus: the sins of covetousness had no canonical penances imposed upon them; and therefore many persons thought but little of them: therefore, to cure this evil, let this sin be reproved in public sermons, though here be no imposition of public penances. So that there is a remedy without penances, a cure without confession, a public sermon instead of a public or private judicatory.

But the fact of Nectarius, in abrogating the public penitentiary priest upon the occasion of a scandal, does bear much weight in this question. I shall not repeat the story; who please may read it in Socrates, Sozomen, Epiphanius, Cassiodore, and Nicephorus;[d] and it is known every where. Only they who are pinched by it, endeavour to confound it, as Waldensis and Canus: some by denying it, as Latinus Latinius; others by disputing concerning every thing in it; some saying, that Nectarius abrogated sacramental confession; others, that he abrogated the public only, so very many say; and a third sort, who yet speak with most probability, that he only took away the office of the public penitentiary, which was instituted in the time of Decius, and left things as that decree found them; that is, that those who had sinned those sins, which were noted in the penitential canons, should confess them to the bishop, or in the face of the church, and submit themselves to the canonical penances. This passed into the office of the public penitentiary; and that into nothing, in the Greek church. But there is nothing of this, that I insist upon; but I put the stress of this question upon the product of this. For Eudæmon[e] gave counsel to Nectarius and he followed it, that he took away the penitentiary priest, "ut liberam daret potestatem, uti pro suâ quisque conscientiâ ad mysteria participanda accederet." So Socrates, and Sozomen, to the same purpose: "Ut unicuique liberum permitteret, prout sibi ipse conscius esset et confideret, ad mysteriorum communionem accedere, pœnitentiarium illum presbyterum exauctoravit." Now if Nectarius, by this decree, took away sacramental confession, as the Roman doctors call it, then it is a clear case, the Greek church did not believe it necessary; if it was only the public confession they abolished, then, for aught appears, there was no other at that time; I mean, none commanded, none under any law, or under any necessity: but whatever it was that was abolished, private confession did not, by any decree, succeed in the place of it; but every man was left to his liberty and the dictates of his own conscience, and according to his own persuasion, to his fears or his confidence, so to come and partake of the Divine mysteries. All which is a plain demonstration, that they understood nothing of the necessity of confession to a priest of all their sins, before they came to the holy sacrament.

And in pursuance of this, are those many exhortations and discourses of St. Chrysostom, who, succeeding Nectarius, by his public doctrine could best inform us, how they understood the consequence of that decree, and of this whole question. The sum of whose doctrine is this: It is not necessary to have your sins revealed, or brought in public, not only in the congregation, but not to any one, but to God alone. "Make a scrutiny, and pass a judgment on your sins inwardly in your conscience, none being present but God alone, that seeth all things."[f] And again: "Declare unto God alone thy sin, saying, Against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight; and thy sin is forgiven thee. I do not say, Tell to thy fellow-servant, who upbraids thee, but tell them to God who heals thy sins."[g] And, that after the abolition of the penitentiary priest, nothing was surrogated in his stead, but pious homilies and public exhortations, we learn from those words of his; "We do not bring the sinners into the midst, and publish their sins; but having propounded the common doctrine to all, we leave it to the conscience of the auditors, that out of those things which are spoken every one may find a medicine fitted for his wound."[h] "Let the discus-

[b] De Pœnit. lib. 3. cap. 5.
[c] Epist. Canon. ad Letorum.
[d] Relect. de Pœnit. part. 5. sect. Ad sextum. p. 31. edit. Salmanticæ, 1563. per Matthiam Gartium.
[e] Lib. 5. c. 19. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 16.
[f] Homil. 56. sive 8. de Pœnit. tom. 1.
[g] Homil. 9. de Pœnit. sive homil. 59. homil. 2. in Psal. 1. homil. Quod peccata non sint evulganda, vid. tom. 57.
[h] Homil. de Pœnit. et Confessione, tom. 58. tom. 5. homil. 68. tom. 5.

sion of thy sins be in the accounts of thy conscience; let the judgment be passed without a witness: let God alone see thee confessing; God who upbraids not thy sins, but out of this confession blots them out." "Hast thou sinned, enter into the church, say unto God, I have sinned. I exact nothing of thee, but that alone." The same he says in many other places:[i] now against so many, so clear, and dogmatical testimonies, it will be to no purpose to say, that St. Chrysostom only spake against the penitentiary priest set over the public penitents; and this he did, in pursuance of his predecessor's act. For, besides that some of these homilies were written before St. Chrysostom was bishop, viz. his one-and-twenty homilies to the people of Antioch, and the fourth homily of Lazarus, which was preached at Antioch before he came to Constantinople, when he was but a priest under Flavianus his bishop; and his homilies on St. Matthew: besides this, it is plain that he not only speaks against the public judicial penance and confession; but against all, except that alone which is made to God; allowing the sufficiency of this for pardon, and disallowing the necessity of all other. To these things Bellarmine, Perron, Petrus de Soto, Vasquez, Valentia, and others, strive to find out answers; but they neither agree together, neither do their answers fit the testimonies; as is evident to them that compare the one and the other, the chief of which I have remarked in passing by. The best answers that can be given, are those which Latinus Latinius and Petavius give;[k] the first affirming, that these homilies, 1. are not St. Chrysostom's; or, 2. that they are corrupted by heretics; and the latter confessed they are his, but blames St. Chrysostom for preaching such things. And to these answers I hope I shall not need to make any reply. To the two first of Latinus, Vasquez hath answered perfectly; and to that of Petavius, there needs none; Petavius, instead of answering, making himself a judge of St. Chrysostom. I suppose if we had done so in any question against them, they would have taken it in great scorn and indignation; and, therefore, we choose to follow St. Chrysostom, rather than Master Petavius.

I do not deny, but the Roman doctors do bring many sayings of the Greek and Latin fathers, showing the usefulness of confession to a priest, and exhorting and pressing men to it: but their arts are notorious, and evident; and what, according to the discipline of the church at that time, they spake in behalf of the exomologesis or public discipline, that these doctors translate to the private confession; and yet whatever we bring out of antiquity against the necessity of confession to a priest, that they will resolvedly understand only of the public. But, besides what hath been said to every of the particulars, I shall conclude this point with the sayings of some eminent men of their own, who have made the same observation. "In hoc labuntur theologi quidam parùm attenti, quòd, quæ veteres illi de hujusmodi publicâ et generali confessione, quæ nihil aliud erat quàm signis quibusdam et piaminibus ab episcopo indictis, se peccatorem, et bonorum communione indignum agnoscere, trahunt ad hanc occultam et longè diversi generis;" so Erasmus.[l] And B. Rhenanus says, "Let no man wonder that Tertullian speaks nothing of the secret or clancular confession of sins; which, so far as we conjecture, was bred out of the (old) exomologesis, by the unconstrained piety of men. For we do not find it at all commanded of old."[m]

The conclusion of these premises is this, that the old ecclesiastic discipline being passed into desuetude and indevotion, the Latin church especially kept up some little broken planks of it; which, so long as charity and devotion were warm, and secular interest had not turned religion into arts, did, in some good measure, supply the want of the old better discipline; but when it had degenerated into little forms, and yet was found to serve great ends of power, wealth, and ambition, it passed into new doctrines, and is now bold to pretend to Divine institution, though it be nothing but the commandment of men, a snare of consciences, and a ministry of human policy; false in the proposition, and intolerable in the conclusion.

There are divers other instances reducible to this charge, and especially the prohibition of priests' marriage, and the abstinence from flesh at certain times; which are grown up from human ordinances to be established doctrines, that is, to be urged with greater severity than the laws of God; insomuch that the church of Rome permits concubinate and stews at the same time, when she will not permit chaste marriages to her clergy. And for abstinence from flesh at times appointed, "veluti parricida penè dixerim rapitur ad supplicium, qui pro piscium carnibus gustârit carnes suillas." But I shall not now insist upon these; having so many other things to say, and especially, having already in another place verified this charge against them in these instances. I shall only name one testimony of their own, which is a pregnant mother of many instances; and it is in their own canon law:[o] "They that voluntarily violate the canons, are heavily judged by the holy fathers, and are damned by the Holy Ghost, by whose instinct they were dictated.[p] For they do not incongruously seem to blaspheme the Holy Ghost." And a little after: "Such a presumption is manifestly one of the kinds of them, that blaspheme against the Holy Ghost." Now if the laws of their church, which are discordant enough, and many times of themselves too blamable,[q] be yet by them accounted so sacred, that it is taught to be a sin against the Holy Ghost, willingly to break them; in the world there cannot be a greater verification of this charge upon them: it being confessed on all hands, that, not every man who voluntarily violates a Divine commandment, does blaspheme the Holy Ghost.

[i] Homil. 31. in Ep. ad Hebr. homil. 20. in Matt. homil. 28. in 1 Cor. homil. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. εἰς ἀδρίαντας, homil. 4. de Lazaro.
[k] In 3. part. Tho. tom. 4. q. 90. a. 1. dub. 3. n. 31.
[l] In S. Hieron. epist. ad Oceanum, sive Epitaph. Fabiolæ.
[m] Præfat. in lib. Tertul. de Pœnit.
[n] Rule of Conscience, lib. 3. cap. 4. rule 13. 19. and 20.
[o] Caus. 25. q. 1. c. Violatores Canonum.
[p] Dicati pro dictati.
[q] Vide quæ supra annotavi ex Decreto Gratiani, sect. 1.

BOOK II.

SECTION I.

Of Indulgences.

One of the great instances to prove the Roman religion to be new, not primitive, not apostolic, is the foolish and unjustifiable doctrine of indulgences. This point I have already handled, so fully and so without contradiction from the Roman doctors, (except that they have causelessly snarled at some of the testimonies,) that, for aught yet appears, that discourse may remain a sufficient reproof of the church of Rome until the day of their reformation. The first testimony I brought, is the confession of a party: for I affirmed that Bishop Fisher, of Rochester, did confess, "that, in the beginning of the church, there was no use of indulgences, and that they began after the people were awhile affrighted with the torments of purgatory." To this there are two answers; the first is, that Bishop Fisher said no such words. No? "Proferte tabulas."—His words are these; "Who can now wonder, that, in the beginning of the primitive church, there was no use of indulgences?"[r] And again: "Indulgences began awhile after men trembled at the torments of purgatory."—These are the words of Roffensis. What in the world can be plainer? And this is so evident, that Alphonsus à Castro[s] thinks himself concerned to answer the objection, and the danger of such concessions. "Neither, upon this occasion, are indulgences to be despised, because their use may seem to be received lately in the church, because there are many things known to posterity, which those ancient writers were wholly ignorant of." "Quid ergo mirum, si ad hunc modum contigeret de indulgentiis, ut apud priscos nulla sit de iis mentio?" Indeed, antiquity was wholly ignorant of these things: and as for their catholic posterity, some of them also did not believe that indulgences did profit any that were dead. Amongst these, Hostiensis and Biel were the most noted. But Biel was soon made to alter his opinion; Hostiensis did not, that I find.[t]

The other answer is, by E. W., that "Roffensis saith it not so absolutely, but with this interrogation: 'Quis jam de indulgentiis mirari potest?' 'Who now can wonder concerning indulgences?'" Wonder! at what? for E. W. is loath to tell it: but truth must out. "Who now can wonder, that in the beginning of the church there was no use of indulgences?"—so Roffensis; which first supposes this; that in the primitive church there was no use of indulgences; none at all: and this, which is the main question here, is as absolutely affirmed as any thing; it is like a precognition to a scientifical discourse. And then the question, having presupposed this, does by direct implication say, it is no wonder, that there should be then no use of indulgences: that is, it not only absolutely affirms the thing, but by consequence the notoriety of it and the reasonableness. Nothing affirms or denies more strongly than a question. "Are not my ways equal, (said God,) and are not your ways unequal?" that is, "it is evident and notorious that it is so."—And by this we understand the meaning of Roffensis, in the following words; "Yet, as they say, there was some very ancient use of them among the Romans." "They say,"—that is, there is a talk of it amongst some or other; but such they were, whom Roffensis believed not; and that, upon which they did ground their fabulous report, was nothing but a ridiculous legend, which I have already confuted.[u]

The same doctrine is taught by Antoninus, who confesses that concerning them we have nothing expressly either in the Scriptures, or in the sayings of the ancient doctors. And that he said so cannot be denied: but E. W. says, that I omit what Antoninus adds; that is, I did not transcribe his whole book. But what is it that I should have added? This; "Quamvis ad hoc inducatur illud apostoli, 2 Cor. ii. Si quid donavi vobis, propter vos in personâ Christi."—Now to this there needs no answer but this; that it is nothing to the purpose. "To whom the Corinthians forgave any thing; to the same person St. Paul for their sakes did forgive also."—But what then; therefore the pope and his clergy have power to take off the temporal punishments, which God reserves upon sinners, after he hath forgiven them the temporal? and that the church hath power to forgive sins beforehand, and to set a price upon the basest crimes, and not to forgive, but to sell indulgences? and lay up the supernumerary treasures of the saints' good works, and issue them out by retail in the market of purgatory? Because St. Paul caused the Corinthians to be absolved, and restored to the church's peace after a severe penance; so great that the poor man was in danger of being swallowed up with despair and the subtilties of Satan; does this prove, that therefore all penances may be taken off, when there is no such danger, no such pious and charitable consideration? And yet, besides the inconsequence of all this, St. Paul gave no indulgence but what the christian church at Corinth (in which at that time there was no bishop) did first give themselves. Now the indulgence which the people give, will prove but little warrant to what the church of Rome pretends; not only for the former reasons, but also because the primitive

[r] In art. 18. contr. Luther.
[s] Lib. 8. adv. Hæres. tit. Indulgentia.
[t] Hostiensis in summâ, lib. 5. tit. de Remiss. Biel in Canon. Missæ. lec. 57. Vide Bellarm. lib. 1. c. 14. de Indul. sect. Quod ad primam.
[u] Dissuasive, part 1. sect. 3.

church had said nothing expressly concerning indulgences; and therefore did not to any such purpose expound the words of St. Paul; but also because Antoninus himself was not moved by those words, to think they meant any thing of the Roman indulgences; but mentions it as the argument of other persons. Just as if I should write, that there is concerning transubstantiation nothing expressly said in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the ancient fathers; although "Hoc est corpus meum" be brought in for it: would any man in his wits say, that I am of the opinion, that, in Scripture, there is something express for it, though I expressly deny it? I suppose not.

It appears now that Roffensis and à Castro declared against the antiquity of indulgences; their own words are the witnesses; and the same is also true of Antoninus; and therefore the first discourse of indulgences, in "the Dissuasive," might have gone on prosperously, and needed not to have been interrupted. For if these quotations be true, as is pretended, and as now appears, there is nothing by my adversaries said in defence of indulgences, no pretence of an argument in justification of them; the whole matter is so foul, and yet so notorious, that the novelty of it is plainly acknowledged by their most learned men, and but faintly denied by the bolder people that care not what they say. So that I shall account the main point of indulgences to be (for aught yet appears to the contrary) gained against the church of Rome.

But there is another appendant question, that happens in by the by; nothing to the main inquiry, but a particular instance of the usual ways of earning indulgences, viz. by going in pilgrimages; which very particularly I affirmed to be reproved by the ancient fathers: and particularly by St. Gregory Nyssen, in a book or epistle of his written wholly on this subject, (so I said,) and so Possevine calls it, "librum contra peregrinationes;" "the book against pilgrimages."—The epistle is large and learned, and greatly dissuasive of christians from going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. "Dominus profectionem in Hierosolyma inter recte facta, quæ eò (viz. ad regni cœlorum hæreditatem consequendam) dirigant, non enumeravit; ubi beatitudinem annunciat, tale studium talemque operam non est complexus." And again: "Spiritualem noxam affricat accuratum vitæ genus insistentibus. Non est ista tanto digna studio, imo est vitanda summo opere." And if this was directed principally to such persons, who had chosen to live a solitary and private life; yet that was, because such strict and religious persons were those, whose false show of piety he did, in that instance, reprove; but he reproves it by such arguments all the way, as concern all christians, but especially women; and answers to an objection made against himself for going; which, he says, he did by command, and public charge, and for the service of the Arabian churches, and that he might confer with the bishops of Palestine. This epistle of St. Gregory Nyssen "de adeuntibus Hierosolymam" was printed at Paris, in Greek, by Gulielmus Morellus, and again published in Greek and Latin with a double version by Peter du Moulin, and is acknowledged by Baronius[x] to be legitimate; and therefore there is no denying the truth of the quotation: the author of the letter had better to have rubbed his forehead hard, and to have answered as Possevine did:[y] "Ab hæreticis prodiit liber sub nomine Gregorii Nysseni;" and Bellarmine, being pinched with it, says, "Forte non est Nysseni; nec scitur quis ille verterit in sermonem Latinum, et forte etiam non invenitur Græce." All which is refuted by their own parties.

That St. Chrysostom was of the same judgment, appears plainly in these few words: "Namque ad impetrandam nostris sceleribus veniam, non pecunias impendere nec aliud aliquid hujusmodi facere: sola sufficit bonæ voluntatis integritas. Non opus est in longinqua peregrinando transire, nec ad remotissimas ire nationes,"[z] &c. St. Chrysostom, according to the sense of the other fathers, teaches a religion and repentance wholly reducing us to a good life, a service perfectly consisting in the works of a good conscience. And in the exclusion of other external things, he reckons this of pilgrimages. For, how travelling into foreign countries for pardon of our crimes differs from pilgrimages, I have not been yet taught.[a]

The[b] last I mentioned is St. Bernard: his words are these: "It is not necessary for thee to pass over sea, to penetrate the clouds, to go beyond the Alps; there is, I say, no great journey proposed to you; meet God within yourself, for the word is nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart,"[c] &c. So the author of the letter acknowledges St. Bernard to have said in the place quoted: yea, but, says this objector, "I might as well have quoted Moses, Deut. xiii. 14." Well, what if I had quoted Moses; had it been ever the worse? But though I did not, yet St. Bernard quoted Moses, and that, it seems, troubled this gentleman. But St. Bernard's words are indeed agreeable to the words of Moses, but not all out the same; for Moses made no prohibition of going to Rome, which I suppose St. Bernard meant by "transalpinare."

There remains in A. L.[d] yet one cavil, but it is a question of diligence, and not to the point in hand. The authority of St. Austin I marked under the title of his sermon "de Martyribus." But the gentleman, to show his learning, tells us plainly that "there is but one in St. Austin's works with that title, to wit, his one hundred and seventeenth sermon 'de Diversis,' and in that there is not the least word to any such purpose." All this latter part may be true, but the first is a great mistake; for if the gentleman please to look in the Paris edition of St. Austin, 1571, tom. 10, page 277, he shall find the words I have quoted. And whereas he talks of

[x] Tom. 4. ad A. D. 386. num. 39.
[y] Lib. 3. de Cultu Sanct. cap. 8. sect. Ad Magdeburgenses.
[z] 1. Homil. in Philom. [a] A. L. p. 9. n. 23.
[b] A. L. ibid. p. 9. num. 21.
[c] Non oportet, ô homo, maria transfretare, non penetrare nubes, non transalpinare necesse est. Non grandis, inquam, tibi ostenditur via; usque temetipsum occurrere Deo tuo, &c.
[d] Ib. num. 25.

one hundred and seventeen sermons "de Diversis," and of one only sermon "de Martyribus," I do a little wonder at him to talk so confidently; whereas in the edition I speak of, and which I followed, there are but forty-nine sermons, and seventeen under the title "de Diversis," and yet there are six sermons that bear the title "de Martyribus," but they are to be found under the title "de Sanctis;" so that the gentleman looked in the wrong place for his quotation; and if he had not mistaken himself, he could have had no colour for an objection. But for the satisfaction of the reader; the words are these in his third sermon "de Martyribus Diversis:" "Non dixit 'vade in orientem et quære justitiam; naviga usque ad occidentem, ut accipias indulgentiam.' Dimitte inimico tuo et dimittetur tibi: indulge et indulgetur tibi: da et dabitur tibi; nihil à te extra te quærit. Ad teipsum et ad conscientiam tuam te Deus dirigit. In te enim posuit quod requirit."—But now let it be considered, that all those charges, which are laid against the church of Rome and her greatest doctors respectively in the matter of indulgences, are found to be true; and if so, let the world judge, whether that doctrine and those practices be tolerable in a christian church.

But that the reader may not be put off with a mere defence of four quotations, I shall add this; that I might have instanced in worse matters made by the popes of Rome to be the pious works, the condition of obtaining indulgences. Such as was the bull of Pope Julius the Second, giving indulgence to him that meeting a Frenchman should kill him, and another for the killing of a Venetian.[e] But we need not to wonder at it, since, according to the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, "we ought to say, that in the pope is the fulness of all graces; because he alone bestows a full indulgence of all our sins; so that what we say of our chief Prince and Lord, (viz. Jesus Christ,) does fit him; for 'we all have received of his fulness.'" Which words, besides that they are horrid blasphemy, are also a fit principle of the doctrine and use of indulgences to those purposes, and in that evil matter, we complain of in the church of Rome.

I desire this only instance may be added to it, that Pope Paul the Third, he that convened the council of Trent, and Julius the Third, for fear, as I may suppose, the council should forbid any more such follies, for a farewell to this game, gave an indulgence[f] to the fraternity of the sacrament of the altar, or of the blessed body of our Lord Jesus Christ, of such a vastness and unreasonable folly, that it puts us beyond the question of religion, to an inquiry, whether it were not done either in perfect distraction, or, with a worse design, to make religion to be ridiculous, and expose it to a contempt and scorn. The conditions of the indulgence are, either to visit the church of St. Hilary of Chartres, to say a "Pater Noster" and an "Ave Mary" every Friday, or, at most, to be present at processions and other Divine service upon "Corpus Christi day." The gift is as many privileges, indults, exemptions, liberties, immunities, plenary pardon of sins, and other spiritual graces, as were given to the fraternity of the image of our Saviour "ad Sancta Sanctorum;" the fraternity of the charity and great hospital of St. James in Augusta of St. John Baptist, of St. Cosmus and Damianus; of the Florentine nation, of the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Saxia, of the order of St. Austin and St. Champ, of the fraternities of the said city; of the churches of our Lady "de populo et de verbo:" and all those which were ever given to them that visited these churches; or those which should be ever given hereafter.—A pretty large gift! In which there were so many pardons, quarter-pardons, half-pardons, true pardons, plenary pardons, quarantines, and years of quarantines; that it is a harder thing to number them than to purchase them. I shall remark in these some particulars fit to be considered.

1. That a most scandalous and unchristian dissolution and death of all ecclesiastical discipline, is consequent to the making all sin so cheap and trivial a thing; that the horrible demerits and exemplary punishment and remotion of scandal and satisfactions to the church, are indeed reduced to trifling and mock penances. He that shall send a servant with a candle to attend the holy sacrament, when it shall be carried to sick people, or shall go himself; or, if he can neither go nor send, if he say a "Pater Noster," and an "Ave;" he shall have a hundred years of true pardon. This is fair and easy. But then,

2. It would be considered what is meant by so many years of pardon, and so many years of true pardon. I know but of one natural interpretation of it; and that it can mean nothing, but that some of the pardons are but fantastical, and not true: and in this I find no fault, save only that it ought to have been said, that all of them are fantastical.

3. It were fit we learned, how to compute four thousand and eight hundred years of quarantines; and remission of a third part of all their sins; for so much is given to every brother and sister of this fraternity, upon Easter-day and eight days after. Now if a brother needs not thus many, it would be considered whether it do not encourage a brother or a frail sister to use all their medicine and to sin more freely, lest so great a gift become useless.

4. And this is so much the more considerable because the gift is vast beyond all imagination. The first four days in Lent they may purchase thirty-three thousand years of pardon, besides a plenary remission of all his sins over and above. The first week of Lent a hundred and three-and-thirty thousand years of pardon, besides five plenary remissions of all their sins, and two third parts besides, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The second week in Lent a hundred and eight-and-fifty thousand years of pardon, besides the remission of all their sins, and a third part besides; and the delivery of one soul. The third week in Lent, eighty thousand years, besides a plenary remission, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory. The fourth week in Lent, threescore thousand years of pardon,

[e] De Regimine Principum, lib. 3. c. 10. inter opuscula, num. 20.

[f] Impress. Paris. per Philippum Hotot. 1550.

besides a remission of two thirds of all their sins; and one plenary remission and one soul delivered. The fifth week, seventy-nine thousand years of pardon, and the deliverance of two souls, only the two thousand seven hundred years that are given for the Sunday may be had twice that day, if they will visit the altar twice; and as many quarantines. The sixth week two hundred and five thousand years, besides quarantines; and four plenary pardons. Only on Palm-Sunday, whose portion is twenty-five thousand years, it may be had twice that day. And all this is the price of him that shall, upon these days, visit the altar in the church of St. Hilary. And this runs on to the Fridays, and many festivals and other solemn days in the other parts of the year.

5. Though it may be, that a brother may not need all this, at least at that time; yet that there may be no insecurity, the said popes give to every brother and sister of the fraternity, plenary pardon and indulgence of all their sins thrice in their life, upon what day and hour they please. I suppose that one of the times shall be in the article of death; for that is the surest way for a weak brother. I have read,[g] that the popes do not only give remission of sins already committed, but also of such as are to be committed. But whether it be so or no, there is in the bulls of this fraternity as good provision; for he that hath a dormant faculty for a plenary pardon lying by him to be used at what hour he please, hath a bull beforehand for pardon of sins afterwards to be committed, when he hath a mind to it.

6. To what purpose is so much waste of the treasure of the church? "Quorsum perditio hæc?" Every brother or sister of this fraternity may have, for so many times visiting the altar aforesaid, fourteen or fifteen plenary pardons. Certainly the popes suppose these persons to be mighty criminals, that they need so many pardons, so many plenaries. But two alls of the same thing is as much as two nothings. But if there were not infinite causes of fear, that very many of them were nullities, and that none of them were of any certain avail, there could be no pretence of reasonableness in dispensing these jewels with so loose a hand and useless a freedom, as if a man did shovel mustard or pour hogsheads of vinegar into his friend's mouth, to make him swallow a mouthful of herbs.

7. What is the secret meaning of it, that in divers clauses in their bulls[h] of indulgence, they put in this clause, A pardon of all their sins, "be they ever so heinous." The extraordinary cases reserved to the pope; and the consequent difficulty of getting pardon of such great sins, because it would cost much more money, was or might be some little restraint to some persons from running easily into the most horrible impieties; but to give such a loose to this little, and this last rein and curb; and by an easy indulgence to take off all, even the most heinous sins, what is it but to give the devil an argument to tempt persons, that have any conscience or fear left, to throw off all fear and to stick at nothing?

8. It seems hard to give a reasonable account, what is meant by giving a plenary pardon of all their sins; and yet, at the same time, an indulgence of twelve thousand years, and as many quarantines; it seems the bounty of the church runs out of a conduit, though the vessels be full, yet the water still continues running and goes into waste.

9. In this great heap of indulgences (and so it is in very many other) power is given to a lay sister or brother to free a soul from purgatory. But if this be so easily granted, the necessity of masses will be very little; what need is there to give greater fees to a physician, when a sick person may be cured with a posset and pepper? The remedy of the way of indulgences is cheap and easy, a servant with a candle, a "Pater" and an "Ave," a going to visit an altar, wearing the scapular of the Carmelites, or the cord of St. Francis: but masses for souls are a dear commodity, fivepence or sixpence is the least a mass will cost in some places; nay, it will stand in ninepence in other places. But then if the pope can do this trick certainly, then what can be said to John Gerson's question,

> Arbitrio Papa proprio si clavibus uti
> Possit, cur sinit ut pœna pios cruciet?
> Cur non evacuat loca purgandis animabus
> Tradita? The answer makes up the tetrastic;
> Sed servus esse fidelis amat.

The pope may be kind, but he must be wise too; "a faithful and wise steward;" he must not destroy the whole state of the purging church; if he takes away all the fuel from the fire, who shall make the pot boil? This may be done: "Ut possint superesse quos peccasse pœniteat:" sinners must pay for it, in their bodies or their purses.

SECTION II.

Of Purgatory.

That the doctrine of purgatory, as it is taught in the Roman church, is a novelty, and a part of their new religion, is sufficiently attested by the words of the cardinal of Rochester, and Alphonsus à Castro; whose words I now add, that he who pleases may see how these men would fain impose their new fancies upon the church, under pretence and title of ancient and catholic verities. The words of Roffensis in his eighteenth article against Luther are these:[i] "Legat qui velit, Græcorum veterum com-

[g] Vide Review du Concile de Trent, lib. 5. c. 1.

[h] Bull. Julii III. de an Jubil. 1.

[i] A letter to a Friend touching Dr. Taylor, sect. 4. n. 26. p. 10. which if the reader please for his curiosity or his recreation to see, he shall find this pleasant passage, of deep learning and subtle observation: "Dr Taylor had said that Roffensis and Polydore Virgil affirm, that whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek fathers, shall find that none, or very rarely any one of them, ever makes mention of purgatory Whereas Polydore Virgil affirms no such thing; nor doth Roffensis say, that very rarely any one of them mentions it, but, only, that in these ancient writers, he shall find none, or but very rare mention of it." If this man were in his wits when he made this answer, (an answer which no man can unriddle, or tell how it opposes the objection,) then it is very certain, that if this can pass among the answers to the pro-

mentarios, et nullum, quantum opinor, aut quam rarissimum, de purgatorio sermonem inveniet. Sed neque Latini simul omnes, at sensim hujus rei veritatem conceperunt:"—"He that pleases, let him read the commentaries of the old Greeks, and, as I suppose, he shall find none or very rare mention or speech of purgatory. But neither did all the Latins at one time, but by little and little, conceive the truth of this thing."—And again: "Aliquandiu incognitum fuit, serò cognitum universæ ecclesiæ. Deinde quibusdam pedetentim, partim, ex Scripturis, partim ex revelationibus creditum fuit:" "For somewhile it was unknown; it was but lately known to the catholic church. Then it was believed by some, by little and little; partly from Scripture, partly from revelations."—And this is the goodly ground of the doctrine of purgatory, founded, no question, upon tradition apostolical; delivered some hundreds of years indeed after they were dead; but the truth is, because it was forgotten by the apostles, and they having so many things in their heads, when they were alive, wrote and said nothing of it: therefore they took care to send some from the dead, who, by new revelations, should teach this old doctrine. This we may conjecture to be the equivalent sense of the plain words of Roffensis.[k] But the plain words are sufficient without a commentary.

Now for Polydore Virgil, his own words can best tell what he says; the words I have put into the margent,[l] because they are many; the sense of them is this. 1. He finds no use of indulgences before the stations of St. Gregory; the consequent of that is, that all the Latin fathers did not receive them before St. Gregory's time; and, therefore, they did not receive them all together. 2. The matter being so obscure, Polydore chose to express his sense in the testimony of Roffensis. 3. From him he affirms, that the use of indulgences is but new, and lately received amongst christians. 4. That there is no certainty concerning their original. 5. They report, that, amongst the ancient Latins, there was some use of them: but it is but a report, for he knows nothing of it before St. Gregory's time; and for that also he hath but a mere report. 6. Amongst the Greeks it is not to this day believed. 7. As long as there was no care of purgatory, no man looked after indulgences; because if you take away purgatory, there is no need of indulgences. 8. That the use of indulgences began, after men had awhile trembled at the torments of purgatory. This, if I understand Latin or common sense, is the doctrine of Polydore Virgil; and to him I add also the testimony of Alphonsus à Castro:[m] "De purgatorio fere nulla mentio, potissimum apud Græcos scriptores. Qua de causa, usque hodiernum diem, purgatorium non est à Græcis creditum." The consequent of these things is this; If purgatory was not known to the primitive church; if it was but lately known to the catholic church; if the fathers seldom or never make mention of it; if, in the Greek church especially, there was so great silence of it, that to this very day it is not believed amongst the Greeks; then this doctrine was not an apostolical doctrine, not primitive, nor catholic, but an innovation and of yesterday.

And this is of itself (besides all these confessions of their own parties) a suspicious matter, because the church of Rome does establish their doctrine of purgatory upon the ancient use of the church of praying for the dead. But this consequence of theirs is wholly vain; because all the fathers did pray for the dead, yet they never prayed for their deliverance out of purgatory, nor ever meant it. To this it is thus objected; "It is confessed that they prayed for them that God would show them a mercy.—Now, mark well; if they be in heaven they have a mercy, the sentence is given for eternal happiness. If in hell, they are wholly destitute of mercy; unless there be a third place, where mercy can be showed them:"[n] I have, according to my order, "marked it well;" but find nothing in it to purpose. For though the fathers prayed for the souls departed that God would show them mercy; yet it was, that God would show them mercy in the day of judgment; "in that formidable and dreadful day, then, there is need of much mercy unto us,"—saith St. Chrysostom. And, methinks, this gentleman should not have made use of so pitiful an argument, and would not, if he had considered that St. Paul prayed for Onesiphorus, "that God would show him a mercy in that day;" that is, in the day of judgment, as generally interpreters ancient and modern do understand it, and particularly St. Chrysostom now cited. The faithful departed are in the hands of Christ as soon as they die, and they are very well; and the souls of the wicked are where it pleases God to appoint them to be, tormented by a fearful expectation of the revelation of the day of judgment; but heaven and hell are reserved till the day of judgment; and the devils themselves are "reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day," saith St. Jude;[o] and in that day

testants' objections, the papists are in a very great strait, and have very little to say for themselves: and the letter to a friend was written by compulsion, and by the shame of confutation; not of conscience or ingenuous persuasion. No man can be so foolish, as to suppose this fit to be given in answer to any sober discourse; or if there be such pitiful people in the church of Rome, and trusted to write books in defence of their religion, it seems they care not what any man says or proves against them, if the people be but cozened with a pretended answer; for that serves the turn, as well as a wiser.

[k] Lib. 8. cap. 1. de Inven. Rerum.

[l] Ego vero originem quod mei est muneris, quæritans non reperio ante fuisse, quod sciam, quum D. Gregorius ad suas stationes id præmii proposuerit. Quapropter in re parum perspicuâ, utar testimonio Johannis Roffensis episcopi, qui in eo opere quod nuper in Lutherum scripsit, sic de ejusmodi veniarum initio prodit:—Multos fortasse movit indulgentiis istis non usque adeò fidere, quod earum usus in ecclesiâ videatur recentior, et admodum serò apud christianos repertus. Quibus ego respondeo, non certò constare à quo primum tradi cœperint. Fuit tamen nonnullis earum usus (ut aiunt) apud Romanos vetustissimos, quod ex stationibus intelligi potest et subiit. Nemo certe dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos non ulla, vel quam rarissime, fiebat mentio. Sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem, non est creditum esse: quamdiu enim nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit indulgentias; nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio: si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? cœperunt igitur indulgentiæ, postquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est.

[m] Lib. 4. verb. Indul. vide etiam lib. 12. lib. Purgatorium.

[n] E. W. Truth will out, chap. 3. p. 23.

[o] Ver. 6.

they shall be sentenced, and so shall all the wicked, to everlasting fire, which, as yet, is but prepared for the devil and his angels for ever. But is there no mercy to be showed to them, unless they be in purgatory? Some of the ancients speak of visitation of angels to be imparted to the souls departed; and the hastening of the day of judgment is a mercy; and the avenging of the martyrs upon their adversaries is a mercy, for which the "souls under the altar pray," saith St. John in the Revelation; and the Greek fathers speak of a fiery trial at the day of judgment, through which every one must pass; and there will be great need of mercy. And after all this; there is a remission of sins proper to this world when God so pardons, that he gives the grace of repentance, that he takes his judgments off from us, that he gives us his Holy Spirit to mortify our sins, that he admits us to work in his laboratory, that he sustains us by his power, and promotes us by his grace, and stands by us favourably, while we work out our salvation with fear and trembling; and at last he crowns us with perseverance. But, at the day of judgment, there shall be a pardon of sins, that will crown this pardon; when God shall pronounce us pardoned before all the world; and when Christ shall actually and presentially rescue us from all the pains which our sins have deserved; even from everlasting pain: and that is the final pardon, for which, till it be accomplished, all the faithful do night and day pray incessantly: although to many for whom they do pray, they friendly believe that it is now certain, that they shall then be glorified. "Sæpissime petuntur illa, quæ certo sciuntur eventura ut petuntur, et hujus rei plurima sunt testimonia," said Alphonsus à Castro:[p] and so also Medina[q] and Bellarmine[r] acknowledge. The thing is true, they say; but if it were not, yet we find, that, "de facto," they do pray, "Domine Jesu Christe, rex gloriæ, libera animas fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, et de profundo lacu: libera eos de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eos Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum." So it is in the masses "pro defunctis."[s] —And, therefore, this gentleman talking that in heaven all is remitted, and in hell nothing is forgiven, and from hence to conclude that there is no avoiding of purgatory, is too hasty a conclusion: let him stay till he comes to heaven, and the final sentence is past, and then he will, if he finds it to be so, have reason to say what he does: but by that time the dream of purgatory will be out; and, in the mean time, let him strive to understand his mass-book better. St. Austin thought he had reason to pray for pardon and remission for his mother; for the reasons already expressed, though he never thought his mother was in purgatory. It was upon consideration of the dangers of every soul that dies in Adam; and yet he affirms, she was even before her death alive unto Christ. And therefore she did not die miserable, nor did she die at all, said her son; "Hoc et documentis ejus morum, et fide non ficta, rationibus certis tenebamus;"[t] and when he did pray for her; "Credo jam feceris quod te rogo, sed voluntaria oris mei approba, Domine:" which will yet give another answer to this confident gentleman; St. Austin prayed for pardon for his mother, and "did believe the thing was done already; but he prayed to God to approve that voluntary oblation of his mouth." So that now all the objection is vanished; St. Austin prayed, besides many other reasons, to manifest his kindness, not for any need she had. But after all this, was not St. Monica a saint? Is she not put in the Roman calendar, and the 4th of May appointed for her festival? And do saints, do canonized persons, use to go to purgatory? But let it be as it will, I only desire that this be remembered against a good time; that here it is confessed, that prayers were offered for a saint departed. I fear it will be denied by and by.

But, 2. The fathers made prayers for those, who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory; for the patriarchs, apostles, &c. and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary; this is a direct and perfect overthrow of the Roman doctrine of purgatory, and therefore, if it can be made good, they have no probability left, upon the confidence of which they can plausibly pretend to purgatory. I have already[u] offered something in proof of this, which I shall now review, and confirm fully. I begin with that of Durandus, whom I alleged as confessing that "they offered"[x] for the patriarchs, and prophets, and the blessed Virgin: I intend him for no more; for true it is, he denies that the church prayed for them, but that they communicated and offered sacrifice for them, even for the blessed Virgin Mary herself, this he grants. I have alleged him a little out of the order, because observing where Durandus and the Roman doctors are mistaken, and with what boldness they say, that "offering" for them is only "giving thanks," and that the Greek fathers did only offer for them eucharists, but no prayers; I thought it fit first to reprove that initial error, viz. "that 'communicantes, et offerentes pro sanctis' is not prayer;" and then to make it clear that they did really pray for mercy, for pardon, for a place of rest, for eternal glory for them who never were in purgatory; for it is a great ignorance to suppose that when it is said, the sacrifice or oblation is offered, it must mean only thanksgiving. For it is called in St. Dionysius, εὐχαριστήριος εὐχή, "a eucharistical prayer;" and the Lord's supper is a sacrifice "in genere orationis," and by themselves is intended as propitiatory for the quick and dead. And St. Cyprian,[y] speaking of bishops being made executors of testaments, saith, "Si quis hoc fecisset, non offeretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebratur. Neque enim ad altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui ab altari sacerdotes avocare voluit."—Where

[p] Contr. Hæres. lib. 12. tit. Purgator.
[q] Jo. Medina de Pœnit. tract. 6. q. 6. Cod. de Oratione.
[r] Bellar. de Purgat. lib. 2. cap. 5.
[s] Vide Missam in Commemorationem omnium Defunctorum.
[t] Confess. lib. 9. cap. 12, 13. [u] Letter, pag. 11. n. 31.
[x] But then it is to be remembered, that they made prayers, and offered for those who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory: so we find in Epiphanius, St. Cyril, the canon of the Greeks, and so (viz. that they offered) is acknowledged by their own Durandus. Dissuasive, p. 27. line 30, &c. Lib. 2. de Ritibus, cap. 35. [y] Lib. 1. epist. 9.

"offerre" and "celebrare sacrificium pro dormitione" is done "sacerdotum prece," it is the oblation and sacrifice of prayer: and St. Cyprian presently after joins them together, "pro dormitione ejus oblatio aut deprecatio." And if we look at the forms in the old Roman liturgy, used in the days of Pope Innocent the Third, we shall find this well expounded, "prosit huic sancto vel illi talis oblatio ad gloriam." They offered, but the offering itself was not eucharistical but deprecatory. And so it is also in the Armenian liturgy published at Cracow: "Per hanc etiam oblationem da æternam pacem omnibus, qui nos præcesserunt in fide Christi, sancti patribus, patriarchis, apostolis, prophetis, martyribus," &c., which testimony does not only evince, that the offering sacrifices and oblations for the saints did signify praying for them; but that this they did for all saints whatsoever. And concerning St. Chrysostom, that which Sixtus Senensis[z] says is material to this very purpose; "Et in liturgiâ divini sacrificii ab eo editâ, et in variis homiliis ab eodem approbatâ, conscripsit formulam precandi et offerendi; pro omnibus fidelibus, defunctis, et præcipue pro animabus beatorum, in hæc verba; Offerimus tibi rationalem hunc cultum pro in fide requiescentibus patribus, patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis, et martyribus," &c. By which confession it is acknowledged, not only that the church prayed for apostles and martyrs, but that they intended to do so, when they offered the sacramental oblations; and "offerimus" is "offerimus tibi preces." Now since it is so, I had advantage enough in the confession of their own Durandus, that he acknowledged so much, that the church offered sacrifice for saints. Now though he presently kicked this down with his foot, and denied that they prayed for saints departed; I shall yet more clearly convince him and all the Roman contradictors of their bold and unreasonable error in this affair. Epiphanius[a] is the first I mentioned as a witness; but because I cited no words of his, and my adversaries have cited them for me but imperfectly, and left out the words where the argument lies, I shall set them down at length. "Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, &c. "We make mention of the just and of sinners; for sinners, that we may implore the mercy of God for them. For the just, the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, evangelists, and martyrs, confessors, bishops, and anchorets, that prosecuting the Lord Jesus Christ with a singular honour, we separate these from the rank of other men, and give due worship to his Divine majesty, while we account that he is not to be made equal to mortal men, κἂν τε μυρία καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὑπάρχῃ ἕκαστος ἀνθρώπων, although they had a thousand times more righteousness than they have." Now first here is mention made of all in their prayers and oblations, and yet no mention made that the church prays for one sort, and only gives thanks for the other; as these gentlemen the objectors[b] falsely pretend. But here is a double separation made of the righteous departed; one is from the worser sort of sinners, the other from the most righteous Saviour. True it is, they believed they had more need to pray for some than for others; but if they did not pray for all, when they made mention of all, how did they honour Christ by separating their condition from his? Is it not lawful to give thanks for the life and death, for the resurrection, holiness, and glorification, of Christ? And if the church only gave thanks for the departed saints, and did not pray for mercy for them too, how are not the saints in this made equal to Christ? So that I think the testimony of Epiphanius is clear and pertinent: to which greater light is given by the words of St. Austin;[c] "Who is he for whom no man prays, but only he who intercedes for all men?" viz. our blessed Lord. And there is more light yet, by the example of St. Austin, who though he did most certainly believe his mother to be a saint, and the church of Rome believes so too, yet he prayed for pardon for her. Now by this it was that Epiphanius separated Christ from the saints departed, for he could not mean any thing else; and because he was then writing against Aerius, who did not deny it to be lawful to give God thanks for the saints departed, but affirmed it to be needless to pray for them, viz. he must mean this of the church's praying for all her dead, or else he had said nothing against his adversary, or for his own cause.

St. Cyril, though he be confidently denied[d] to have said what he did say, yet is confessed to have said these words; "Then we pray for the deceased fathers and bishops, and finally, for all who among us have departed this life. Believing it to be a very great help of the souls, for which is offered the obsecration of the holy and dreadful sacrifice."[e]—If St. Cyril means what his words signify, then the church did pray for departed saints; for they prayed for all the departed fathers and bishops, and it is hard if amongst them there were no saints: but suppose that, yet if there were any saints at all that died out of the militant church, yet the case is the same; for they prayed for all the departed: and, 2. They offered the dreadful sacrifice for them all. 3. They offered it for all in the way of prayer. 4. And they believed this to be a great help to souls. Now, unless the souls of all saints that died then went to purgatory, (which I am sure the Roman doctors dare not own,) the case is plain, that prayer and not thanksgivings only were offered by the ancient church for souls, who, by the confession of all sides, never went to purgatory; and therefore praying for the dead is but a weak argument to prove purgatory. Nicolaus Cabasilas hath an evasion from all this, as he supposes; for ὑπὲρ (which is the word used in the memorials of saints) does not always signify "praying for one," but it may signify "giving of thanks:" this is true, but it is to no purpose; for whenever it is said δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνα, "we pray for such a one," that must signify, to pray for, and not to give thanks, and that is our present case: and therefore no escape here can be made. The words of St. Cyril are very plain.

[z] Lib. 6. Biblioth. Annot. 47.
[a] Hæres. 75.
[b] Letter, p. 10. Truth will out, p. 25.
[c] In Psal. xxxvi. Conc. 2. tom. 8. p. 120.
[d] A. L. p. 11.
[e] Mysta. Catech. 5.

The third allegation is of the canon of the Greeks; which is so plain, evident, and notorious, and so confessed, even by these gentlemen the objectors, that I will be tried by the words, which the author of the Letter acknowledges. So it is in the liturgy of St. James; "Remember all orthodox, from Abel the just unto this day; make them to rest in the land of the living, in thy kingdom, and the delights of paradise."—Thus far this gentleman quoted St. James; and I wonder, that he should urge a conclusion manifestly contrary to his own allegation. Did all the orthodox from Abel to that day go to purgatory? Certainly Abraham, and Moses, and Elias, and the blessed Virgin, did not, and St. Stephen did not, and the apostles that died before this liturgy was made did not; and yet the church prayed for all orthodox, "prayed that they might rest in the land of the living," &c. and therefore they prayed for such, which, by the confession of all sides, never went to purgatory. In the other liturgies also, the gentleman sets down words enough to confute himself, as the reader may see in the Letter, if it be worth the reading. But because he sets down what he list, and makes breaches and rabbit-holes to pop in as he please, I shall for the satisfaction of the reader set down the full sense and practice of the Greek canon in this question.

And first, for St. James's liturgy, (which, being merrily disposed and dreaming of advantage by it, he is pleased to call the mass of St. James,) Sixtus Senensis[f] gives this account of it: "James the apostle, in the liturgy of the Divine sacrifice, prays for the souls of saints resting in Christ, so that he shows they are not yet arrived at the place of expected blessedness. But the form of the prayer is after this manner; 'Domine Deus noster," &c. 'O Lord our God, remember all the orthodox, and them that believe rightly in the faith, from Abel the just unto this day. Make them to rest in the region of the living, in thy kingdom, in the delights of paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our holy fathers; from whence are banished grief, sorrow, and sighing, where the light of thy countenance is president and perpetually shines.'"

In the liturgy of St. Basil,[g] which he is said to have made for the churches of Syria, is this prayer; "Be mindful, O Lord, of them which are dead and departed out of this life, and of the orthodox bishops, which, from Peter and James the apostles unto this day, have clearly professed the right word of faith, and namely, of Ignatius, Dionysius, Julius, and the rest of the saints, of worthy memory." Nay, not only for these, but they pray for the very martyrs: "O Lord, remember them who have resisted (or stood) unto blood for religion, and have fed thy holy flock with righteousness and holiness." Certainly this is not giving of thanks for them, or praying to them, but a direct praying for them, even for holy bishops, confessors, martyrs, that God (meaning in much mercy) would remember them, that is, make them to rest in the bosom of Abraham, in the region of the living, as St. James expresses it.

[f] Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 6. annot. 345. sect. Jacob. Apostolus.
[g] Basilii *ἀναφορὰ* ab Andreâ Masio ex Syriaco conversa.

And in the liturgies of the churches of Egypt attributed to St. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Cyril, the churches pray, "Be mindful, O Lord, of thy saints, vouchsafe to receive all thy saints, which have pleased thee from the beginning, our holy fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, preachers, evangelists, and all the souls of the just which have died in the faith, but chiefly, of the holy, glorious, and perpetual Virgin Mary the mother of God, of St. John Baptist the forerunner and martyr, St. Stephen the first deacon and first martyr, St. Mark, apostle, evangelist, and martyr."

Of the same spirit were all the ancient liturgies or missals, and particularly that under the name of St. Chrysostom is most full to this purpose: "Let us pray to the Lord for all, that before-time have laboured and performed the holy offices of priesthood: for the memory and remission of sins of them that built this holy house, and of all them that have slept in hope of the resurrection and eternal life in thy society: of the orthodox fathers and our brethren. *Φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε, συγχώρησον*, 'O thou lover of men, pardon them.'"—And again: "Moreover we offer unto thee this reasonable service for all that rest in faith, our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, &c., especially the most holy and unspotted Virgin Mary:" and after concludes with this prayer: "Remember them all who have slept in hope of resurrection to eternal life, and make them to rest where the light of thy countenance looks over them."—Add to these, if you please, the Greek mass of St. Peter: "To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we pray that thou indulge a place of refreshing light and peace."—So that nothing is clearer, than that, in the Greek canon, they prayed for the souls of the best of all the saints; whom yet because no man believes they ever were in purgatory, it follows, that prayer for the dead used by the ancients does not prove the Roman purgatory.

To these add the doctrine and practice of the Greek fathers: Dionysius[h] speaking of a person deceased, whom the ministers of the church had publicly pronounced to be a happy man, and verily admitted into the society of the saints that have been from the beginning of the world, yet the bishop prayed for him, "that God would forgive him all the sins, which he had committed through human infirmity, and bring him into the light and region of the living, into the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, where pain and sorrow and sighing have no place." To the same purpose is that of St. Gregory Nazianzen,[i] in his funeral oration upon his brother Cæsarius, of whom he had expressly declared his belief, that he was "rewarded with those honours which did befit a new-created soul;" yet he presently prays for his soul, "Now, O Lord, receive Cæsarius." I hope I have said enough concerning the Greek church, their doctrine, and practice, in this particular: and I desire it may be observed, that there is no greater testimony of the doctrine of a church than their liturgy. Their doctors may have

[h] Eccles. Hier. cap. 7. in Theoria.
[i] Naz. in Funer. Cæsarii, orat. 10.

private opinions, which are not against the doctrine of the church; but what is put into their public devotions, and consigned in their liturgies, no man scruples it, but it is the confession and religion of the church.

But now that I may make my reader some amends for his trouble in reading the trifling objections of these Roman adversaries, and my defences; I shall also, for the greater conviction of my adversaries, show, that they would not have opposed my affirmation in this particular, if they had understood their own mass-book; for it was not only thus from the beginning until now in the Greek church, but it is so to this very day in the Latin church. In the old Latin missal[k] we have this prayer: "Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro omnibus in tui nominis confessione defunctis, ut, te dextram auxilii tui porrigente, vitæ perennis requiem habeant, et à pœnis impiorum segregati semper in tuæ laudis lætitia perseverent." And in the very canon of the mass, which these gentlemen, I suppose, (if they be priests,) cannot be ignorant in any part of, they pray, "Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur." Unless all that are at rest in Christ, go to purgatory, it is plain that the church of Rome prays for saints, who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory. I could bring many more testimonies, if they were needful; but I sum up this particular with the words of St. Austin:[l] "Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum, quas faciendas pro omnibus in christianâ et catholicâ societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia."—The church prays for all persons that died in the christian and catholic faith. And therefore I wonder how it should drop from St. Austin's pen,[m] "Injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre." But I suppose, he meant it only in case the prayer was made for them, as if they were in an uncertain state, and so it is probable enough; but else his words were not only against himself in other places, but against the whole practice of the ancient catholic church. I remember that when it was asked of Pope Innocent by the archbishop of Lyons,[n] why the prayer,—that was in the old missal for the soul of Pope Leo, "Annue nobis, Domine, *animæ* famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio," came to be changed into "Annue nobis, Domine, *ut intercessione*, famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio;" Pope Innocent answered him, that who changed it, or when, he knew not; but he knew how, that is, he knew the reason of it, because "the authority of the Holy Scripture said, he does injury to a martyr that prays for a martyr," the same thing is to be done for the like reason concerning all other saints.—The good man had heard the saying some where; but being little used to the Bible, he thought it might be there, because it was a pretty saying. However, though this change was made in the mass-books, and prayer for the soul of St. Leo was changed into a prayer to St. Leo;[o] and the doctors went about to defend it as well as they could, yet because they did it so pitifully, they had reason to be ashamed of it; and in the missal reformed by order of the council of Trent, it is put out again, and the prayer for St. Leo put in again,[p] "that by these offices of holy atonement," (viz. the celebration of the holy sacrament,) "a blessed reward may accompany him, and the gifts of thy grace may be obtained for us."

Another argument was used in the Dissuasive, against the Roman doctrine of purgatory, viz. How is purgatory a primitive and catholic doctrine, when generally the Greek and many of the Latin fathers taught, that the souls departed, in some exterior place, expect the day of judgment; but that no soul enters into the supreme heaven, or the place of eternal bliss, till the day of judgment: but at that day, say many of them, all must pass through the universal fire? To these purposes respectively the words of very many fathers are brought by Sixtus Senensis; to all which being so evident and apparent, the gentlemen[q] that write against the Dissuasive are pleased not to say one word, but have left the whole fabric of the Roman purgatory to shift for itself against the battery of so great authorities; only one of them, striving to find some fault, says, that the Dissuader quotes Sixtus Senensis, as saying, "that Pope John the Twenty-second not only taught and declared the doctrine, (that before the day of judgment the souls of men are kept in certain receptacles,) but commanded it to be held by all, as saith Adrian 'in 4. sent.' when Sixtus Senensis saith not so of Pope John, &c. but only reports the opinion of others."—To which I answer, that I did not quote Senensis as saying any such thing of his own authority. For besides that in the body of the discourse there is no mention at all of John the Twenty-second in the margent, also it is only said of Sixtus, "Enumerat S. Jacobum apostolum—et Johannem pontif. Rom.;"[r] but I add of my own afterwards, that Pope John not only taught and declared that sentence, but commanded it to be held by all men, as saith Adrian. Now although in his narrative of it, Adrian begins with "Novissime fertur," "It is reported," yet Senensis himself when he had said, "Pope John is said to have decreed this," he himself adds, that Ocham and Pope Adrian are witnesses of this decree. 2. Adrian is so far a witness of it, that he gives the reason of the same, even because the university of Paris refused to give promotion to them, who denied, or did refuse to promise for ever, to cleave to that opinion. 3. Ocham is so fierce a witness of it, that he wrote against Pope John the Twenty-second for the opinion.

[k] Missa Latina antiqua edit. Argentine, 1557. pag. 52.
[l] De Cura pro Mortuis, cap. 4.
[m] De Verbis Apostoli, serm. 17.
[n] Sacramentarium Gregor. antiquum.
[o] Vide Missal. Roman. Paris, 1529. Cap. cum Marthæ. Extrav. de Celebrat. Missarum in Glossâ.
[p] Missale Rom. in decreto Concil. Trid. restit. in festo S. Leonis.
[q] Letter to a Friend, p. 12.
[r] And these are the words of Senensis concerning Pope John XXII. and Pope Adrian.

4. Though Senensis be not willing to have it believed; yet all that he can say against it, is, that "apud probatos scriptores non est undequaque certum." 5. Yet he brings not one testimony out of antiquity, against this charge against Pope John: only he says, that Pope Benedict the Eleventh affirms, that John being prevented by death, could not finish the decree. 6. But this thing was not done in a corner, the acts of the university of Paris, and their fierce adhering to the decree, were too notorious. 7. And after all this, it matters not whether it be so or no, when it is confessed, that so many ancient fathers expressly teach the doctrine contrary to the Roman, as it is this day, and yet the Roman doctors care not what they say, insomuch that St. Bernard having fully and frequently taught, "that no souls go to heaven till they all go, neither the saints without the common people, nor the spirit without the flesh; that there are three states of souls, one in the tabernacles (viz. of our bodies); a second, in 'atriis' or outward courts; and a third, in the house of God;" Alphonsus à Castro admonishes that this sentence is damned; and Sixtus Senensis[s] adds these words, "which thing also I do not deny; yet I suppose he ought to be excused 'ob ingentem numerum illustrium ecclesiæ patrum,' 'for the great number of the illustrious fathers of the church,' who before by their testimony did seem to give authority to this opinion."

But that the present doctrine of the Roman purgatory is but a new article of faith, is therefore certain, because it was no article of faith in St. Austin's time, for he doubted of it. And to this purpose I quoted in the margent two places of St. Austin.[t] The words I shall now produce, because they will answer for themselves. In the sixty-eighth chapter of his Manual to Laurentius, he takes from the church of Rome their best armour in which they trusted, and expounds the words of St. Paul,[u] "He shall be saved, yet so as by fire," to mean only the loss of such pleasant things, as most delighted them in this world. And, in the beginning of the next chapter, he adds,[x] "that such a thing may also be done after this life, is not incredible; and whether it be so or no it may be inquired, 'et aut inveniri aut latere,' 'and either be found or lie hid.'"—Now what is that which thus may or may not be found out? This; "that some faithful, by how much more or less they loved perishing goods, by so much sooner or later they shall be saved by a certain purgatory-fire." This is it which St. Austin says "is not incredible, only it may be inquired whether it be so or no." And if these be not the words of doubting, "it is not incredible, such a thing may be,—it may be inquired after,—it may be found to be so,—or it may never be found, but lie hid," then words signify nothing. —Yea "but the doubting of St. Austin does not relate to the matter or question of purgatory, but to the manner of the particular punishment, viz. "Whether or no that pain of being troubled for the loss of their goods, be not a part of the purgatory-flames?"[y] says E. W.—A goodly excuse! as if St. Austin had troubled himself with such an impertinent question, whether the poor souls, in their infernal flames, be not troubled that they left their lands and money behind them? Indeed it is possible, they might wish some of the waters of their springs or fish-ponds to cool their tongues: but St. Austin surely did not suspect that the tormented ghosts were troubled they had not brought their best clothes with them, and money in their purses; this is too pitiful and strained an answer; the case being so evidently clear, that the thing St. Austin doubted of was, since there was to some of the faithful,—who yet were too voluptuous or covetous persons,—a purgatory in this world, even the loss of their goods which they so loved; and therefore being lost so grieved for, whether or no they should not also meet with another purgatory after death; that is, whether, besides the punishment suffered here, they should not be punished after death; how? by grieving for the loss of their goods? Ridiculous! What then, St. Austin himself tells us, "By so much as they loved their goods more or less, by so much sooner or later they shall be saved." And what he said of this kind of sin, viz. too much worldliness, with the same reason he might suppose of others; this he thought possible, but of this he was not sure, and therefore it was not then an article of faith; and though now the church of Rome hath made it so, yet it appears that it was not so from the beginning, but is part of their new-fashioned faith. And E. W. striving so impossibly, and so weakly, to avoid the pressure of this argument, should do well to consider, whether he have not more strained his conscience than the words of St. Austin. But this matter must not pass thus. St. Austin repeats this whole passage "verbatim" in his answer to the eighth question of Dulcitius, quest. 1.; and still answers in this and other appendant questions of the same nature, viz. Whether prayers for the dead be available, &c. quest. 2. And whether, upon the instant of Christ's appearing, he will pass to judgment, quest. 3. "In these things which we have described, our and the infirmity of others may be so exercised and instructed, nevertheless that they pass not for canonical authority."[z] And in the answer to the first question, he speaks in the style of a doubtful person: "Whether men suffer such things in this life only, or also such certain judgments follow even after this life, this understanding of this sentence is not, as I suppose, abhorrent from truth." The same words he also repeats in his book "de Fide et Operibus," chap. 16. There is yet another place of St. Austin, in which it is plain he still is a doubting person in the question of purgatory. His sense is this:[a] "After the death of the body until the resurrection, if, in the interval, the spirits of the dead are said to suffer that kind of fire, which they feel not, who had not such manners and loves in their life-time,

[s] Annot. 345. [t] Enchirid. cap. 68, 69. [u] 1 Cor. iii.
[x] Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quæri potest.
[y] E. W. p. 28. [z] De octo quæst. Dulcit. qu. 3.
[a] S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 21. cap. 26.

that their wood, hay, and stubble, ought to be consumed; but others feel who brought such buildings along with them, whether there only, or whether here and there, or whether therefore here that it might not be there, that they feel a fire of a transitory tribulation burning their secular buildings, (though escaping from damnation,) I reprove it not; for peradventure it is true." So St. Austin's "peradventure yea," is always "peradventure nay;" and will the bigots of the Roman church be content with such a confession of faith as this of St. Austin in the present article? I believe not.

But now after all this, I will not deny but St. Austin was much inclined to believe purgatory-fire, and therefore I shall not trouble myself to answer these citations to that purpose, which Bellarmine, and from him these transcribers, bring out of this father, though most of them are drawn out of apocryphal, spurious, and suspected pieces, as his homilies "de Sacris Scripturis," &c., yet that which I urge is this;—that St. Austin did not esteem this to be a doctrine of the church, no article of faith, but a disputable opinion; and though he did incline to the wrong part of the opinion, yet it is very certain that he sometimes speaks expressly against this doctrine, and, other times, speaks things absolutely inconsistent with the opinion of purgatory, which is more than an argument of his confessed doubting; for it is a declaration that he understood nothing certain in this affair but that the contrary to his opinion was the more probable. And this appears in these few following words. St. Austin hath these words;[b] "Some suffer temporary punishments in this life only, others after death, others both now and then:" Bellarmine, and from him Diaphanta, urges this as a great proof of St. Austin's doctrine. But he destroys it in the words immediately following, and makes it useless to the hypothesis of the Roman church; "This shall be, before they suffer the last and severest judgment;" meaning, as St. Austin frequently does such sayings, of the general conflagration at the end of the world. But whether he does so or no, yet he adds;[c] "But all of them come not into the everlasting punishments, which, after the judgment, shall be to them who after death suffer the temporary." By which doctrine of St. Austin, viz. that those who are in his purgatory, shall, many of them, be damned; and the temporary punishments, after death, do but usher in the eternal, after judgment; he destroys the salt of the Roman fire, who imagines that all that go to purgatory shall be saved: therefore this testimony of St. Austin, as it is nothing for the avail of the Roman purgatory, so by the appendage it is much against it, which Coquæus, Torrensis, and especially Cardinal Perron, observing, have most violently corrupted these words, by falsely translating them. So Perron; "Tous ceux, qui souffrent des peines temporelles après la mort, ne viennent pas aux peines éternelles, qui auront lieu après le jugement:" which reddition is expressly against the sense of St. Austin's words.

2. But another hypothesis there is in St. Austin, to which without dubitation he does peremptorily adhere, which I before intimated, viz. that although he admit of purgatory-pains after this life, yet none but such as shall be at the day of judgment: "Whoever therefore desires to avoid the eternal pains, let him be not only baptized, but also justified in Christ, and truly pass from the devil unto Christ. But let him not think that there shall be any purgatory-pains but before that last and dreadful judgment:"[d] meaning, not only that there shall be none to cleanse them after the day of judgment, but that then, at the approach of that day, the general fire shall try and purge: and so himself declares his own sense: "All they that have not Christ in the foundation, are argued or reproved;" when? "In the day of judgment; but they that have Christ in the foundation are changed, that is, purged, who build upon this foundation wood, hay, stubble." So that in the day of judgment the trial and escape shall be; for then shall the trial and the condemnation be. But yet more clear are his words in other places:[e] "So, at the setting of the sun, that is, at the end, (viz. of the world,) the day of judgment is signified by that fire, dividing the carnal which are to be saved by fire, and those who are to be damned in the fire;" nothing is plainer than that St. Austin understood that those who are to be saved so as by fire, are to be saved by passing through the fire at the day of judgment; that was his opinion of purgatory. And again: "Out of these things which are spoken, it seems more evidently to appear that there shall be certain purgatory pains of some persons in that judgment. For what thing else can be understood, where it is said, Who shall endure the day of his coming?" &c.

3. St. Austin speaks things expressly against the doctrine of purgatory: "Know ye, that when the soul is plucked from the body, presently it is placed in paradise, according to its good deservings; or else, for her sins, is thrown headlong 'in inferni Tartara,' 'into the hell of the damned;'" for I know not well how else to render it.[f] And again: "The soul retiring is received by angels, and placed either in the bosom of Abraham, if she be faithful, —or in the custody of the infernal prison, if it be sinful, until the appointed day comes, in which she shall receive her body:" pertinent to which is that of St. Austin, if he be author of that excellent book "de Ecclesiæ Dogmatibus," which is imputed to him: "After the ascension of our Lord to the heavens, the souls of all the saints are with Christ, and going from the body, go unto Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body."[g]

But I shall insist no further upon these things; I suppose it very apparent, that St. Austin was no way confident of his fancy of purgatory, and that if

[b] De Civit. Dei, lib. 21. c. 13. [c] Ibid.
[d] Purgatorias autem pœnas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque judicium. Cap. 16. in Psal. vi.
[e] De Civit. Dei, lib. 16. c. 24. et lib. 20. c. 25.
[f] Aug. tom. 9. de Vanitate Sæculi, c. 1. et de Consolatione Mortuorum, serm. 2. cap. 1.
[g] De Dogmat. Eccles. cap. 79. Aut Augustini aut Gennadii.

he had fancied right, yet it was not the Roman purgatory that he fancied. There is only one objection which I know of, which when I have cleared, I shall pass on to other things. St. Austin, speaking of such who have lived a middle kind of an indifferent pious life, saith, "Constat autem," &c. "But it is certain that such before the day of judgment being purged by temporal pains which their spirits suffer, when they have received their bodies, shall not be delivered to the punishment of eternal fire:"—here is a positive determination of the article, by a word of confidence, and a full certificate; and therefore St. Austin in this article was not a doubting person.—To this I answer, It may be he was confident here, but it lasted not long; this fire was made of straw, and soon went out: for within two chapters after, he expressly doubts, as I have proved. 2. These words may refer to the purgatory-fire at the general conflagration of the world; and if they be so referred, it is most agreeable to his other sentiments. 3. This "constat," or decretory phrase, and some lines before or after it, are not in the old books of Bruges and Cologne, nor in the copies printed at Friburg; and Ludovicus Vives[h] supposes they were a marginal note crept since into the text. Now this objection being removed, there remains no ground to deny, that St. Austin was a doubting person in the article of purgatory. And this Erasmus expressly affirmed of him; and the same is said of him by Hofmeister,[i] but modestly; and against his doubting in his "Enchiridion," he brings only a testimony in behalf of prayer for the dead, which is nothing to the purpose; and this is also sufficiently noted by Alphonsus à Castro,[k] and by Barnesius. Well! but suppose St. Austin did doubt of purgatory?—This is no warranty to the church of England, for she does not doubt of it as St. Austin did, but plainly condemns it:—so one of my adversaries objects; to which I answer, that the church of England may the rather condemn it, because St. Austin doubted of it; for if it be no catholic doctrine, it is but a school point, and without prejudice to the faith may be rejected. But, 2. I suppose the church of England would not have troubled herself with the doctrine, if it had been left as St Austin left it; that is, but as a mere uncertain opinion: but when the wrong end of the opinion was taken, and made an article of faith; and damnation threatened to them that believed it not; she had reason to consider it, and finding it to be chaff, wholly to scatter it away. 3. The church of England is not therefore to be blamed if in any case she see more than St. Austin did, and proceed accordingly; for it is certain the church of Rome does decree against divers things, of which St. Austin indeed did not doubt, but affirmed confidently; I instance in the necessity of communicating infants, and the matter of appeals to Rome.

The next authority to be examined is that of Otho Frisingensis, concerning which there is a heavy quarrel against the Dissuasive, for making him to speak of a purgatory before, whereas he speaks of one after, the day of judgment, with a "quidam asserunt," "some affirm it," viz. that there is a place of purgatory after death; nay, but you are deceived, says E. W. and the rest of the adversaries; he means, that some affirm there is a place of purgatory after the day of judgment. Now truly, that is more than I said; but that Otho said it, is by these men confessed. But his words are these; "I think it ought to be searched, whether the judgment being passed, besides the lower hell, there remain a place for lighter punishments; for that there is below (or in hell) a purgatory-place, in which they that are to be saved, are either affected ('afficiantur,' *invested, punished*) with darkness only, or else are boiled in the fire of expiation, some do affirm."[l] What is or can be more plainly said of purgatory; for the places of Scripture brought to confirm this opinion are such which relate to the interval between death and the last judgment; "Juxta illud patriarchæ, 'lugens descendam ad inferos;' et illud apostoli, 'ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem;'" I hope the Roman doctors will not deny but these are meant of purgatory before the last day: and therefore so is the opinion for the proof of which these places are brought. 2. By "post judicium" in the title, and "transacto judicio" in the chapter, Otho means the particular judgment passing upon every one at their death: which he in a few lines after, calls "terminatis in judicio causis singulorum." 3. He must mean it to be before the last great day; because that which he says "some do affirm," "quidam asserunt," is, that those which are "salvandi," "to be saved hereafter," are either in darkness or in a purgatory-fire; which therefore must be meant of the interval; for after the day of judgment is passed, and the books shut, and the sentence pronounced, none can be saved that are not then acquitted; unless Origen's opinion of the salvation of devils and damned souls be re-introduced, which the church, before Otho, many ages had exploded, and therefore so good and great a person would not have thought that fit to be then disputed; and it was not then a question, nor a thing undetermined in the church. 4. Whether Otho means it of a purgatory before or after the day of the last judgment, it makes very much against the present Roman doctrine; for Otho applies the question to the case of infants dying without baptism: now if their purgatory be before the day of judgment, then I quoted Otho according to my own sense and his; but if he means it to be after the day of judgment, then the "limbus infantum" of the Roman church is vanished;—for the scruple was moved about infants. "Quid de parvulis, qui solo originali delicto tenentur, fiet?" And there is none such till after doomsday; so that let it be as it will, the Roman church

[h] Contra Pharis. tit. 8.

[i] In Exposit. Precationis Missæ. advers. Hæres. lib. 12. tit. Purgatorium.

[k] In Cathol. Romano Pacifico 9. de Purgat.

[l] Esse quippe apud inferos locum purgationum, in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantum afficiantur, vel expiationis igne decoquantur, quidam asserunt.

is a loser, and therefore let them take their choice on which side they will fall.

But now after St. Austin's time, especially in the time of St. Gregory, and since, there were many strange stories told of souls appearing after death, and telling strange things of their torments below: many of which being gathered together by the "Speculum Exemplorum," the Legend of Lombardy and others, some of them were noted by the Dissuasive to this purpose to show, that in the time when these stories were told, the fire of purgatory did not burn clear; but they found purgatory in baths, in eaves of houses, in frosts and cold rains, upon spits roasting like pigs or geese, upon pieces of ice. Now to this there is nothing said; but that in the place quoted in the "Speculum" there is no such thing; which saying, as it was spoken invidiously, so it was to no purpose; for if the objector ever hath read the distinction which is quoted, throughout, he should have found the whole story at large. It is the 31st example, page 205, col. 1, printed at Doway, 1603. And the same words are exactly in an ancienter edition printed at the imperial town of Hagenaw, 1519, "impensis Johannis Rynman." —But these gentlemen care not for the force of any argument, if they can any way put it off from being believed upon any foolish pretence.

But then, as to the thing itself, though learned men deny the Dialogues of St. Gregory, from whence many of the like stories are derived, to be his, as Possevine confesses, and Melchior Canus, though a little timorously, affirms; yet I am willing to admit them for his, but yet I cannot but note that those Dialogues have in them many foolish, ridiculous, and improbable stories,[m] but yet they and their like are made a great ground of purgatory; but then the right also may be done to St. Gregory, his doctrine of purgatory cannot consist with the present article of the church of Rome; so fond they are in the alleging of authorities, that they destroy their own hypothesis by their undiscerning quotations.

For, 1. St. Gregory Pope affirms that which is perfectly inconsistent with the whole doctrine of purgatory. For[n] he says, "that it is a fruit of our redemption by the grace of Christ our author, that when we are drawn from our dwelling in the body, 'mox,' 'forthwith' we are led to celestial rewards;" and a little after speaking of those words of Job, "In profundissimum infernum descendunt omnia mea,"[o] he says thus; "Since it is certain that in the lower region the just are not in penal places, but are held in the superior bosom of rest, a great question arises, What is the meaning of blessed Job?" If purgatory can stand with this hypothesis of St. Gregory, then fire and water can be reconciled. This is the doctrine of St. Gregory in his own works; for whether the Dialogues under his name be his or no, I shall not dispute; but if I were studying to do honour to his memory, I should never admit them to be his, and so much the rather because the doctrine of the Dialogues contradicts the doctrine of his Commentaries, and yet even the purgatory which is in the Dialogues[p] is unlike that which was declared at Basil; for the Gregorian[q] purgatory supposed only an expiation of small and light faults, as immoderate laughter, impertinent talking, which nevertheless he himself says are expiable by fear of death; and Victoria,[r] and Jacobus de Graffis[s] say, are to be taken away by beating the breast, holy water, the bishop's blessing; and St. Austin says, they are to be taken off by daily saying the Lord's prayer; and therefore being so easily, so readily, so many ways, to be purged here, it will not be worth establishing a purgatory for such alone, but he admits not of any remaining punishment due to greater sins forgiven by the blood of Christ. But concerning St. Gregory I shall say no more, but refer the reader to the Apology of the Greeks, who affirm that St. Gregory admitted a kind of purgatory, but whether allegorically or no, or thinking so really, they know not; but what he said was κατ' οἰκονομίαν, and "by way of dispensation," and as it were, constrained to it by the arguments of those who would have all sins expiable after death, against whom he could not so likely prevail, if he had said that none was; and therefore he thought himself forced to go a middle way, and admit a purgatory only for little or venial sins, which yet will do no advantage to the church of Rome. And besides all this, St. Gregory, or whoever is the author of these Dialogues, hath nothing definite, or determined, concerning the time, manner, measure, or place; so wholly new was this doctrine then, that it had not gotten any shape or feature.

Next I am to account concerning the Greeks, whom I affirm always to have differed from the Latins, since they had forged this new doctrine of purgatory in the Roman laboratories: and to prove something of this, I affirmed that[t] in the council of Basil they published an apology directly disapproving the doctrine of purgatory. Against this, up starts a man fierce and angry, and says "there was no such Apology published in the council of Basil, for he had examined it all over, and can find no such apology." I am sorry for the gentleman's loss of his labour, but if he had taken me along with him, I could have helped the learned man. This Apology was written by Marcus, metropolitan of Ephesus, as Sixtus Senensis[u] confesses, and that he offered it

[m] Post hoc apparuit eidem presbytero columna quædam jubaris immensi, cujus claritas ultra communem solis valentiam coruscare videbatur, de cœlo usque ad terram porrecta, per quam anima quædam angelico ductu ad sidera contendebat. Sciscitante verò presbytero, quidnam hoc esset? Respondit alter, ipsa est anima Constantini quondam judicis et domini Turritani; hæc autem per novem annos ventis et pluviis et algoribus semper exposita, à die exitus sui usque nunc, in stillicidio domus suæ constitit, ibique suorum excessuum pœnas luit: sed qui misericors et liberalis in pauperes extitit, ei judicium injuriam patientibus fecit, insuper etiam de malis quæ commisit, confessa et pœnitens à corpore exivit, idcircò misericordiam à Deo consecuta, hodiernâ die meretur ab omnibus malis liberari, &c. Hæc et multa alia sacerdos ille vidit et audivit de secretis alterius vitæ.

[n] S. Greg. M. lib. 13. in Jobum, c. 15. c. 17.

[o] Cum constat quod apud inferos justi non in locis pœnalibus, sed in superiori quietis sinu tenerentur, magna nobis oboritur quæstio quidnam sit, quod B. Jobus asserit.

[p] Lib. 4. Dialog. c. 39. [q] Cap. 46.

[r] In Summa Sacram.

[s] Eccles. n. 110. Decis. Cas. Conscient. part 1. lib. 1. c. 6. n. 10.

[t] The Letter, p. 14. [u] Biblioth. lib. 6. annot. 259.

to the council of Basil. That it was given and read to the deputies of the council, June 14, 1438, is attested by Cusanus, and Martinus Crusius in his Turco-Græcia.[x] But it is no wonder, if this over-learned author of the Letter missed this Apology in his search of the council of Basil, for this is not the only material thing that is missing in the editions of the council of Basil; for Linwood, that great and excellent English canonist, made an appeal in that council, and prosecuted it with effect in behalf of King Henry of England, "Cum in temporalibus non recognoscat superiorem in terris," &c. But nothing of this now appears, though it was then registered: but it is no new thing to forge or to suppress acts of councils; but besides this, I did not suppose he would have been so indiscreet as to have looked for that Apology in the editions of the council of Basil, but it was delivered to the council by the Greeks, and the council was wise enough not to keep that upon public record; however, if the gentleman please to see it, he may have it among the booksellers, if he will please to ask for the "Apologia Græcorum de Igne Purgatorio," published by Salmasius; it was supposed to be made by Mark, archbishop; but for saving the gentleman's charge or trouble, I shall tell him a few words out of that Apology, which will serve his turn: Διὰ τα αὐτὰ νῶ καὶ τὸ προκείμενον δόγμα τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς ἀποβλητέον ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c. "For these reasons, the doctrine of a purgatory-fire is to be cast out of the church, as that which slackens the endeavours of the diligent, as persuading them not to use all means of contention to be purged in this life, since another purgation is expected after it." And it is infinitely to be wondered at, the confidence of Bellarmine,[y] (for as for this objector, it matters not so much,) that he should, in the face of all the world, say, that the Greek church never doubted of purgatory: whereas he hath not brought one single true and pertinent testimony out of the Greek fathers for the Roman doctrine of purgatory, but is forced to bring in that crude allegation of their words, "for prayer for the dead," which is to no purpose, as all wise men know; indeed he quotes[z] the Alcoran for purgatory, an authentic author, it seems, to serve such an end. But besides this, two memorable persons of the Greek church, Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, and Mark, archbishop of Ephesus, have, in behalf of the Greek church, written against the Roman doctrine in this particular. And it is remarkable, that the Latins were and are so put to it to prove purgatory-fire from the Greek fathers, that they have forged a citation from Theodoret,[a] which is not in him at all, but was first cited in Latin by Thomas Aquinas, either out of his own head or cozened by somebody else: and quoted so by Bellarmine,[b] which to wise men cannot but be a very great argument of the weakness of the Roman cause in this question from the Greek fathers; and that Bellarmine saw it, but yet was resolved to run through it and outface it; but Nilus taking notice of it, says, that there are no such words in Theodoret in the many copies of his works which they had. In Greek, it is certain they are not; and Gagneius first translated them into Greek to make the cheat more prevalent, but, in that translation, makes use of those words of the wisdom of Solomon,[c] ὡς χρυσεῖον ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ, "as gold in the furnace" (meaning it of the affliction of the righteous in this world); but unluckily he made use of that chapter, in the first verse of which it is said, "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment shall touch them," which is a testimony more pregnant against the Roman purgatory, than all that they can bring from the Greek fathers for it. And this gentleman confutes The Dissuasive, as he thinks, by telling the story according as his own church hath set it down, who as with subtle and potent arts they forced the Greeks to a seeming union, so they would be sure not to tell the world, in their own records, how unhandsomely they carried themselves. But besides this, the very answer which the archbishop of Ephesus gave to the Latins in that council, (and which words the objector here sets down and confesses,) are a plain confutation of himself; for the Latins standing for a purgatory-fire temporary, the archbishop of Ephesus denies it, saying, "that the Italians confess a fire, both in the present world and purgatory by it, (that is, *before the day of judgment,)* and in the world to come; but not purgatory but eternal: but the Greeks hold a fire in the world to come only, *(meaning eternal,)* and a temporary punishment of souls; that is, that they go into a dark place, and of grief,—but that they are purged, that is, *delivered from the dark place*, by priests, prayers, and sacrifices, and by alms,—but not by fire." Then they fell on disputing about purgatory-fire, to which the Greeks delayed to answer; and afterwards being pressed to answer, they refused to say any thing about purgatory, and when they, at the upshot of all, were "utcunque" united, Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, made a most pitiful confession of purgatory in such general and crafty terms, as sufficiently showed, that as the Greeks were forced to do something, so the Latins were content with any thing, for by those terms, the question between them was no way determined, "Romæ veteris Papam Domini nostri Jesu Christi vicarium esse concedere, atque animarum purgationem esse non inficior." He denied not that there is a purgatory. No, for the Greeks confessed it, in this world before death, and some of them acknowledged a dark place of sorrow after this life, but neither fire nor purgatory; for the purgation was made in this world,—and after this world, by the prayers of the priests and the alms of their friends, the purgation was made "not by fire," as I cited the words before. The Latins told them there should be no union without it; the Greek emperor refused, and all this the objector is pleased to acknowledge; but after a very great bustle made, they were forced to patch up a union, in hope

[x] Lib. 2. p. 186.
[y] De Purgatorio, lib. 1. c. 15. sect. Ad secundum dico.
[z] Bellar. lib. 1. c. 11. sect. de Mahumetanis.
[a] In 1 Cor. iii.
[b] Lib. 1. de Purgat. c. 5. sect. ex Græcis.
[c] Sap. iii. 6.

to get assistance of the Latins: but in this also they were cozened; and having lost Constantinople, many of the Greeks attributed that fatal loss to their dissembling union made at Florence; and, on the other side, the Latins imputed it to their opinion of the procession of the Holy Ghost: however, the Greek churches never admitted that union, as is averred by Laonicus Chalcondylas, "de Rebus Turcicis."[d] And it is a strange thing that this affair, of which all Europe was witness, should, with so little modesty, be shuffled up, and The Dissuasive accused for saying that which themselves acknowledge. But see what some of themselves say: "Unus est ex notissimis Græcorum et Armenorum erroribus quo docent nullum esse purgatorium quo animæ ex hac luce migrantes purgentur sordibus quas in hoc corpore contraxerunt," saith Alphonsus à Castro:[e] "It is one of the most known errors of the Greeks, and Armenians, that they teach there is no purgatory:" and Aquinas, writing "contra Græcorum errores," labours to prove purgatory: and Archbishop Antoninus,[f] who was present at the council of Florence, after he had rejected the epistle of Eugenius, adds, "Errabant Græci purgatorium negantes, quod est hæreticum." Add to these the testimony of Roffensis[g] and Polydore Virgil before quoted: "Usque ad hunc diem, Græcis non est creditum purgatorium:" and Gregory de Valentia saith,[h] "Expresse autem purgatorium negârunt Waldenses hæretici, ut refert Guido Carmelita in summâ de hæresi: item schismatici Græci recentiores, ut ex concilio Florentino apparet." And Alphonsus à Castro saith,[i] "Unto this very day, purgatory is not believed by the Greeks." And no less can be imagined, since their prime and most learned prelate, besides what he did in the council, did also, after the council, publish an encyclical epistle against the definition of the council, as may be seen in Binius's narrative of the council of Florence: by all which appears how notoriously scandalous is the imputation of falsehood laid upon The Dissuasive by this objector; who, by this time, is warm with writing, and grows uncivil, being like a baited bull, beaten into choler with his own tail, and angered by his own objections.

But the next charge is higher: it was not only doubted of in St. Austin's time, and since; but the Roman doctrine of purgatory, without any hesitation or doubting, is against the express doctrines delivered by divers of the ancient fathers; and to this purpose some were remarked in The Dissuasive, which I shall now verify, and add others very plain and very considerable.

St. Cyprian[k] exhorts Demetrianus to turn to Christ while this world lasts, saying, "that after we are dead, there is no place of repentance, no place of satisfaction." To this the Letter answers;[l] It is not said "when we are dead," but "when you are dead," meaning that this is spoken to heathens, not to christians. As if "quando istinc excessum fuerit," being spoken impersonally, does not mean indefinitely all the world, and certainly it may as well one as the other, christians as well as heathens, for christians may be in the state of deadly sin, and aversion from God, as well as heathens, and then this admonition and reason fit them as well as the other. E. W. answers,[m] that St. Cyprian means that "after death there is no meritorious satisfaction;" he says true indeed, there is none that is meritorious, neither before nor after death, but this will not serve his turn, for St. Cyprian says, that after death there is none at all; "no place of satisfaction;" of any kind whatsoever, no place of wholesome repentance. And therefore it is vain to say, that this council was only given to Demetrianus, who was a heathen; for if he had been a christian, he would, or at least might, have used the same argument, not to put any part of his duty off upon confidence of any thing to be done or suffered after this life. For his argument is this, "this is the time of repentance,[n] after death it is not; now you may satisfy (that is appease) the Divine anger, after this life is ended, nothing of this can be done." For St. Cyprian does not speak this "dispensativè," or by relation to this particular case; but "assertivè," he affirms expressly, speaking to the same Demetrian, "that when this life is finished we are divided, either to the dwellings of death or of immortality. And that we may see this is not spoken of impenitent pagans only, as the "Letter to a Friend" dreams, St. Cyprian[o] renews the same caution and advice to the lapsed christians: "O ye, my brethren, let every one confess his sin, while he that hath sinned is yet in this world, while his confession can be admitted, while satisfaction and pardon made by the priest are grateful with God." If there had been any thought of the Roman purgatory in St. Cyprian's time, he could not in better words have impugned it, than here he does. All that have sinned must here look to it, here they must confess, here beg pardon, here make amends and satisfy; afterwards neither one nor the other shall be admitted. Now if to christians also there is granted no leave to repent, no means to satisfy, no means of pardon after this life, these words are so various and comprehensive that they include all cases; and it is plain St. Cyprian speaks it indefinitely, there is no place of repentance, no place of satisfaction; none at all, neither to heathens nor to christians.

But now let these words be set against the Roman doctrine, viz. that there is a place called purgatory, in which the souls tormented do satisfy, and "come not out thence till they have paid (viz. by sufferings, or by suffrages) the utmost farthing," and then see which we will follow: for they differ in all the points of the compass. And these men do nothing but betray

[d] Lib. 1. non longè ab initio.
[e] Lib. 12. tit. Purgatorium.
[f] See Binius, tom. 4. Concil. [g] Art. 18. contr. Luther.
[h] Disp. 11. qu. 1. punctum 1. sect. 5. De Locis Animarum post Mortem.
[i] Lib. 8. adv. Hæres. tit. Indulgentiæ.
[k] Ad Demetrian. sect. 16. 22. [l] P. 17. [m] P. 32.

[n] Donec ævi temporalis fine completo ad æternæ vel mortis vel immortalitatis hospitia dividamur. Ibid. sect. 16.
[o] Serm. de Lapsis. Confiteantur singulis vos fratres delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est, dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio, et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est.

the weakness of their cause by expounding St. Cyprian to the sense of new distinctions, made but yesterday in the forges of the schools. And indeed the whole affair upon which the answer of Bellarmine relies, which these men have translated to their own use, is unreasonable. For is it a likely business, that when men have committed great crimes, they shall be pardoned here by confession, and the ministries of the church, &c., and yet that the venial sins, though confessed in the general, and as well as they can be, and the party absolved, yet there should be prepared for their expiation the intolerable torments of hell fire, for a very long time; and that for the greater sins, for which men have "agreed with their adversary in the way," and the adversary hath forgiven them, yet that for these also they should be cast into prison, from whence they shall not come, till the utmost farthing be paid? That is against the design of our blessed Saviour's counsel; for if that be the case, then, though we and our adversaries are agreed upon the main, and the debt forgiven, yet nevertheless we may be delivered to the tormentors. But then, concerning the sense of St. Cyprian in this particular, no man can doubt that shall have but read his excellent treatise of mortality: that he could not, did not, admit of purgatory after death before the day of judgment, for he often said it in that excellent treatise, which he made to comfort and strengthen christians against the fear of death, that immediately after death we go to God or the devil: "and therefore it is for him only to fear to die, who is not willing to go to Christ, and he only is to be unwilling to go to Christ, who believes not that he begins to reign with Christ." "That we in the mean time die, we pass over by death to immortality." "It is not a going forth, but a pass over, and when our temporal course is run, a going over to immortality." "Let us embrace that day, which assigns every one of us to our dwelling, and restores those which are snatched from hence, and are disentangled from the snares of the world, to paradise and the heavenly kingdom."—There are here many other things so plainly spoken to this purpose, that I wonder any papist should read that treatise, and not be cured of his infirmity.

To the same purpose is that of St. Dionys, calling death the end of holy agonies; and therefore it is to be supposed they have no more agonies to run through immediately after death. To this E. W. answers;[o] that St. Denis means, "that death is the end of all the agonies of this life." A goodly note! and never revealed till then and now: as if this were a good argument to encourage men to contend bravely, and not to fear death, because when they are once dead, they shall no more be troubled with the troubles of this life: indeed you may go to worse, and death may let you into a state of being as bad as hell, and of greater torments than all the pains of this world put together amount to. But to let alone such ridiculous subterfuges, see the words of St. Dionys: "They that live a holy life, looking to the true promises of God, as if they were to behold the truth itself in that resurrection, which is according to it, with firm and true hope, and in a Divine joy, come to the sleep of death, as to an end of all holy contentions." Now certainly if the doctrine of purgatory were true, and that they who had contended here, and for all their troubles in this world were yet in a tolerable condition, should be told, that now they shall go to worse, he that should tell them so would be but one of Job's comforters. No, the servant of God, "coming to the end of his own troubles," (viz. by death,) "is filled with holy gladness, and with much rejoicing ascends to the way of Divine regeneration," viz. to immortality, which word can hardly mean, that they shall be tormented a great while in hell fire.

The words of Justin Martyr,[p] or whoever is the author of those questions and answers imputed to him, affirms, that "presently after the departure of the soul from the body, a distinction is made between the just and the unjust, for they are brought by angels to places worthy of them; the souls of the just to paradise, where they have the conversation and sight of angels and archangels, but the souls of the unrighteous to the places in hades, the invisible region or hell." Against these words, because they pinch severely, E. W.[q] thinks himself bound to say something; and therefore, 1. Whereas Justin Martyr says, after our departure presently there is a separation made, he answers, that Justin Martyr means here to speak of the two final states after the day of judgment, for so it seems he understands εὐθὺς, or "presently after death," to mean the "day of judgment;" of the time of which neither men nor angels know any thing. And whereas Justin Martyr says, that presently the souls of the righteous go to paradise, E. W. answers,[r] 2. That Justin does not say, that all just souls are carried presently into heaven; no, Justin says, "into paradise:" true; but let it be remembered that it is so a part of heaven, as "limbus infantum" is by themselves called a part of hell; that is, a "place of bliss;" the region of the blessed. But, 3. Justin says, that presently there is a separation made, but he says not that the souls of the righteous are carried to paradise. That is the next answer, which the very words of Justin do contradict: "There is presently a separation made of the just and unjust, for they are by the angels carried to the places they have deserved."—This is the separation which is made, one is carried to paradise, the other to a place in hell. But these being such pitiful offers at answering, the gentleman tries another way, and says, 4. That this affirmative of Justin contradicts another saying of Justin, which I cited out of Sixtus Senensis, that Justin Martyr and many other of the fathers, affirmed that the souls of men are kept in secret receptacles, "reserved unto the sentence of the great day;" and that before then no man "receives according to his works done in this life." To this I answer, that one opinion does not contradict another; for though the fathers believed that "they who die in the Lord, rest from their labours," and are in blessed places, and have antepasts of joy

[o] P. 32. [p] Resp. ad quest. 75. [q] P. 33. [r] Ibid.

and comforts, yet, in those places, they are reserved unto the judgment of the great day: the intermedial joy or sorrow respectively of the just and unjust does but antedate the final sentence: and as the comforts of God's Spirit in this life are indeed graces of God and rewards of piety; as the torments of an evil conscience are the wages of impiety; yet as these do not hinder, but that the great reward is given at doomsday, and not before, so neither do the joys which the righteous have in the interval. They can both consist together, and are generally affirmed by very many of the Greek and Latin fathers. And methinks this gentleman[s] might have learned from Sixtus Senensis, how to have reconciled these two opinions; for he quotes him, saying there is a double beatitude, the one imperfect of soul only, the other consummate and perfect of soul and body. The first the fathers called by the several names of "Sinus Abrahæ," "Atrium Dei," "Sub Altare," &c. The other, "perfect joy," "the glory of the resurrection," &c. But it matters not what is said, or how it be contradicted, so it seem but to serve a present turn. But at last, if nothing of this will do, these words are not the words of Justin, for he is not the author of the Questions and Answers "ad Orthodoxos."—To which I answer, It matters not whether they be Justin's or no: but they are put together in the collection of his works, and they are generally called his, and cited under his name, and made use of by Bellarmine,[t] when he supposes them to be to his purpose. However, the author is ancient and orthodox, and so esteemed in the church, and in this particular speaks according to the doctrine of the more ancient doctors; well! but how is this against purgatory?[u] says E. W., for they may be in secret receptacles, after they have been in purgatory. To this I answer, that he dares not teach that for doctrine in the church of Rome, who believes that the souls delivered out of purgatory go immediately to the heaven of the blessed; and therefore if his book had been worth the perusing by the censors of books, he might have been questioned, and followed Mr. White's fortune. And he adds, "it might be afterward according to Origen's opinion:" that is, purgatory might be after the day of judgment; for so Origen held that all the fires are purgatory, and the devils themselves should be saved. Thus this poor gentleman, thinking it necessary to answer one argument against purgatory brought in the Dissuasive, cares not to answer by a condemned heresy, rather than reason shall be taught by any son of the church of England. But however, the very words of the fathers cross his slippery answers, so that they thrust him into a corner; for in these receptacles the godly have joy, and they enter into them as soon as they die, and abide there till the day of judgment.

St. Ambrose[x] is so full, pertinent, and material, to the question in hand, and so destructive of the Roman hypothesis, that nothing can be said against it. His words are these; "Therefore, in all regards death is good, because it divides those that were always fighting, that they may not impugn each other, and because it is a certain port to them, who being tossed in the sea of this world, require the station of faithful rest; and because it makes not our state worse, but such as it finds every one, such it reserves him to the future judgment, and nourishes him with rest, and withdraws him from the envy of present things, and composes him with the expectation of future things." E. W. thinking himself bound to say something to these words, answers, "It is an excellent saying, for worse he is not, but infinitely better, that, quit of the occasions of living here, is ascertained of future bliss hereafter,—which is the whole drift of the saint in that chapter: read it, and say afterwards if I say not true."[y] It is well put off. But there are very many that read him, who never will or can examine what St. Ambrose says; and with all such he hopes to escape. But as to the thing; that death gives a man advantage, and by its own fault, no disadvantage, is indeed not only the whole drift of that chapter, but of that whole book. But not for that reason only is a man the better for death, but because it makes him not worse in order to eternity; nay, it does not alter him at all as to that, for as death finds him so shall the judgment find him, (and therefore not purified by purgatory,) for such he is reserved; and not only thus, but it cherishes him with rest, which would be very ill done if death carried him to purgatory. Now all these last words, and many others, E. W. is pleased to take no notice of, as not being for his purpose. But he that pleases to see more, may read the twelfth and eighteenth chapters of the same treatise.

St. Gregory's[z] saying, that after this life there is no purgation, can no way be put off by any pretences. For he means it of the time after death before the day of judgment, which is directly opposed to the doctrine of the church of Rome; and unless you will suppose that St. Gregory believed two purgatories, it is certain he did not believe the Roman; for he taught that the purgation which he calls "baptism by fire," and "the saving, yet as by fire," was to be performed at the day of judgment: and the curiosity of that trial is the fierceness of that fire, as Nicetas expounds St. Gregory's words in his oration "in Sancta Lumina." So that St. Gregory, affirming that this world is the place of purgation, and that after this world there is no purgation, could not have spoken any thing more direct against the Roman purgatory.

St. Hilary and St. Macarius speak of two states after death, and no more. True, says E. W.; "but they are the two final states." That is true too, in some sense, for it is either of eternal good or evil; but to one of these states they are consigned and determined at the time of their death, at which time every one is sent either to the bosom of Abraham, or to a place of pain, where they are reserved to

[s] E. W. p. 36.
[t] Lib. de Baptis. c. 25, 26. lib. de Confirmat. c. 5. l. 3. de Euchar. c. 6.
[u] P. 36. line 29.
[x] De Bono Mortis, cap. 4.
[y] P. 31.
[z] S. Greg. Nazians. orat. 15. in plagam grandinis. Μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐστὶ τις κάθαρσις.

the sentence of the great day. St. Hilary's words are these; "There is no stay or delaying. For the day of judgment is either an eternal retribution of beatitude or of pain: but the time of our death hath every one in his laws, whiles either Abraham (viz. the bosom of Abraham) or pain reserves every one unto the judgment." These words need no commentary. He that can reconcile these to the Roman purgatory, will be a most mighty man in controversy. And so also are the words of St. Macarius;[a] "When they go out of the body, the choirs of angels receive their souls, and carry them to their proper place, *εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν αἰῶνα*, 'to a pure world,' and so lead them to the Lord."—Such words as these are often repeated by the holy fathers and doctors of the ancient church; I sum them up with the saying of St. Athanasius: *Οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς δικαίοις θάνατος*,[b] &c. "It is not death that happens to the righteous, but a translation: for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest. And as a man would go out of prison, so do the saints go out of this troublesome life, unto those good things which are prepared for them." Now let these and all the precedent words be confronted against the sad complaints made for the souls in purgatory by John Gerson in his "Querela Defunctorum," and Sir Thomas More in his "Supplication of Souls," and it will be found that the doctrine of the fathers differs from the doctrine of the church of Rome as much as heaven and hell, rest and labour, horrid torments and great joy. I conclude this matter of quotations by the saying of Pope Leo, which one of "my adversaries"[c] could not find, because the printer was mistaken; it is the ninety-first epistle, so known and so used by the Roman writers in the question of confession, that if he be a man of learning, it cannot be supposed, but he knew where to find them. The words are these: "But if any of them, for whom we pray unto the Lord, being intercepted by any obstacle, falls from the benefit of the present indulgences, and, before he comes to the constituted remedies, shall end his temporal life by human condition, (or frailty,) that which abiding in the body he hath not received, being out of the flesh he cannot." Now against these words of St. Leo, set the present doctrine of the church of Rome; "that what is not finished of penances here, a man may pay in purgatory:"—and let the world judge, whether St. Leo was in this point a Roman catholic. Indeed St. Leo forgot to make use of the late distinction of sins venial and mortal, of the punishment of mortal sins remaining after the fault is taken away; but I hope the Roman doctors will excuse the saint, because the distinction is but new and modern. But this testimony of St. Gregory must not go for a single testimony: "That, which abiding in the body, could not be received, out of the body cannot;" that is, when the soul is gone out of the body, as death finds them so shall the day of judgment find them. And this was the sense of the whole church; for after death there is no change of state before the general trial: no passing from pain to rest in the state of separation, and therefore either there are no purgatory-pains; or if there be, there is no ease of them before the day of judgment, and the prayers and masses of the church cannot give remedy to one poor soul; and this must of necessity be confessed by the Roman doctors, or else they must show that ever any one catholic father did teach, that after death, and before the day of judgment, any souls are translated into a state of bliss out of a state of pain; that is, that from purgatory they go to heaven before the day of judgment. He that can show this, will teach me what I have not yet learned; but he that cannot show it, must not pretend, that the Roman doctrine of purgatory was ever known to the ancient fathers of the church.

[a] Homil. 22. vide etiam homil. 26. [b] De Virgin.

SECTION III.

Of Transubstantiation.

THE purpose of The Dissuasive was to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to be new, neither catholic nor apostolic. In order to which I thought nothing more likely to persuade or dissuade, than the testimonies of the parties against themselves. And although I have many other inducements, (as will appear in the sequel,) yet by so earnestly contending to invalidate the truth of the quotations, the adversaries do confess by implication; if these sayings be as is pretended, then I have evinced my main point, viz. that the Roman doctrines, as differing from us, are novelties, and no parts of the catholic faith.

Thus therefore the author of The Letter begins:[d] "He quotes Scotus, as declaring that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the Bible; which he saith not. To the same purpose he quotes Ocham, but I can find no such thing in him. To the same purpose he quotes Roffensis, but he hath no such thing." But in order to the verification of what I said, I desire it be first observed what I did say, for I did not deliver it so crudely as this gentleman sets it down: for, 1. These words—"the doctrine of transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the Bible"—are not the words of all them before named; they are the sense of them all, but the words but of one or two of them. 2. When I say that some of the Roman writers say, that transubstantiation is not expressed in the Scripture, I mean, and so I said plainly, "as without the church's declaration to compel us to admit of it." Now then, for the quotations themselves, I hope I shall give a fair account. 1. The words quoted are the words of Biel: when he had first affirmed that Christ's body is contained truly under the bread, and that it is taken by the faithful, (all which we believe and teach in the church of England,) he adds; "Tamen quomodo ibi sit Christi corpus, an per conversionem alicujus in ipsum," (that is, the way of transubstantiation,) "an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi

[c] Letter, p. 18. [d] P. 18.

cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone Biblii;" and that is the way of consubstantiation;—so that here is expressly taught what I affirmed was taught, that the Scriptures did not express the doctrine of transubstantiation; and he adds, that concerning this, there were anciently divers opinions. Thus far the quotation is right: but of this man there is no notice taken. But what of Scotus? "He saith no such thing;"—well, suppose that; yet I hope this gentleman will excuse me for Bellarmine's sake, who says the same thing of Scotus as I do, and he might have found it in the margent against the quotation of Scotus, if he had pleased. His words are these; "Secondly, *he* saith (viz. *Scotus)* that there is not extant any place of Scripture so express, without the declaration of the church, that it can compel us to admit of transubstantiation: and this is not altogether improbable: for though the Scriptures which we brought above, seem so clear to us, that it may compel a man that is not wilful, yet whether it be so or no, it may worthily be doubted, since most learned and acute men (such as Scotus eminently was) believe the contrary."[e] Well! But the gentleman can find no such thing in Ocham: I hope he did not look far, for Ocham is not the man I mean; however, the printer might have mistaken, but it is easily pardonable, because from O. Cam, meaning Odo Cameracensis, it was easy for the printer or transcriber to write Ocam, as being of more public name; but the bishop of Cambray is the man that followed Scotus in this opinion, and is acknowledged by Bellarmine to have said the same that Scotus did, he being one of his "docti et acutissimi viri" there mentioned.[f] Now if Roffensis have the same thing too, this author of The Letter will have cause enough to be a little ashamed: and for this, I shall bring his words: speaking of the whole institution of the blessed sacrament by our blessed Saviour, he says, "Neque ullum hic verbum positum est, quo probetur in nostrâ missâ veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam."[g] I suppose I need to say no more to verify these citations; but yet I have another very good witness to prove that I have said true; and that is Salmeron,[h] who says that Scotus, out of Innocentius, reckons three opinions, not of heretics, but of such men who all agreed in that which is the main; but he adds, "Some men and writers believe, that this article cannot be proved against a heretic, by Scripture alone, or reasons alone." And so Cajetan is affirmed by Suarez and Alanus to have said; and Melchior Canus:[i] "Perpetuam Mariæ virginitatem —conversionem panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi—non ita expressa in libris canonicis invenies, sed adeo tamen certa in fide sunt, ut contrariorum dogmatum auctores ecclesia hæreticos judicarit." So that the Scripture is given up[k] for no sure friend in this question: the article wholly relies upon the authority of the church, viz. of Rome, who makes faith and makes heresies as she please. But to the same purpose is that also which Chedzy said in his disputation at Oxford; "In what manner Christ is there, whether with the bread transelemented or transubstantiation, the Scripture, in open words, tells not."

But I am not likely so to escape, for E. W.[l] talks of a famous, or rather infamous, quotation out of Peter Lombard, and adds foul and uncivil words, which I pass by: but the thing is this; that I said, "Petrus Lombardus could not tell, whether there was a substantial change or no." I did say so, and I brought the very words of Lombard to prove it, and these very words E. W. himself acknowledges. "Si autem quæritur qualis sit ista conversio, an formalis an substantialis vel alterius generis, definire non sufficio:" "I am not able to define or determine, whether that change be formal or substantial:" —so far E. W. quotes him, but leaves out one thing very material, viz. "whether besides formal, or substantial, it be of another kind."—Now E. W. not being able to deny that Lombard said this, takes a great deal of useless pains, not one word of all that he says being to the purpose, or able to make it probable, that Peter Lombard did not say so, or that he did not think so. But the thing is this: Biel reckoned three opinions which, in Lombard's time, were in the church: the first of consubstantiation, which was the way which, long since then, Luther followed. The second, that the substance of bread is made the flesh of Christ, but ceases not to be what it was. But this is not the doctrine of transubstantiation; for that makes a third opinion, which is, that the substance of bread ceases to be, and nothing remains but the accident. "Quartam opinionem addit magister," that is, Peter Lombard "adds a fourth opinion;" that the substance of bread is not converted, but is annihilated: this is made by Scotus to be the second opinion. Now of these four opinions, all which were then permitted and disputed, Peter Lombard[m] seems to follow the second; but if this was his opinion, it was no more; for he could not determine, whether that were the truth or no. But whether he does or no, truly, I think it is very hard for any man to tell: for this question was but in the forge, not polished, not made bright with long handling. And this was all that I affirmed out of the Master of Sentences; I told of no opinion of his at all; but that, in his time, they did not know whether it (viz. the doctrine of transubstantiation) were true or no, that is, the generality of the Roman catholics did not know; and he himself could not define it. And this appears unanswerably by Peter Lombard's bringing their several sentiments in this article: and they that differ in their judgments about an article, and yet esteem the others catholic, may think what they please, but they cannot tell certainly what is truth. But then, as for Peter Lombard himself, all that I said of him was this, that he could not tell, he could not determine, whether there was

[e] Lib. 3. de Euchar. c. 23. sect. Secundo dicit.
[f] Ubi supra.
[g] Contra Captiv. Babyl. c. 1.
[h] Tom. 9. tract. 16. p. 108. 110.
[i] Lib. 1. de Euchar. c. 31.
[k] Pag. 37. vide Letter, p. 18.
[l] Pag. 38. See also the Letter to a Friend, p. 19.
[m] Ubi supra.

any substantial change or no. If, in his after-discourse, he declares that the change is of substances, he told it for no other than as a mere opinion: if he did, let him answer for that, not I; for that he could not determine it, himself expressly said it, in the beginning of the eleventh distinction. And therefore these gentlemen would better have consulted with truth and modesty, if they had let this alone, and not have made such an outcry against a manifest truth. Now let me observe one thing, which will be of great use in this whole affair, and demonstrate the change of this doctrine. These three opinions were all held by catholics, and the opinions are recorded not only by Pope Innocentius III.[n] but in the gloss of the canon law itself. For this opinion was not fixed and settled, nor as yet well understood, but still disputed, as we see in Lombard and Scotus: and although they all agreed in this, (as Salmeron[o] observes of these three opinions, as he cites them out of Scotus,) "that the true body of Christ is there, because to deny this were against the faith;" and therefore, this was then enough to cause them to be esteemed catholics, because they denied nothing, which was then against the faith, but all agreed in that, yet now the case is otherwise; for whereas one of the opinions was, that the substance of bread remains,—and another opinion, that the substance of bread is annihilated, but is not converted into the body of Christ; now both of these opinions are made heresy; and the contrary to them, which is the third opinion, passed into an article of faith: "Quod vero ibi substantia panis non remanet, jam etiam ut articulus fidei definitum est, et conversionis sive transubstantiationis nomen evictum:" so Salmeron.[p] Now in Peter Lombard's time, if they who believed Christ's real presence, were good catholics, though they believed no transubstantiation or consubstantiation, that is, did not descend into consideration of the manner, why may they not be so now? Is there any new revelation now of the manner? Or why is the way to heaven now made narrower than in Lombard's time? For the church of England believes according to one of these opinions; and therefore is as good a catholic church as Rome was then, which had not determined the manner. Nay, if we use to value an article the more, by how much the more ancient it is, certainly it is more honourable that we should reform to the ancient model, rather than conform to the new. However, this is also plainly consequent to this discourse of Salmeron: "The abettors of those three opinions, some of them do deny something that is of faith; therefore the faith of the church of Rome now is not the same it was in the days of Peter Lombard." Lastly, this also is to be remarked, that to prove any ancient author to hold the doctrine of transubstantiation, as it is at this day an article of faith at Rome, it is not enough to say, that Peter Lombard, or Durand, or Scotus, &c. did say, that where bread was before, there is Christ's body now; for they may say that and more, and yet not come home to the present article; and therefore E. W. does argue weakly, when he denies Lombard to say one thing, viz. "that he could not define whether there was a substantial change or no," (which indeed he spake plainly,) because he brings him saying something, as if he were resolved the change were substantial, which yet he speaks but obscurely. And the truth is, this question of transubstantiation is so intricate and involved amongst them, seems so contrary to sense and reason, and does so much violence to all the powers of the soul, that it is no wonder, if, at first, the doctors could not make any thing distinctly of it. However, whatever they did make of it, certain it is they more agreed with the present church of England, than with the present church of Rome; for we say as they said, Christ's body is truly there, and there is a conversion of the elements into Christ's body; for what before the consecration in all senses was bread, is, after consecration, in some sense, Christ's body: but they did not all of them say, that the substance of bread was destroyed; and some of them denied the conversion of the bread into the flesh of Christ; which whosoever shall now do, will be esteemed no Roman catholic. And therefore it is a vain procedure to think they have proved their doctrine of transubstantiation out of the fathers also; [q] "If the fathers tell us, that bread is changed out of his nature into the body of Christ: that by holy invocation it is no more common bread: that as water in Cana of Galilee was changed into wine; so in the evangelist, wine is changed into blood: that bread is only bread before the sacramental words, but after consecration is made the body of Christ." For though I very much doubt, all these things in equal and full measures cannot be proved out of the fathers, yet suppose they were, yet all this comes not up to the Roman article of transubstantiation: all those words are true in a very good sense, and they are in that sense believed in the church of England; but that the bread is no more bread in the natural sense, and that it is naturally nothing, but the natural body of Christ; that the substance of one is passed into the substance of the other, this is not affirmed by the fathers; neither can it be inferred from the former propositions, if they had been truly alleged: and therefore all that is for nothing, and must be intended only to cozen and amuse the reader that understands not all the windings of this labyrinth.

In the next place I am to give an account of what passed in the Lateran council upon this article. For, says E. W.,[r] the doctrine of transubstantiation "was ever believed in the church, though more fully and explicitly declared in the Lateran council." But in the Dissuasive[s] it was said, that it was "but pretended to be determined in that council, where many things indeed came then in consultation, yet nothing could be openly decreed." Nothing, says Platina; that is, says my adversary, "nothing concerning the holy land, and the aids to be raised for it: but for all this, there might be a decree concerning transubstantiation." To this I reply, that

[n] Innocent. de Offic. Mis. part. 3. cap. 18.
[o] Cap. cum. Martha in gloss. Extrav. de Celebr. Miss.
[p] Ubi supra.
[q] E. W. p. 37.
[r] P. 37.
[s] Letter to a Friend, p. 18.

it is as true that nothing was done in this question, as that nothing was done in the matter of the holy war: for one was as much decreed as the other. For if we admit the acts of the council, that of giving aid to the Holy Land[1] was decreed in the sixty-ninth canon, alias seventy-first. So that this answer is not true: but the truth is, neither the one nor the other was decreed in that council. For that I may inform this gentleman in a thing, which possibly he never heard of: this council of Lateran was never published, nor any acts of it, till Cochlæus published them A. D. 1538. For three years before this, John Martin published the councils: and then there was no such thing as the acts of the Lateran council to be found. But you will say, How came Cochlæus by them? To this the answer is easy: There were read in the council sixty chapters, which to some did seem easy, to others burdensome: but these were never approved, but the council ended in scorn and mockery,[2] and nothing was concluded, neither of faith, nor manners, nor war, nor aid for the Holy Land, but only the pope got money of the prelates to give them leave to depart. But afterwards Pope Gregory IX. put these chapters, or some of them, into the decretals: but doth not entitle any of these to the council of Lateran, but only to Pope Innocent in the council, which Cardinal Perron ignorantly or wilfully mistaking, affirms the contrary. But so it is that Platina affirms of the pope. "Plurima decreta retulit, improbavit Joachimi libellum, damnavit errores Almerici." The pope recited sixty heads of decrees in the council, but no man says the council decreed those heads. Now those heads, Cochlæus says, he found in an old book in Germany. And it is no ways probable, that if the council had decreed those heads, that Gregory IX., who published his uncle's decretal epistles, which make up so great a part of the canon law, should omit to publish the decrees of this council; or that there should be no acts of this great council in the Vatican, and that there should be no publication of them till about three hundred years after the council, and that out of a blind corner, and an old unknown manuscript. But the book shows its original, it was taken from the decretals: for it contains just so many heads, viz. seventy-two: and is not any thing of the council, in which only were recited sixty heads, and they have the same beginnings and endings, and the same notes and observations in the middle of the chapters: which shows plainly they were a mere force of the decretals. The consequent of all which is plainly this. That there was no decree made in the council, but every thing was left unfinished, and the council was affrighted by the warlike preparations of them of Genoa and Pisa, and all retired. Concerning which affair, the reader that desires it, may receive further satisfaction, if he read the "Antiquitates Britannicæ" in the life of Stephen Langton out of the lesser history of Matthew Paris; as also Sabellicus, and Godfride the monk.[3] But since it is become a question, what was or was not determined in this Lateran council, I am content to tell them that the same authority, whether of pope or council, which made transubstantiation an article of faith, made rebellion and treason to be a duty of subjects; for in the same collection of canons they are both decreed and warranted under the same signature, the one being the first canon, and the other the third.

The use I shall make of all is this: Scotus was observed above to say, that in Scripture there is nothing so express as to compel us to believe transubstantiation, meaning, that without the decree and authority of the church, the Scripture was of itself insufficient. And some others, as Salmeron[4] notes, affirm, that Scripture and reason are both insufficient to convince a heretic in this article: this is to be proved "ex conciliorum definitione, et patrum traditione," &c. "by the definition of councils, and tradition of the fathers," for it were easy to answer the pleas of Scripture which are cited, and the reasons. Now then, since Scripture alone is not thought sufficient, nor reasons alone,—if the definitions of councils also shall fail them, they will be strangely to seek for their new article. Now for this, their only castle of defence is the Lateran council. Indeed Bellarmine produces the Roman council under Pope Nicholas the Second, in which Berengarius was forced to recant his error about the sacrament, but he recanted it into a worse error, and such which the church of Rome disowns at this day: and therefore ought not to pretend it as a patron of that doctrine, which she approves not. And for the little council under Gregory VII. it is just as a general council, as the church of Rome to the Catholic church, or a particular to a universal. But suppose it as for this once; yet this council meddled not with the "modus," viz. transubstantiation, or the ceasing of its being bread, but of the real presence of Christ under the elements, which is no part of our question. Berengarius denied it; but we do not, when it is rightly understood. Pope Nicholas himself did not understand the new article, for it was not found for publication until the time of the Lateran council, and how nothing of this was in that council determined, I have already made appear: and therefore, as Scotus said, the Scripture alone could not evict this article: so he also said in his argument made for the doctors that held the first opinion mentioned before out of Innocentius; "Nec invenitur alibi ecclesia istam sententiam determinasse solemniter;" "Neither is it found where the church hath solemnly determined it." And for his own particular, though he was carried into captivity by the symbol of Pope Innocent III., for which by that time was pretended the Lateran council, yet he himself said, that, before that council, it was no article of faith: and for this thing Bellarmine[5] reproves him, and imputes

[1] Ad liberandam terram sanctam de manibus impiorum Ismaelitarum. Extrav. de Judæis et Sarracenis. Cum ad.
[2] Vide probat. Later. Council. secundum p. Crab.
[3] Vide Matt. Paris. ad A. D. 1215. et Naucleri generat. 41.

[4] Salmeron. Tom. 9. Tract. 8. p. 191.
[5] Lib. 3. de Eucharist. c. 23. vers. Unum autem.

ignorance to him, saying, that it was because he had not read the Roman council under Gregory VII. nor the consent of the fathers. And to this purpose I quoted Henriquez, saying, that Scotus saith the doctrine of transubstantiation is not ancient;[a] the author of the Letter denies that he saith any such thing of Scotus: but I desire him to look once more, and my margent will better direct him.

What the opinion of Durandus was in this question, if these gentlemen will not believe me, let them believe their own friends. But first let it be considered what I said, "viz. that he maintained (viz. in disputation) that even after consecration, the very matter of bread remained. 2. That by reason of the authority of the church, it is not to be held. 3. That nevertheless it is possible it should be so. 4. That it is no contradiction that the matter of bread should remain, and yet it be Christ's body too. 5. That this were the easier way of solving the difficulties."—That all this is true, I have no better argument than his own words, which are in his first question of the eleventh distinction in "quartum num. 11. et n. 15." For indeed the case was very hard with these learned men, who, being pressed by authority, did bite the file, and submitted their doctrine, but kept their reason to themselves: and what some in the council of Trent observed of Scotus, was true also of Durandus and divers other schoolmen, with whom it was usual to deny things with a kind of courtesy. And therefore Durandus in the places cited, though he disputes well for his opinion, yet he says the contrary is "modus tenendus de facto." But besides that his words are, as I understand them, plain and clear to manifest his own hearty persuasion, yet I shall not desire to be believed upon my own account, for fear I be mistaken; but that I had reason to say it, Henriquez[b] shall be my warrant: "Durandus, dist. qu. 3. ait esse probabile sed absque assertione," &c. He saith, "It is probable, but without assertion, that in the eucharist the same matter of bread remains without quantity." And a little after he adds out of Cajetan, Paludanus, and Soto, that this opinion of Durandus is erroneous, but after the council of Trent it seems to be heretical: and yet, he says, it was held by Ægidius and Euthymius, who had the good luck, it seems, to live and die before the council of Trent; otherwise they had been in danger of the inquisition for heretical pravity. But I shall not trouble myself further in this particular; I am fully vindicated by Bellarmine[c] himself, who spends a whole chapter in the confutation of this error of Durandus, viz. that the matter of bread remains; he endeavours to answer his arguments, and gives this censure of him; "itaque sententia Durandi hæretica est," "therefore the sentence of Durandus is heretical;" although he be not to be called a heretic, because he was ready to acquiesce in the judgment of the church. So Bellarmine: who, if he say true, that Durandus was ready to submit to the judgment of the church, then he does not say true when he says, the church before his time had determined against him: but however, that I said true of him, when I imputed this opinion to him, Bellarmine is my witness. Thus you see I had reason for what I said, and by these instances it appears how hardly, and how long, the doctrine of transubstantiation was, before it could be swallowed.

But I remember that Salmeron tells of divers, who, distrusting of Scripture and reason, had rather in this point rely upon the tradition of the fathers; and therefore I descended to take from them this armour, in which they trusted. And first, to ease a more curious inquiry, which in a short dissuasive was not convenient, I used the abbreviature of an adversary's confession. For Alphonsus à Castro confessed that "in ancient writers there is seldom any mention made of transubstantiation:" one of my adversaries[d] says, this is not spoken of the thing, but of the name of transubstantiation; but if à Castro meant this only of the word, he spake weakly when he said, that the "name or word was seldom mentioned by the ancients." 1. Because it is false that it was "seldom" mentioned by the ancients; for the word was by the ancient fathers "never" mentioned. 2. Because there was not any question of the word, where the thing was agreed; and therefore as this saying so understood had been false, so also if it had been true, it would have been impertinent. 3. It is but a trifling artifice to confess the name to be unknown, and by that means to insinuate that the thing was then under other names; it is a secret cozenage of an unwary reader to bribe him into peace and contentedness for the main part of the question by pleasing him in that part, which, it may be, makes the biggest noise, though it be less material. 4. If the thing had been mentioned by the ancients, they need not, would not, ought not, to have troubled themselves and others by a new word; to have still retained the old proposition under the old words, would have been less suspicious, more prudent and ingenious: but to bring in a new name is but the cover for a new doctrine; and therefore St. Paul left an excellent precept to the church to avoid "prophanas vocum novitates," "the profane newness of words," that is, it is fit that the mysteries, revealed in Scripture, should be preached and taught in the words of the Scripture, and with that simplicity, openness, easiness, and candour, and not with new and unhallowed words, such as is that of transubstantiation. 5. A Castro did not speak of the name alone; but of the thing also, "de transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi," "of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body;" of this manner of conversion, that is, of this doctrine; now doctrines consist not in words but things; however, his last words are faint and weak and guilty; for being convinced of the weakness of his defence of the thing, he left to himself a subterfuge of words.

But let it be how it will with à Castro, (whom I can very well spare, if he will not be allowed to speak sober sense, and as a wise man should,) we have better and fuller testimonies in this affair; "that the

[a] Scotus negat doctrinam de conversione et transubst. esse antiquam. Henriquez, lib. 8. c. 23. in marg. ad liter. H.

[b] Summa. l. 8. c. 23. p. 448. lit. C. in marg.

[c] Lib. 3. de Euchar. cap. 13.

[d] Letter. p. 21.

fathers did not so much as touch the matter or thing of transubstantiation, said the Jesuits in prison, as is reported by the "author of the Modest Discourse;" and the great Erasmus,[e] who lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, and was as likely as any man of his age to know what he said, gave this testimony in the present question; "In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit ecclesia, et re et nomine veteribus ignotam:" "In the communion, the church hath but lately defined transubstantiation, which, both in the thing and in the name, was unknown to the ancients."

Now this was a fair and friendly inducement to the reader to take from him all prejudice, which might stick to him by the great noises of the Roman doctors, made upon their pretence of the fathers being on their side; yet I would not so rely upon these testimonies, but that I thought fit to give some little essay of this doctrine out of the fathers themselves.[f]

To this purpose is alleged Justin Martyr's saying of the eucharist, that "it was a figure, which our Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion." These were quoted not as the words, but as the doctrine of that saint; and the Letter will needs suppose me to mean those words, which are, as I find, in p. 259, 260, of the Paris edition.[g] "The oblation of a cake was a figure of the eucharistical bread, which the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of his passion." These are Justin's words in that place, with which I have nothing to do, as I shall show by and by: but because Cardinal Perron intends to make advantage of them, I shall wrest them first out of his hands, and then give an account of the doctrine of this holy man in the present article; both out of this place and others. Τῆς σεμιδάλεως προσφορὰ, "The oblation of a cake was a figure of the bread of the eucharist, which our Lord delivered us to do;" therefore, says the cardinal, the eucharistical bread is the "truth," since the cake was the "figure" or the shadow.—To which I answer, that though the cake was a figure of the eucharistical bread, yet so might that bread be a figure of something else: just as baptism, I mean, the external rite, which although itself be but the outward part, and is the τύπος, or "figure" of the inward washing by the Spirit of grace, and represents our being buried with Christ in his death, yet it is an accomplishment, in some sense, of those many figures, by which (according to the doctrine of the fathers) it was prefigured. Such as, in St. Peter, the waters of the deluge; in Tertullian, were the waters of Jordan into which Naaman descended; in St. Austin, the waters of sprinkling: these were types, and to these baptism did succeed, and represented the same thing which they represented, and effected or exhibited the thing it did represent, and therefore, in this sense, they prefigured baptism; and yet that this is but a figure still, we have St. Peter's[h] warrant; "the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God)." The waters of the flood were τύπος "a type" of the waters of baptism; the waters of baptism were ἀντίτυπον, that is, "a type answering to a type:" and yet even here there is a typical representing, and signifying part, and beyond that there is the "veritas," or the "thing signified" by both. So it is in the oblation of the cake, and the eucharistical bread, that was a type of this, and this the ἀντίτυπον, or "correspondent" of that; a type answering to a type, a figure to a figure; and both of them did and do respectively represent a thing yet more secret. For as St. Austin said, these and those are divers in the sign, but equal in the thing signified; divers in the visible species, but the same in the intelligible signification; those were promissive, and these demonstrative; or, as others express it, those were pronunciative, and these of the gospel are contestative. So Friar Gregory of Padua[i] noted in the council of Trent: and that this was the sense of Justin Martyr, appears to him that considers what he says. 1. He does not say the "cake" is a type of the bread, but "the oblation" of the cake; that is, that whole rite of offering a cake, after the leper was cleansed, in token of thankfulness, and for his legal purity, was a type of the bread of the eucharist, "which, for the remembrance of the passion, which he suffered for these men whose minds are purged from all perverseness, Jesus Christ our Lord commanded to make or do:" To do what?—To do bread? or to make bread? No, but to make bread to be eucharistical, to be a memorial of the passion, to represent the death of Christ: so that it is not the cake and the bread that are the type and the antitype; but the oblation of the cake was the figure, and the celebration of Christ's memorial, and the eucharist, are the things presignified and prefigured; but then it remains, that the eucharistical bread is but the instrument of a memorial or recordation, which still supposes something beyond this, and by this to be figured and represented. For as the apostle says, "Our fathers did eat of the same spiritual meat," that is, they ate Christ, but they ate him in figure, that is, in an external symbol: so do we: only theirs is abolished, and ours succeeds the old, and shall abide for ever. Nay, the very words used by Justin Martyr do evince this, it is ἄρτος εὐχαριστίας, when it is "a eucharist, it is still but bread;" and therefore there is a body, of which this is but an outward argument, a vehicle, a channel and conveyance, and that is the body of Christ; for the eucharistical bread is both bread and Christ's body too. For it is a good argument to say, "This is bread eucharistical, therefore this is bread;" and if it be bread still, it must be a figure of the bread of life; and this is that which I affirmed to be the sense of Justin Martyr. The like expression to this is in his second Apology; "It is not common bread,"—meaning that it is sanctified and made eucharistical. But here, it may be, the argument will not hold; "It is not common bread,—

[e] In priorem Epist. ad Corinthios: citante etiam Salmeron, tom. 9. tract. 16. p. 108.

[f] Videat lector Picherelli exposit. verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini, et ejusdem dissertationem de Missâ.

[g] 1615. [h] 1 Pet. iii. 21. [i] A. D. 1547.

therefore it is bread:" for I remember that Cardinal Perron hath some instances against this way of arguing. For the dove that descended upon Christ's head was not a common dove; and yet it follows not, therefore, this was a dove. The three that appeared to Abraham were not common men; therefore they were men, it follows not. This is the sophistry of the cardinal, for the confutation of which I have so much logic left as to prove this to be a fallacy, and it will soon appear if it be reduced to a regular proposition. "This bread is not common; therefore this bread is extraordinary bread;" but therefore "this is bread still;"—here the consequence is good; and is so still, when the subject of the proposition is something real,[k] and not in appearance only; because whatsoever is but in appearance and pretence, is a "non ens" in respect of that real thing which it counterfeits. And therefore it follows not, "this is not a common dove; therefore it is a dove;" because, if this be modelled into a right proposition, "nihil supponit," "there is no subject in it," for it cannot in this case be said, "This dove is no common dove; but this which is like a dove, is not a common dove; and these persons which look like men, are not common men." And the rule for this and the reason too is, "Non entis nulla sunt prædicata."—To which also this may be added, that in the proposition, as Cardinal Perron expresses it, the negation is not the adjective, but the substantive part of the predicate; "It is no common dove;" where the negative term relates to the dove, not to common; it is no dove; and the words "not common" are also equivocal, and as it can signify "extraordinary," so it can signify "natural." But if the subject of the proposition be something real, then the consequent is good; as if you bring a pigeon from Japan, all red, you may say, "This is no common pigeon," and your argument is still good; therefore, "it is a pigeon."—So if you take sugared bread, or bread made of Indian wheat, you saying, "This is no common bread," do mean it is "extraordinary" or "unusual," but it "is bread still;" and so if it be said, "This bread is eucharistical," it will follow rightly, therefore "this is bread." For in this case the predicate is only an infinite or negative term, but the subject is supposed and affirmed. And this is also more apparent, if the proposition be affirmative, and the terms be not infinite, as it is in the present case; "This bread is eucharistical." I have now, I suppose, cleared the words of Justin Martyr, and expounded them to his own sense and the truth; but his sense will further appear in other words, which I principally rely upon in this quotation. For speaking that of the prophet Isaiah, "Panis dabitur ei, et aqua ejus fidelis," he hath these words; It appears sufficiently "that in this prophecy he speaks of bread, which our Lord Christ hath delivered to us to do εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι, 'for a memorial that he is made a body' for them that believe in him, for whose sake he was made passible; and of the cup which, for the recordation of his blood, he delivered to them to do [that is, give thanks] or celebrate the eucharist." These are the words of Justin: where, 1. According to the first simplicity of the primitive church, he treats of this mystery according to the style of the evangelists and St. Paul, and indeed of our blessed Lord himself, commanding all this whole mystery to be done "in memory of him." 2. If St. Justin had meant any thing of the new fabric of this mystery,[l] he must have said, Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν τὸν ἄρτον σωματοποιηθέντα, "the bread made his body;" though this also would not have done their work for them; but when he says he gave the bread only for the remembrance of his being made a body, the bread must needs be the sign, figure, and representation, of that body. 3. Still he calls it bread, even then when Christ gave it; still it is wine, when the eucharist is made, when the faithful have given thanks; and if it be bread still, we also grant it to be Christ's body, and then there is a figure and the things figured, the one visible and the other invisible, and this is it which I affirmed to be the sense of Justin Martyr. And it is more perfectly explicated by St. Gregory Nazianzen,[m] calling the paschal lamb "a figure of a figure," of which I shall yet give an account in this section. But to make this yet more clear, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πότον ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, &c. "We do not receive these as common bread or common drink; but as by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Lord was made flesh, and for our salvation had flesh and blood: so are we taught, that that very nourishment,—on which by the prayers of his word thanks are given, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by change,—is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus." Here St. Justin compares the consecration of the eucharist by prayer to the incarnation of Christ, the thing with the thing, to show it is not common bread, but bread made Christ's body; he compares not the manner of one with the manner of the other, as Cardinal Perron[n] would fain have it believed, for if it were so, it would not only destroy an article of christian faith, but even of the Roman too; for if the changes were in the same manner, then either the man is transubstantiated into God, or else the bread is not transubstantiated into Christ's body; but the first cannot be, because it would destroy the hypostatical union, and make Christ to be one nature as well as one person; but for the latter part of the dilemma, viz. that the bread is not transubstantiated, whether it be true or false, it cannot be affirmed from hence: and therefore the cardinal labours to no purpose, and without consideration of what may follow. But now these words make very much against the Roman hypothesis, and directly prove the εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφὴ, "the consecrated bread," that is, after it is consecrated, to be natural nourishment of the body, and therefore to be Christ's body

[k] A propositione tertii adjecti, ad propositionem secundi adjecti valet consequentia, si subjectum supponat realiter. Reg. Dialect.—Vide sect. 5. n. 10. of Christ's Real Presence and Spiritual.

[l] P. 296.

[m] Oratio 2. in Pascha.

[n] Sic solemus loqui: sicut panis est vita corporis, ita verbum Dei est vita animæ. Non scil. eundem conversionis aut nutriendi modum connotando, sed similem et analogicum effectum utriusque nutrimenti observando.

only spiritually, and sacramentally; unless it can be two substances at the same time, Christ's body and bread in the natural sense, which the church of Rome at this day will not allow; and if it were allowed, it would follow that Christ's body should be transubstantiated into our body, and suffer the very worst changes, which, in our eating and digestion and separation, happen to common bread. This argument relies upon the concurrent testimony of many of the ancient fathers besides Justin Martyr,[o] especially St. Irenæus; and certainly destroys the whole Roman article of transubstantiation; for if the eucharistical bread nourishes the body, then it is still the substance of bread: for accidents do not nourish, and quantity or quality is not the subject or term of nutrition; but reparation of substance by a substantial change of one into another. But of this enough.

Eusebius is next alleged in the "Dissuasive;" but his words, though pregnant and full of proof against the Roman hypothesis, are by all the contrascribers let alone; only one of them says,[p] that the place of the quotation is not rightly marked, for the first three chapters are not extant: well! but the words are, and the last chapter is, which is there quoted; and to the tenth chapter the printer should have more carefully attended, and not omit the cipher; which I suppose he would, if he had foreseen he should have been written against by so learned an adversary. But to let them agree as well as they can, the words of Eusebius, out of his last chapter, I translated as well as I could; the Greek words I have set in the margent,[q] that every one that understands, may see I did him right; and indeed to do my adversary right, when he goes about to change, not to mend the translation, he only changes the order of the words, but in nothing does he mend his own matter by it: for he acknowledges the main question, viz. that "the memory of Christ's sacrifice is to be celebrated in certain signs on the table;" but then, that I may do myself right, and the question too; whosoever translated these words for this gentleman, hath abused him, and made him to render ἐκτελεῖν as if it were ἐκτελεῖσθαι, and hath made τὴν μνήμην to to be governed by παρειληφότες, which is so far off it, and hath no relation to it, and not to be governed by ἐκτελεῖν with which it is joined; and hath made σώματος to be governed by τὴν μνήμην, when it hath a substantive of its own, συμβόλων; and he repeats τὴν μνήμην once more than it is in the words of Eusebius, only because he would not have the reader suppose, that Eusebius called the consecrated elements, "the symbols of the body and blood." But this fraud was too much studied to be excusable upon the stock of human infirmity, or an innocent persuasion. But that I may satisfy the reader in this question, so far as the testimony and doctrine of Eusebius can extend, he hath these words fully to our purpose: "First, our Lord and Saviour, and then after him his priests of all nations, celebrating the spiritual sacrifice according to the ecclesiastic laws, by the bread and the wine signify the mysteries of his body and healing blood."—And again: "By the wine, which is the symbol of his blood, he purges the old sins of them who were baptized into his death, and believe in his blood." Again: "He gave to his disciples the symbols of the Divine economy, commanding them to make the image (figure or representation) of his own body." And again: "He received not the sacrifices of blood, nor the slaying of divers beasts instituted in the law of Moses, but ordained we should use bread, the symbol of his own body."[r] So far I thought fit to set down the words of Eusebius, to convince my adversary that Eusebius is none of theirs, but he is wholly ours in the doctrine of the sacrament.

St. Macarius[s] is cited in the Dissuasive in these words; "In the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ."[t] A. L. saith, "Macarius saith not so, but rather the contrary, viz. bread and wine exhibiting the exemplar, [or an antitype,] his flesh and blood." Now although I do not suppose many learned or good men will concern themselves with what this little man says; yet I cannot but note, [that they who gave him this answer, may be ashamed,] for here is a double satisfaction in this little answer. First, he puts in the word "exhibiting," of his own head; there being no such word in St. Macarius in the words quoted. 2. He makes σαρκὸς to be put with ἀντίτυπον, by way of apposition, expressly against the mind of St. Macarius, and against the very grammar of his words. And after all, he studies to abuse his author, and yet gets no good by it himself; for if it were in the words as he hath invented it, or somebody else for him, yet it makes against him as much, saying, "Bread and wine exhibit Christ's body;" which is indeed true, though not here said by the saint, but is directly against the Roman article, because it confesses that to be bread and wine by which Christ's body is exhibited to us: but much more is

[o] Lib. 4. c. 34. lib. 5. c. 2.

[p] A. L.

[q] Demonstr. Evang. lib. 1. c. ult. Τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων τοῦτε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες. "The apostles received a command according to the constitution of the New Testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of his body and healthful blood." So the words are translated in the Dissuasive. But the Letter translates them thus: "Seeing therefore we have received the memory of this sacrifice to be celebrated in certain signs on the table, and the memory of that body and healthful blood (as is the institute of the New Testament)."

[r] Lib. 5. c. 3. Πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἔπειτα οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἱερεῖς ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες, κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς, ἱερουργίαν οἴνου καὶ ἄρτου, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος αἰνίττονται τὰ μυστήρια. Et lib. 8. c. 1. Διὰ τοῦ οἴνου, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ σύμβολον, τοὺς εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ βαπτιζομένους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας, τῶν πάλαι κακῶν ἀποκαθαίρει. Et paulo post: Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος.—Οὐκέτι τὰς δ' αἱμάτων θυσίας οὐδὲ τὰς παρα Μωσεῖ ἐν διαφόρων ζώων σφαγαῖς νένομοθετημένας προσίετε, ἄρτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου. Ὅτι ἓν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου, πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσιν.

[s] Macarius, homil. 27.

[t] P. 22.

[u] Ibid.

the whole testimony of St. Macarius, which, in the Dissuasive, is translated exactly, as the reader may see by the Greek words cited in the margent.

There now only remains the authority of St. Austin, which this gentleman[u] would fain snatch from the church of England, and assert to his own party. I cited five places out of St. Austin, to the last of which but one, he gives this answer; that "St. Austin hath no such words in that book, that is, in the tenth book against Faustus the Manichee." Concerning which, I am to inform the gentleman a little better. These words, "that which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice,"—are in the tenth book of St. Austin, "de Civitate," cap. 5. and make a distinct quotation, and ought by the printer to have been divided by a column, as the other. But the following words, "in which the flesh of Christ after his assumption is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrance," are in the 20th book, cap. 21. against Faustus the Manichee.[x] All these words, and divers others, of St. Austin I knit together in a close order, like a continued discourse; but all of them are St. Austin's words, as appears in the places set down in the margent. But this gentleman cared not for what was said by St. Austin, he was as well pleased that a figure was false printed; but to the words he hath nothing to say. To the first of the other four only he makes this crude answer: that "St. Austin denied not the real eating of Christ's body in the eucharist, but only the eating it in that gross, carnal, and sensible manner, as the Capharnaites conceived." To which I reply, that it is true, that upon occasion of this error St. Austin did speak those words: and although the Roman error be not so gross and dull as that of the Capharnaites, yet it was as false, as unreasonable, and as impossible. And be the occasion of the words what they are, or can be, yet upon this occasion St. Austin spake words, which as well confute the Roman error as the Capharnaitical. For it is not only false which the men of Capernaum dreamt of, but the antithesis to this is that which St. Austin urges, and which comes home to our question, "I have commended to you a sacrament, which being spiritually understood shall quicken you:" but because St. Austin was the most diligent expounder of this mystery among all the fathers, I will gratify my adversary, or rather indeed my unprejudicate readers, by giving some other very clear and unanswerable evidences of the doctrine of St. Austin, agreeing perfectly with that of our church:[y] "At this time, after manifest token of our liberty hath shined in the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we are not burdened with the heavy operation of signs: but some few instead of many,—but those most easy to be done, and most glorious to be understood, and most pure in their observation, our Lord himself, and the apostolical discipline, hath delivered: such is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord, which, when every one takes, he understands whither they may be referred, that he may give them veneration, not with carnal service, but with a spiritual liberty. For as to follow the letter, and to take the signs for the things signified by them, is a servile infirmity; so to interpret the signs unprofitably is an evil wandering error. But he that understands not what the sign signifies, but yet understandeth it to be a sign, is not pressed with servitude. But it is better to be pressed with unknown signs, so they be profitable, than, by expounding them unprofitably, to thrust our necks into the yoke of slavery, from which they were brought forth." All this St. Austin spake concerning the sacramental signs, the bread and the wine in the eucharist; and if by these words he does not intend to affirm, that they are the signs signifying Christ's body and blood; let who please to undertake it, make sense of them: for my part I cannot.

To the same purpose are these other words of his;[z] "Christ is in himself once immolated, and yet in the sacrament he is sacrificed not only in the solemnities of Easter, but every day with the people. Neither indeed does he lie, who being asked, shall answer, that he is sacrificed: for if the sacraments have not a similitude of those things of which they are sacraments, they were altogether no sacraments: but commonly for this similitude they take the names of the things themselves, 'sicut ergo secundum quendam modum,' &c. As 'therefore after a certain manner' the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith (viz. baptism) is faith."—Christ is but once immolated or sacrificed in himself, but every day in the sacrament; that properly, this in figure; that in substance, this in similitude; that naturally, this sacramentally and spiritually. But therefore we call this mystery a sacrifice, as we call the sacrament Christ's body, viz. by way of similitude or after a certain manner, for upon this account the names of the things are imputed to their very figures. This is St. Austin's sense: which indeed he frequently so expresses. Now I desire it may be observed that oftentimes when St. Austin speaking of the eucharist, calls it the body and blood of Christ; he oftentimes adds, by way of explication, that he means it, in the sacramental, figurative sense; but whenever he calls it, the figure or the sacrament of Christ's body, he never offers to explain that by any words, by which he may signify such a real or natural being of Christ's body there, as the church of Rome dreams of; but he ought not, neither would he have given offence or umbrage to the church, by any such incurious and loose handling of things, if the church in his age had thought of it, otherwise, than that it was Christ's body in a sacramental sense.

Though I have remarked all that is objected by A. L. yet E. W.[a] is not satisfied with the quotation

[u] P. 22.

[x] Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. Lib. 20. c. 12. contr. Faustum Manich.

[y] De Doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 9.

[z] Epist. 23.

[a] P. 41.

out of Gregory Nazianzen, not but that he acknowledges it to be right, for he sets down the words in Latin;[b] but they conclude nothing against transubstantiation. Why so? because, though the paschal was a type of a type, a figure of a figure, yet "in St. Gregory's sense, Christ concealed under the species of bread may be rightly called a figure of its own self, more clearly hereafter to be showed us in heaven."—To this pitiful answer the reply is easy. St. Gregory clearly enough expresses himself, that in the immolation of the passover Christ was figured; that in the eucharist he still is figured; there more obscurely, here more clearly, but yet still but typically, or in figure; "nunc quidem adhuc typicè;" "here we are partakers of him typically." Afterwards we "shall see him perfectly," meaning, in his Father's kingdom.—So that the saint affirms Christ to be received by us in the sacrament, after a figurative or typical manner: and therefore, not after a substantial, as that is opposed to figurative. Now of what is this a type?—of himself to be more clearly seen in heaven hereafter.—It is very true, it is so; for this whole ceremony, and figurative, ritual receiving of Christ's body here, does prefigure our more excellent receiving and enjoying him hereafter; but then it follows that the very proper substance of Christ's body is not here; for figure or shadow and substance cannot be the same; to say a thing that is present, is a figure of itself hereafter, is to be said by no man but him that cares not what he says. "Nemo est sui ipsius imago," saith St. Hilary;[c] and yet if it were possible to be otherwise, it is a strange figure or sign of a thing, that what was invisible should be a sign of what is visible. Bellarmine,[d] being greatly put to it by the fathers calling the sacrament "the figure of Christ's body," says, it is in some sense a figure of Christ's body on the cross; and here E. W. would affirm out of Nazianzen that it is a figure of Christ's body glorified. Now suppose both these dreamers say right, then this sacrament, which whether you look forwards or backwards, is a figure of Christ's body,—cannot be that body of which so many ways it is a figure. So that the whole force of E. W.'s answer is this; that if that which is like be the same, then it is possible that a thing may be a sign of itself, and a man may be his own picture; and that which is invisible, may be a sign to give notice to come see a thing that is visible.

I have now expedited this topic of authority in this question. Amongst the many reasons I urged against transubstantiation, (which I suppose to be unanswerable, and if I could have answered them myself, I would not have produced them,) these gentlemen my adversaries are pleased to take notice but of one;[e] but by that it might be seen how they could have answered all the rest, if they had pleased. The argument is this: "Every consecrated wafer (saith the church of Rome) is Christ's body; and yet this wafer is not that wafer, therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two natural bodies; for there are two wafers." To this is answered, The multiplication of wafers does not multiply bodies to Christ, no more than head and feet infer two souls in a man, or conclude there are two Gods, one in heaven and the other in earth, because heaven and earth are more distinct than two wafers.—To which I reply, that the soul of man is in the head and the feet as in two parts of the body which is one and whole, and so is but in one place, and consequently is but one soul. But if the feet were parted from the body by other bodies intermedial, then indeed, if there were but one soul in feet and head, the gentlemen had spoken to the purpose. But here these wafers are two entire wafers, separate the one from the other; bodies intermedial put between; and that which is here is not there: and yet of each of them it is affirmed, that it is Christ's body; that is, of two wafers, and of two thousand wafers, it is at the same time affirmed of every one that it is Christ's body. Now if these wafers are substantially not the same, not one, but many; and yet every one of these many is substantially and properly Christ's body, then these bodies are many, for they are many of whom it is said, "Every one distinctly, and separately, and in itself is Christ's body." 2. For his comparing the presence of Christ in the wafer, with the presence of God in heaven, it is spoken without common wit or sense; for does any man say that God is in two places, and yet be the same one God? Can God be in two places that cannot be in one? Can he be determined and numbered by places, that fills all places by his presence? or is Christ's body in the sacrament, as God is in the world, that is, "repletivè," filling all things alike, spaces void and spaces full, and there where there is no place, where the measures are neither time nor place, but only the power and will of God. This answer, besides that it is weak and dangerous, is also to no purpose, unless the church of Rome will pass over to the Lutherans, and maintain the ubiquity of Christ's body. Yea, but St. Austin[f] says of Christ "ferebatur in manibus suis," &c. "he bore himself in his own hands:" and what then?—"Then though every wafer be Christ's body, yet the multiplication of wafers does not multiply bodies: for then there would be two bodies of Christ, when he carried his own body in his hands."—To this I answer, that concerning St. Austin's mind we are already satisfied, but that which he says here is true, as he spake and intended it; for by his own rule, the similitudes and figures of things are oftentimes called by the names of those things whereof they are similitudes: Christ bore his own body in his own hands, when he bore the sacrament of his body; for of that also it is true, that it is truly his body in a sacramental, spiritual, and real manner, that is, to all intents and purposes of the Holy Spirit of God. According to

[b] Orat. 2. in Pascha. Jam verò paschalis participes erimus, nunc quidem adhuc typicè, tametsi apertiùs licet quam in veteri; legale siquidem pascha (nec enim dicere verebor) figuræ figura erat obscurior

[c] Lib. de Synod.
[d] De Euchar. lib. 2. c. 15. sect. Est igitur tertia.
[e] E. W. p. 42.
[f] In Ps. xxxiii.

the words of St. Austin cited by P. Lombard: "We call that the body of Christ, which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by mystic prayer, we receive in memory of the Lord's passion; which when by the hands of men it is brought on to that visible shape, it is not sanctified to become so worthy a sacrament, but by the Spirit of God working invisibly."[g]—If this be good catholic doctrine, and if this confession of this article be right, the church of England is right; but then when the church of Rome will not let us alone in this truth and modesty of confession, but impose what is unknown in antiquity and Scripture, and against common sense, and the reason of all the world; she must needs be greatly in the wrong. But as to this question, I was here only to justify the Dissuasive; I suppose these gentlemen may be fully satisfied in the whole inquiry, if they please to read a book[h] I have written on this subject entirely, of which hitherto they are pleased to take no great notice.

SECTION IV.

Of the Half-Communion.

When the French ambassador in the council of Trent, A. D. 1561, made instance for restitution of the chalice to the laity, among other oppositions the Cardinal St. Angelo answered; "that he would never give a cup full of such deadly poison to the people of France, instead of a medicine, and that it was better to let them die, than to cure them with such remedies." The ambassador being greatly offended, replied; "that it was not fit to give the name of poison to the blood of Christ, and to call the holy apostles poisoners, and the fathers of the primitive church, and of that which followed for many hundred years, who with much spiritual profit have ministered the cup of that blood to all the people:" this was a great and a public, yet but a single person, that gave so great offence.

One of the greatest scandals that ever was given to christendom, was given by the council of Constance;[i] which having acknowledged that Christ administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine, and that in the primitive church this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds, yet the council not only condemns them as heretics, and to be punished accordingly, who say it is unlawful to observe the custom and law of giving it in one kind only; but under pain of excommunication forbids all priests to communicate the people under both kinds. This last thing is so shameful and so impious, that A. L. directly denies that there is any such thing: which if it be not an argument of the self-conviction of the man, and a resolution to abide in his error, and to deceive the people even against his knowledge, let all the world judge: for the words of the council's decree, as they are set down by Carranza, at the end of the decree, are these; "Item præcipimus, sub pœnâ excommunicationis, quod nullus presbyter communicet populum sub utrâque specie panis et vini."[k] I need say no more in this affair: to affirm it necessary to do in the sacraments what Christ did, is called heresy; and to do so is punished with excommunication. But we who follow Christ, hope we shall communicate with him, and then we are well enough; especially since the very institution of the sacrament, in both kinds, is a sufficient commandment to minister and receive it in both kinds. For if the church of Rome upon their supposition only, that Christ did barely institute confession, do therefore urge it as necessary, it will be a strange partiality, that the confessed institution by Christ of the two sacramental species, shall not conclude them as necessary, as the other upon an unproved supposition. And if the institution of the sacrament in both kinds be not equal to a command, then there is no command to receive the bread, or indeed, to receive the sacrament at all: but it is a mere act of supererogation, that the priests do it at all, and an act of favour and grace, that they give even the bread itself to the laity.

But besides this, it is not to be endured that the church of Rome only binds her subjects to observe the decree of abstaining from the cup, "jure humano," and yet they shall be bound "jure divino," to believe it to be just, and specially since the causes of so scandalous an alteration are not set down in the decree of any council; and those which are set down by private doctors, besides that they are no record of the church, they are ridiculous, weak, and contemptible. But as Granatensis[l] said in the council of Trent, "This affair can neither be regulated by Scripture nor traditions, (for surely it is against both,) but by wisdom;" wherein because it is necessary to proceed to circumspection, I suppose the church of Rome will always be considering, whether she should give the chalice or no; and because she will not acknowledge any reason sufficient to give it, she will be content to keep it away without reason: and which is worse, the church of Rome excommunicates[m] those priests that communicate the people in both kinds; but the primitive church excommunicates them that receive but in one kind. It is too much that any part of the church should so much as in a single instance administer the holy sacrament otherwise than it is in the institution of Christ; there being no other warrant for doing the thing at all, but Christ's institution, and therefore no other way of learning how to do it, but by the same institution by which all of it is done. And if there can come a case of necessity, (as if there be no wine, or if a man cannot endure wine,) it is then a

[g] Lib. 3. de Trin. c. 4. in fine P. Lombard. dist. 11. lib. 4. ad finem lit. C.

[h] Christ's Real and Spiritual Presence in the Sacrament, against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation: printed at London by R. Royston.

[i] Sess. 13.

[k] Lugduni. A. D. 1600. apud Horatium Cardon. p. 410.

[l] A. D. 1562.

[m] Vide Preface to the Dissuasive, part. 1. canon Comperimus de Consecrat. dist. 2.

disputable matter, whether it ought or not to be omitted; for if the necessity be of God's making, he is supposed to dispense with the impossibility: but if a man alters what God appointed, he makes to himself a new institution; for which, in this case, there can be no necessity, nor yet excuse. But suppose either one or other; yet so long as it is, or is thought, a case of necessity, the thing may be hopefully excused, if not actually justified; and because it can happen but seldom, the matter is not great: let the institution be observed always where it can. But then, in all cases of possibility, let all prepared christians be invited to receive the body and blood of Christ according to his institution; or if that be too much, at least let all them that desire it, be permitted to receive it in Christ's way: but that men are not suffered to do so, that they are driven from it, that they are called heretic for saying it is their duty to receive it as Christ gave it and appointed it, that they should be excommunicated for desiring to communicate in Christ's blood, by the symbol of his blood, according to the order of him that gave his blood; this is such a strange piece of christianity, that it is not easy to imagine what antichrist can do more against it, unless he take it all away. I only desire those persons, who are here concerned, to weigh well the words of Christ, and the consequents of them: "He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and shall teach men so," and what if he *compel* men so? "shall be called the least in the kingdom of God."

To the canon last mentioned it is answered, that the canon speaks not of receiving the sacrament by the communicants, but of the consummating the sacrifice by the priest. To this I reply, 1. That it is true that the canon was particularly directed to the priests, by the title which themselves put to it; but the canon meddles not with the consecrating or not consecrating in one kind, but of receiving; for that is the title of the canon. The priest ought not to "receive" the body of Christ without the blood; and in the canon itself, "comperimus autem, quod quidam, sumptâ corporis sacri portione, à calice sacrati cruoris abstineant." By which it plainly appears, that the consecration was entire; for it was "calix sacrati cruoris," "the consecrated chalice," from which out of a fond superstition some priests did abstain; the canon therefore relates to the sumption or receiving, not the sacrificing (as these men love to call it) or consecration; and the sanction itself speaks indeed of the reception of the sacrament, but not a word of it as it is, in any sense, a sacrifice; "aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur." So that the distinction of "sacrament" and "sacrifice" in this question will be of no use to the church of Rome. For if Pope Gelasius (for it was his canon) knew nothing of this distinction, it is vainly applied to the expounding of his words; but if he did know of it, then he hath taken that part which is against the church of Rome; for of this mystery, as it is a sacrament, Gelasius speaks, which therefore must relate to the people as well as to the priest. And this canon is to this purpose quoted by Cassander.[n] And, 2. No man is able to show that ever Christ appointed one way of receiving to the priest, and another to the people. The law was all one, the example the same, the rule is simple and uniform, and no appearance of difference in the Scripture, or in the primitive church: so that though the canon mentions only the priest, yet it must, by the same reason, mean all; there being at that time no difference known. 3. It is called sacrilege to divide one and the same mystery; meaning, that to receive one without the other, is to divide the body from the blood, (for the dream of concomitancy was not then found out,) and therefore the title of the canon is thus expressed; "Corpus Christi sine ejus sanguine sacerdos non debet accipere;" and that the so doing, viz. by receiving one without the other, cannot be without sacrilege. 4. Now suppose at last, that the priests only are concerned in this canon, yet even then also they are abundantly reproved, because even the priests in the church of Rome (unless they consecrate) communicate but in one kind. 5. It is also remarkable, that although in the church of Rome there is great use made of the distinction, of its being sometime "a sacrifice," sometime only "a sacrament," as Friar Anthony Mondolphus said in the council of Trent, yet the arguments, by which the Roman doctors do usually endeavour to prove the lawfulness of the half-communion, do destroy this distinction, viz. that of Christ's ministering to the disciples at Emmaus, and St. Paul in the ship: in which either there is no proof or no consecration in both kinds, and consequently no sacrifice: for there is mention made only of "blessing the bread," for they received that which was blessed; and therefore either the consecration was imperfect, or the reception was entire.

To this purpose also the words of St. Ambrose are severe, and speak clearly of communicants without distinction of priest and people: which distinction, though it be in this article nothing to the purpose, yet I observe it to prevent such trifling cavils, which my adversaries put me often to fight with. His words are these: "He (viz. the apostle St. Paul) saith, that he is unworthy of the Lord, who otherwise celebrates the mystery than it was delivered by him. For he cannot be devout, that presumes otherwise than it was given by the author: therefore he before admonishes, that according to the order delivered, the mind of him that comes to the eucharist of our Lord, be devout; for there is a judgment to come, that as every one comes, so he may render an account in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ: because they who come without the discipline of the delivery, (or tradition,) and of conversation, are guilty of the body and blood of our Lord."[o]

[n] In Consult. de Sacra Commun.

[o] In Corinth. xi. Indignum dicit esse Domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse, qui aliter præsumit quam datum est ab auctore. Ideoque præmonet, ut secundum ordinem traditum devota mens sit accedentis ad eucharistiam Domini: quoniam futurum est judicium, ut quemadmodum accedit unusquisque, reddat causas in die Domini Jesu Christi: quia sine disciplinâ

One of my adversaries[p] says, these words of St. Ambrose are to be understood only of the priest: and it appears so, by the word "celebrat," not "recipit;" he that "celebrates" otherwise than is delivered by Christ. To this I answer, that first it is plain, and St. Ambrose so expresses his meaning, to be of all that receive it, for so he says, "that the mind of him that cometh to the eucharist of our Lord, ought to be devout." 2. It is an ignorant conceit, that St. Ambrose by "celebrat," means the priest only, because he only can celebrate. For however the church of Rome does now almost impropriate that word to the priest, yet in the primitive church it was no more than "recipit" or "accedit ad eucharistiam," which appears not only by St. Ambrose's expounding it so here,—but in St. Cyprian,[q] speaking to a rich matron, "Locuples et dives Dominicum celebrare te credis, et corban omnino non respicis?" "Dost thou who art rich and opulent, suppose that you "celebrate" the Lord's supper, (or sacrifice,) who regardest not the poor man's basket?" "Celebrat" is the word, and "receive" must needs be the signification: and so it is in St. Ambrose; and therefore I did, as I ought, translate it so. 3. It is yet objected, that I translate "aliter quam ab eo traditum est," "otherwise than he appointed;" whereas it should be, "otherwise than it was given by him." And this surely is a great matter, and the gentleman is very subtle. But if he be asked, whether or no Christ appointed it to be done as he did, to be given as he gave it; I suppose this deep and wise note of his will just come to nothing. But "ab eo traditum est," of itself signifies, "appointed;" for this he delivered not only by his hands, but by his commandment of "Hoc facite;" that was his "appointment." Now that all this relates to the whole institution and doctrine of Christ in this matter, and therefore to the duplication of the elements, the reception of the chalice, as well as the consecrated bread, appears, 1. By the general terms, "qui aliter mysterium celebrat," "he that celebrates otherwise than Christ delivered." 2. These words are a commentary upon that of St. Paul, "He that eats this bread, and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Now hence St. Ambrose, arguing that all must be done as our Lord delivered, says also "that the bread must be eaten, and the cup drunk, as our Lord delivered: and he that does not do both, does not do what our Lord delivered." 3. The conclusion of St. Ambrose is full to this particular; "They are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, who come without the discipline of the delivery and of conversation;" that is, they who receive without due preparation, and not after the manner it was delivered, that is, under the differing symbols of bread and wine. To which we may add that observation of Cassander,[r] and of Vossius; that the apostles represented the persons of all the faithful, and Christ saying to them, "Take and eat," he also said, "*Drink* ye all of this;" he said not, "*Eat* ye all of this;" and therefore if by virtue of these words, "Drink ye all of this, the laity be not commanded to drink, it can never be proved that the laity are commanded to eat; "omnes" is added to "bibite," but it is not expressly added to "accipite et comedite;" and therefore Paschasius Radbertus,[s] who lived about eight hundred and twenty years after Christ's incarnation, so expounds the precept without any hesitation, "Bibite ex hoc omnes, i. e. tam ministri quam reliqui credentes," "Drink ye all of this, as well they that minister, as the rest of the believers."—And no wonder, since for their so doing they have the example and institution of Christ; by which, as by an irrefragable and undeniable argument, the ancient fathers used to reprove and condemn all usages which were not according to it.—For saith St. Cyprian,[t] "If men ought not to break the least of Christ's commandments, how much less those great ones, which belong to the sacrament of our Lord's passion and redemption, or to change it into any thing but that which was appointed by him?" Now this was spoken against those who refused the hallowed wine, but took water instead of it; and it is of equal force against them that give to the laity no cup at all; but whatever the instance was or could be, St. Cyprian reproves it upon the only account of prevaricating Christ's institution. The whole epistle is worth reading for a full satisfaction to all wise and sober christians: "Ab eo quod Christus magister et præcipit et gessit, humana et novella institutione decedere," "By a new and human institution to depart from what Christ our Master commanded and did;" that the bishops would not do: "tamen quoniam quidam," &c. "because there are some who simply and ignorantly," "in calice Dominico sanctificando et plebi ministrando non hoc faciunt quod Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor, fecit et docuit;" &c. "in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, and giving it to the people, do not do what Jesus Christ did and taught, viz. they did not give the cup of wine to the people;" therefore St. Cyprian calls them to return "ad radicem et originem traditionis Dominicæ," "to the root and original of the Lord's delivery." Now besides that St. Cyprian plainly says, that when the chalice was sanctified, it was also ministered to the people; I desire it to be considered, whether or no these words do not plainly reprove the Roman doctrine and practice, in not giving the consecrated chalice to the people: do they not recede from the root and original of Christ's institution? Do they do what Christ did? Do they teach what Christ taught? Is not their practice quite another thing than it was at first? Did not the ancient church do otherwise than these men do? and thought themselves obliged to do otherwise? They urged the doctrine and example of our Lord, and the whole economy of the mystery was their warrant and their reason: for they always believed that a peculiar grace and virtue were signified by

traditionis et conversationis qui accedunt, rei sunt corporis et sanguinis Domini.

[p] A. L. p. 4.

[q] Serm. 1. de Eleemos.

[r] Disp. 5. de Sacrâ Cœnâ.

[s] Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Domini, cap. 15.

[t] Epist. 63.

the symbol of wine; and it was evident that the chalice was an excellent representment and memorial of the effusion of Christ's blood for us, and the joining both the symbols signifies the entire refection and nourishment of our souls, bread and drink being the natural provisions; and they design and signify our redemption more perfectly, the body being given for our bodies, and the blood for the cleansing our souls, the life of every animal being in the blood; and finally this, in the integrity, signifies and represents Christ to have taken body and soul for our redemption. For these reasons the "church of God always, in all her public communions, gave the chalice to the people for above a thousand years." This was all I would have remarked in this so evident a matter, but that I observed, in a short spiteful passage of E. W. p. 44. a notorious untruth, spoken with ill intent concerning the holy communion as understood by protestants. The words are these; "Seeing the fruit of protestant communion is only to stir up faith in the receiver, I can find no reason why their bit of bread only, may not as well work that effect, as to taste of their wine with it." To these words, 1. I say, that although stirring up faith is one of the divine benefits and blessings of the holy communion, yet it is falsely said, that the fruit of the protestant communion is only to stir up faith. For in the catechism of the church of England it is affirmed, that "the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's supper: and that our souls are strengthened and refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine," and that of stirring up our faith is not at all mentioned: so ignorant, so deceitful, or deceived, is E. W. in the doctrine of the church of England. But then, as for this foolish sarcasm, calling the hallowed element a "bit of bread," which he does in scorn; he might have considered, that if we had a mind to find fault whenever his church gives us cause, that the papist's wafer is scarce so much as "a bit of bread," it is more like marchpane than common bread, and besides that (as Salmeron[u] acknowledges) anciently, "olim ex pane uno sua cuique particula frangi consueverat," that which we in our church do, was the custom of the church; out of a great loaf to give particles to every communicant, by which the communication of Christ's body to all the members is better represented; and that Durandus,[x] affirming the same thing, says that the Grecians continue it to this day; besides this, I say, the author of the Roman order (says Cassander[y]) took it very ill, that the loaves of bread, offered in certain churches for the use of the sacrifice, should be brought from the form of true bread to so slight and slender a form, which he calls "minutias nummulariarum oblatarum," "scraps of little pennies," or pieces of money, and not worthy to be called bread, being such which no nation ever used at their meals for bread. But this is one of the innovations, which they have introduced into the religious rites of christianity, and it is little noted, they having so many greater changes to answer for.

But it seems this section was too hot for them, they loved not much to meddle with it; and therefore I shall add no more fuel to their displeasure, but desire the reader, who would fully understand what is fit to be said in this question, to read it in a book of mine which I call "Ductor Dubitantium," or the "Cases of Conscience;"[z] only I must needs observe, that it is an unspeakable comfort to all protestants, when so manifestly they have Christ on their side in this question against the church of Rome. To which I only add, that for above seven hundred years after Christ, it was esteemed sacrilege in the church of Rome to abstain from the cup, and that, in the "ordo Romanus," the communion is always described with the cup; how it is since, and how it comes to be so, is too plain. But it seems the church hath power to dispense in this affair, because St. Paul said, that the "ministers of Christ are dispensers of the mysteries of God:" as was learnedly urged in the council of Trent in the doctrine about this question.

SECTION V.

Of the Scriptures and Service in an unknown Tongue.

The question being still upon the novelty of the Roman doctrines and practices; I am to make it good that the present article and practice of Rome are contrary to the doctrine and practice of the primitive church. To this purpose I alleged St. Basil in his sermon or book "de Variis Scripturæ locis:" but, say my adversaries, "there is no such book."[a] Well! was there such a man as St. Basil? If so, we are well enough; and let these gentlemen be pleased to look into his works printed at Paris, 1547, by Carola Guillard, and in p. 130. he shall see this book, sermon, or homily, "in aliquot scripturæ locis," at the beginning of which he hath an exhortation in the words placed in the margent; there we shall find the lost sheep: the beginning of it is an exhortation to the people, congregated to "get profit and edification by the Scriptures read at morning-prayer, the monitions in the Psalms, the precepts of the Proverbs; search ye the beauty of the history, and the examples, and add to these the precepts of the apostles. But in all things join the words of the gospel, as the crown and perfection; that receiving profit from them all, ye may at length turn to that to which every one is sweetly affected, and for the doing of which he hath received the grace of the Holy Spirit."[b]

[u] Salmer. in 2 Cor. x. disp. 17. p. 138.
[x] Duran. Ration. Divin. Offic. lib. 4. c. 53.
[y] Cassand. Liturg. c. 27. sect. Et cum mensa.
[z] Lib. 2. chap. 3. rule 9.
[a] E. W. p. 45. and A. L. p. 25.
[b] Recordemini, quæso, ex his spiritualibus sermonibus qui lecti sunt medicinæ. Reminiscamini earum, quæ sunt in psalmis, monitionum: proverbialia præcepta, historiæ pulchritudinem, exemplaque investigate. His addite apostolica mandata. In omnibus vero, tanquam coronida perfectionemque, verba evangelica conjungite, ut ex omnibus utilitatem capientes, ad id demum convertatis, et revertamini ad quod quisque

Now this difficulty being over, all that remains for my own justification is, that I make it appear that St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, Aquinas, and Lyra, do respectively exhort to the study of the Scriptures, exhorting even the laity to do so, and testify the custom of the ancient church in praying in a known tongue, and commending this as most useful, and condemning the contrary as being useless and without edification. I shall in order set down the doctrine they deliver, in their own words; and then the impertinent cavils of the adversaries will of themselves come to nothing.

St. Chrysostom[b] commenting upon St. Paul's words concerning preaching and praying for edification, and so as to be understood; coming to those words of St. Paul, "If I pray with my tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my mind is without fruit,"—"You see" (saith he) "how, a little extolling prayer, he shows, that he who is such a one (viz. as the apostle there describes) is not only unprofitable to others, but also to himself, since his mind is without fruit." —Now if a man, praying what he understands not, does not, cannot profit himself; how can he that stands by, who understands no more, be profited by that which does him that speaks no good? For God understands, though he does not; and yet he that so prays, reaps no benefit to himself, and therefore neither can any man that understands no more. The affirmation is plain, and the reason cogent. To the same purpose are the words of St. Chrysostom, which A. L. himself[c] quotes out of him; "If one speaks in only the Persian tongue, or some other strange tongue, but knows not what he saith, certainly he will be a barbarian even to himself, and not to another only, because he knows not the force of the words." This is no more than what St. Paul said before him; but they all say, that he who hears and understands not, whether it be the speaker or the scholar, is but a barbarian. Thus also St. Ambrose[d] in his commentary upon the words of St. Paul: "The apostle says, It is better to speak a few words, that are open or understood, that all may understand, than to have a long oration in obscurity:" that is his sense for reading and preaching: now for prayer he adds, "The unskilful man, hearing what he understands not, knows not when the prayer ends, and answers not Amen, that is 'So be it,' or 'It is true,' that the blessing may be established:" and a little after, "If ye meet together to edify the church, those things ought to be said, which the hearers may understand. For what profit is it to speak with a tongue, when he that hears is not profited? Therefore he ought to hold his peace in the church, that they who can profit the hearers, may speak."[e]—St. Austin[f] compares "singing in the church without understanding to the chattering of parrots and magpies, crows and jackdaws. But to sing with understanding is by the will of God given to man. And we who sing the Divine praises in the church, must remember that it is written, 'Blessed is the people that understands singing of praises.' Therefore, most beloved, what with a joined voice we have sung, we must understand and discern with a serene heart." To the same purpose are the words of Lyra and Aquinas,[g] which I shall not trouble the reader withal here, but have set them down in the margent, that the strange confidence of these Romanists, outfacing notorious and evident words, may be made, if possible, yet more conspicuous.

In pursuance of this doctrine of St. Paul and the fathers, the primitive christians in their several ages and countries were careful, that the Bible should be translated into all languages where christianity was planted. That the Bibles were in Greek is notorious; and that they were used among the people St. Chrysostom[h] is witness, that it was so, or that it ought to be so. For he exhorts, "Vacemus ergo Scripturis, dilectissimi," &c. "Let us set time apart to be conversant in the Scripture, at least in the Gospels; let us frequently handle them to imprint them in our minds, which because the Jews neglected, they were commanded to have their books in their hands;—but let us not have them in our hands, but in our houses and in our hearts:" by which words we may easily understand, that all the churches of the Greek communion had the Bible in their vulgar tongue, and were called upon to use them as christians ought to do, that is, to imprint them in their hearts: and speaking of St. John[i] and his gospel, he says, that the Syrians, Indians, Persians, and Ethiopians, and infinite other nations,

jucundè est affectus, et ad quod obeundum gratiam à spiritu sancto accepit.

[b] 35. Homil. in 1 Cor. xiv. chap.

[c] P. 25. [d] In 1 Cor. xiv.

[e] Utilius dicit (Apostolus) paucis verbis in apertione sermonis loqui, quod omnes intelligant, quàm prolixam orationem habere in obscuro. Imperitus enim audiens quod non intelligit, nescit finem orationis, et non respondet Amen, id est, verum, ut confirmetur benedictio. Et in hæc verba "Nam tu quidam bene gratias agis" de eo dicit qui cognita sibi loquitur, quia scit quid dicit: "sed alius non ædificatur:" si utique ad ecclesiam ædificandam convenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligant audientes. Nam quid prodest ut lingua loquatur quam solus scit, ut qui audit, nihil proficiat. Ideò tacere debet in ecclesiâ, ut ii loquantur qui prosunt audientibus.

[f] St. August. in 2. Comment. in Ps. xviii. Deprecati Dominum ut ab occultis nostris mundet nos, et ab alienis parcat servis suis, quid hoc sit intelligere debemus, ut humanâ ratione, non quasi avium voce, cantemus. Nam et Meruli, et Psittaci, et Corvi, et Picæ, et hujusmodi volucres, sæpe ab hominibus docentur sonare quod nesciunt. Scienter autem cantare non avi sed homini Divinâ voluntate concessum est. —Et paulo post:—Nos autem qui in ecclesiâ divina eloquia cantare didicimus, simul etiam instare debemus esse quod scriptum est, "Beatus populus qui intelligit jubilationem:" proinde charissimi quod consonâ voce cantavimus, sereno etiam corde nosse ac videre debemus.

[g] Tho. Aquin. in 1 Cor. xiv. Ille qui intelligit reficitur, et quantum ad intellectum et quantum ad affectum; sed mens ejus qui non intelligit, est sine fructu refectionis.—And again: Quantum ad fructum devotionis spiritualis, privatur qui non attendit ad ea quæ orat, seu non intelligit.—Lyra: Cæterum hic consequentur idem ostendit in oratione publicâ, quia si populus intelligat orationem seu benedictionem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum et devotius Amen.—And again: Propter quod in ecclesiâ primitivâ benedictiones et cætera omnia lege communia fiebant vulgari. For of "common things," that is, things in public, the Dissuasive speaks, common prayers, common preachings, common eucharists and thanksgivings, common blessings. All these and all other public and common things being used in the vulgar tongue in the primitive; "communia" and "omnia" are equivalent, but "communia" is Lyra's word.

[h] Homil. 1. in Joh. viii.

[i] Homil. 1. in viii. Johan. Videat lector S. Basil. in Ascet. in 278. resp. in regul. brevior. et Cassidore.

εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ περὶ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν, "they grew wise by translating his (St. John's) doctrines into their several languages."—But it is more that St. Austin says: "The Divine Scripture, by which help is supplied to so great diseases, proceeded from one language which opportunely might be carried over the whole world, that, being by the various tongues of interpreters scattered far and wide, it might be made known to the nations for their salvation."[i] And Theodoret speaks yet more plainly;[k] "We have manifestly shown to you the inexhausted strength of the apostolic and prophetic doctrine; for the universal face of the earth, whatsoever is under the sun, is now full of those words. For the Hebrew books are not only translated into the Greek idiom, but into the Roman tongue, the Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, Sauromatic languages; and, that I may speak once for all, into all tongues, which at this day the nations use."—By these authorities of these fathers we may plainly see, how different the Roman doctrine and practice are from the sentiment and usages of the primitive church, and with what false confidence the Roman adversaries deny so evident truth, having no other way to make their doctrine seem tolerable, but by outfacing the known sayings of so many excellent persons; and especially of St. Paul, who could not speak his mind in apt and intelligible words, if he did not, in his epistle to the Corinthians, exhort the church to pray[l] and prophesy so as to be understood by the catechumens, and by all the people; that is, to do otherwise than they do in the Roman church. Christianity is a simple, wise, intelligible, and easy religion; and yet if a man will resolve against any proposition, he may wrangle himself into a puzzle, and make himself not to understand it so, though it be never so plain: what is plainer than the testimony of their own Cajetan,[m] "that it were more for the edification of the church, that the prayers were in the vulgar tongue?" He says no more than St. Paul says; and he could not speak it plainer. And indeed no man of sense can deny it, unless he affirms, at the same time, that it is better to speak what we understand not, than what we do; or that it were better to serve God without that noble faculty than with it; that is, that the way of a parrot and a jackdaw, were better than the way of a man; and that, in the service of God, the priests and the people are to differ as a man and a bird.

But besides all this; was not Latin itself, when it was first used in divine service, the common tongue, and generally understood by many nations and very many colonies? And if it was then the use of the church to pray with the understanding, why shall it not be so now? However, that it was so then, and is not so now, demonstrates that the church of Rome hath in this material point greatly innovated: let but the Roman Pontifical be consulted, and there will be yet found a form of ordination of readers, in which it is said, "that they must study to read distinctly and plainly, that the people may understand;"[n] but now it seems that labour is saved. And when a notorious change was made in this affair, we can tell by calling to mind the following story. The Moravians did say mass in the Sclavonian tongue; for which Pope John the Eighth severely reproved them, and commanded them to do so no more: but being better informed, he wrote a letter to their Prince Sfentoputero, in which he affirms, that it is not contrary to faith and sound doctrine to say mass and other prayers in the Sclavonian tongue, and adds this reason; because he that made Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, hath made the others also for his glory: and this also he confirms with the authority of St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, and some other scriptures; only he commanded, for the decorum of the business, the Gospel should first be said in Latin, and then in the Sclavonian tongue. But just two hundred years after this, the tables were turned, and though formerly these things were permitted, yet so were many things in the primitive church; but upon better examination they have been corrected. And therefore Pope Gregory the Seventh wrote to Vratislaus of Bohemia, that he could not permit the celebration of the divine offices in the Sclavonian tongue, and he commanded the prince to oppose the people herein, with all his forces. Here the world was strangely altered, and yet St. Paul's epistle was not condemned of heresy, and no council had decreed that all vulgar languages were profane; and no reason can yet be imagined why the change was made, unless it were to separate the priest from the people, by a wall of Latin, and to nurse stupendous ignorance in them, by not permitting to them learning enough to understand their public prayers, in which every man was greatly concerned. Neither may this be called a slight matter; for besides that Gregory the Seventh thought it so considerable, that it was a just cause of a war or persecution (for he commanded the Prince of Bohemia to oppose the people in it, with all his forces); besides this, I say, to pray to God with the understanding, is much better than praying with the tongue; that

[i] De Doctrin. Christianâ, lib. 2. c. 5. Ex quo factum est, ut etiam scriptura divina, quâ tantis morbis humanarum voluntatum subvenitur, ab unâ linguâ profecta, quæ opportunè potuit per orbem terrarum disseminari, per varias interpretum linguas longè latèque diffusa innotesceret gentibus ad salutem.

[k] Theodoret. lib. 5. de Curand. Græc. affect. Nos autem verbis apostolicæ prophеticæque doctrinæ inexhaustum robur manifestè ostendimus. Universa enim facies terræ, quantacunque soli subjicitur, ejusmodi verborum plena jam est. Hebræi verò libri, non modo in Græcum idioma conversi sunt, sed in Romanam quoque linguam, Egyptiam, Persicam, Indicam, Armenicamque et Scythicam, atque adeò Sauromaticam, semelque ut dicam, in linguas omnes quibus ad hunc diem nationes utuntur.

[l] Quamvis per se bonum sit ut officia divina celebrentur eâ linguâ quam plebs intelligat, id enim per se confert ad ædificationem, ut bene probat hic locus.—Estius in 1. Ep. Cor. cap. xiv.

[m] Respon. ad. artic. pacis. Magis fore ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, ut preces vulgari linguâ conciperentur. Ex hâc doctrinâ Pauli habetur quod melius ad ædificationem ecclesiæ est, orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi clericis et populo, quàm dici Latinâ. —Idemin 1. Cor. xiv.

[n] Studete verba Dei, viz., Lectiones sacras distinctè et apertè ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium, absque omni mendacio falsitatis, proferre, &c.

alone can be a good prayer, this alone can never; and then the loss of all those advantages which are in prayers truly understood, the excellency of devotion, the passion of desires, the ascent of the mind to God, the adherence to and acts of confidence in him, the intellectual conversation with God, most agreeable to a rational being, the melting affections, the pulses of the heart to and from God, to and from ourselves, the promoting and exercising of our hopes, all these, and very many more, (which can never be entire but in the prayers and devotions of the heart, and can never be in any degree but in the same in which the prayers are acts of love and wisdom, of the will and the understanding,) will be lost to the greatest part of the catholic church, if the mouth be set open, and the soul be gagged; so that it shall be the word of the mouth, but not the word of the mind.

All these things being added to what was said in this article by the Dissuasive, will more than make it clear, that in this article, (the consequents of which are very great,) the church of Rome hath causelessly troubled christendom, and innovated against the primitive church, and against her own ancient doctrines and practices, and even against the apostle; but they "care for none of these things." Some of their own bigots profess the thing in the very worst of all these expressions; for so Reynolds and Gifford, in their "Calvino Turcismus," complain that such horrid and stupendous evils have followed the translation of Scriptures into vulgar languages, that they are of force enough "ad istas translationes penitus supprimendas, etiamsi divinâ vel apostolicâ auctoritate nitirentur:" "although they did rely upon the authority apostolical or divine, yet they ought to be taken away."—So that it is to no purpose to urge Scripture, or any argument in the world, against the Roman church in this article; for if God himself commanded it to be translated, yet it is not sufficient; and therefore these men must be left to their own way of understanding; for beyond the law of God we have no argument. I will only remind them, that it is a curse which God threatens to his rebellious people, "I will speak to this people with men of another tongue, and by strange lips, and they shall not understand."[n] This is the curse which the church of Rome contends earnestly for, in behalf of their people.

SECTION VI.

Of the Worship of Images.

That society of christians will not easily be reformed, that think themselves obliged to dispute for the worship of images, the prohibition of which was so great a part of the Mosaic religion, and is so infinitely against the nature and spirituality of the christian; a thing which every understanding can see condemned in the decalogue, and no man can excuse, but witty persons that can be bound by no words, which they can interpret to a sense contradictory to the design of the common: a thing for the hating of, and abstaining from which, the Jews were so remarked by all the world, and by which, as by a distinctive cognizance, they were separated from all other nations, and which, with perfect resolution, they keep to this very day; and for the not observing of which they are intolerably scandalized at those societies of christians, who, without any necessity in the thing, without any pretence of any law of God, for no good, and for no wise end, and not without infinite danger, at least, of idolatry, retain a worship and veneration to some stocks and stones. Such men as these are too hard for all laws, and for all arguments; so certain it is, that faith is an obedience of the will in a conviction of the understanding; that if in the will and interests of men there be a perverseness and a non-compliance, and that it is not bent by prudent and wise flexures, and obedience to God, and the plain words of God in Scripture, nothing can ever prevail, neither David, nor his sling, nor all the worthies of his army.

In this question I have said enough in the Dissuasive, and also in the "Ductor Dubitantium;" but to the arguments and fulness of the persuasion, they neither have nor can they say any thing that is material: but according to their usual method, like flies they search up and down, and light upon any place which they suppose to be sore, or would make their proselytes believe so. I shall therefore first vindicate those few quotations which the epistles of his brethren except against, (for there are many, and those most pregnant, which they take no notice of), as bearing in them too clear a conviction. 2. I shall answer such testimonies, which some of them steal out of Bellarmine, and which they esteem as absolutely their best. And, 3. I shall add something in confirmation of that truth of God, which I here have undertaken to defend.

First, for the questioned quotations against the worship of images; St. Cyril was named, in the Dissuasive, as denying that the christians did give veneration and worship to the image even of the cross itself; but no words of St. Cyril were quoted; for the denial is not in express words, but in plain and direct argument; for being by Julian charged with worshipping the cross, St. Cyril, in behalf of the christians, takes notice of their using the cross in a religious memory of all good things, to which, by the cross of Christ, we are engaged: that is, he owns all that they did, and therefore taking no notice of any thing of worship, and making no answer to that part of the objection, it is certain that the christians did not do it, or that he could not justify them in so doing. But because I quoted no words of St. Cyril, I shall now take notice of some words of his which do most abundantly clear this particular by a general rule: "Only the Divine nature is capable of adoration, and the Scripture hath given adoration to no nature but to that of God alone;"—"that, and that alone, ought to be

[n] Isa. xxviii. 11.

worshipped."[o] But to give yet a little more light to this particular; it may be noted, that before St. Cyril's time, this had been objected by the pagans, particularly by Cæcilius, to which Minutius answers by directly denying it, and saying, that the pagans did rather worship crosses, that is, the wooden parts of their gods. The christians indeed were by Tertullian called "religiosi crucis," because they had it in thankful use and memory, and used it frequently in a symbolical confession of their not being ashamed, but of their glorying in the real cross of Christ: but they never worshipped the material cross, or the figure of it, as appears by St. Cyril's owning all the objections, excepting this only, of which he neither confessed the fact, nor offered any justification of it, when it was objected, —but professed a doctrine, with which such practice was inconsistent. And the like is to be said of some other of the fathers, who speak with great affections and veneration of the cross, meaning to exalt the passion of Christ; and in the sense of St. Paul, to glory in the cross of Christ, not meaning the material cross, much less the image of it, which we blame in the church of Rome: and this very sense we have expressed in St. Ambrose: "Sapiens Helena egit, quæ crucem in capite regum levavit, ut Christi crux in regibus adoretur;" "The figure of the material cross was by Helena placed upon the heads of kings, that the cross of Christ in kings might be adored:" How so? He answers, "Non insolentia ista sed pietas est, cum defertur sacræ redemptioni;" "It is to the holy redemption, not to the cross materially taken; this were insolent, but the other is piety."[p]—In the same manner also St. Chrysostom is by the Roman doctors, and particularly by Gretser and E. W.[q] urged for the worshipping Christ's cross. But the book "de Cruce et Latrone," whence the words are cited; Gretser and Possevine suspect it to be a spurious issue of some unknown person: it wants a father; and sometimes it goes to St. Austin, and is crowded into his sermons "de Tempore:"[r] but I shall not trouble my discourse any further with such counterfeit ware. What St. Chrysostom's doctrine was in the matter of images, is plain enough in his indubitate works, as is, and shall be remarked in their several places.

The famous testimony of Epiphanius, against the very use of images in churches, being urged in the Dissuasive as an irrefragable argument that the Roman doctrine is not primitive or catholic, the contrascribers say nothing; but that "when St. Jerome translated that epistle of St. Epiphanius, it appears not that this story was in that epistle that St. Jerome translated; which is a great argument that that story was foisted into that epistle after St. Jerome's time."[s]—A likely matter! but spoken upon slight grounds. "It appears not," saith the objector, "that this story was in it then." To whom does it not appear? To Bellarmine indeed it did not, nor to this objector who writes after him. Alan Cope denied that Epiphanius ever wrote any such epistle at all, or that St. Jerome ever translated any such; but Bellarmine, being ashamed of such unreasonable boldness, found out this more gentle answer, which here we have from our objector: well! but now the case is thus; that this story was put into the epistle by some Iconoclast, is vehemently suspected by Bellarmine and Baronius. But this epistle vehemently burns their fingers, and the live coal sticks close to them, and they can never shake it off. For, 1. who should add this story to this epistle? not any of the reformed doctors; for before Luther's time many ages, this epistle with this story was known, and confessed, and quoted, in the manuscript copies of divers nations. 2. This epistle was quoted, and set down as now it is, with this story by Charles the Great above eight hundred years ago. 3. And a little after by the fathers in the council of Paris; only they call the author John bishop of Constantinople intead of Jerusalem. 4. Sirmondus[t] the Jesuit cites this epistle as the genuine work of Epiphanius. 5. Marianus Victor, and Dionysius Petavius a Jesuit, of great and deserved fame for learning, in their editions of Epiphanius, have published this whole epistle; and have made no note, given no censure, upon this story. 6. Before them Thomas Waldensis,[u] and since him Alphonsus à Castro, acknowledge this whole epistle as the proper issue of Epiphanius. 7. Who can be supposed to have put in this story? The Iconoclasts? Not the Greeks,—because, if they had, they would have made use of it for their advantage, which they never did in any of their disputations against images; insomuch that Bellarmine[x] makes advantage of it, because they never objected it. Not the Latins that wrote against images; for though they were against the worship of images, yet they were not Iconoclasts: indeed Claudius Taurinensis was, but he could not put this story in, for before his time it was in, as appears in the book of Charles the Great before quoted. These things put together are more than sufficient to prove, that this story was written by Epiphanius, and the whole epistle was translated by St. Jerome, as himself[y] testifies. But after all this, if there was any foul play in this whole affair, the cozenage lies on the other side; for some or other have destroyed the Greek original of Epiphanius, and only the Latin copies remain; and in all of them of Epiphanius's works, this story still remains. But how the Greek came to be lost, though it be uncertain, yet we have great cause to suspect the Greeks to be the authors of the loss: and the cause of this suspicion is the command made by the bishops in the seventh council,[z] that all writings against images should be brought in to the bishop of Constantinople, there to be laid up with the books of other heretics. It is most likely here it might go away: but however,

[o] Nemo autem ignorat nulli prorsus naturæ, præterquam Dei, adorationem à scripturis contribui. Thesaur. lib. 2. c. 1. et alibi. Una natura est deitatis quam solummodo adorare oportet.

[p] Orat. de Obitu Theodos

[q] E. W. p. 57.

[r] Serm. 30.

[s] A. L.

[t] Sirmond. Not. in Concil. Norbon. c. 13. lib. 1. Concil. Gal.

[u] Tom. 3. lit. 19. c. 157. et apud Bellarm. lib. 2. de Imag. c. 9.

[x] Lib. 2. de Imag. cap. 9. sect. secundò quia hæretici.

[y] In Epist. 61. 101. ad Pammach.

[z] Syn. 7. act. 8. can. 9.

the good providence of God hath kept this record to reprove the follies of the Roman church, in this particular.

The authority of St. Austin, reprehending the worship of images, was urged from several places of his writings cited in the margent. In his first book, "de Moribus Ecclesiæ," he hath these words, which I have now set down in the margent; in which, describing among other things the difference between superstition and true religion, he presses it on to issue: "Tell not me of the professors of the christian name. Follow not the troops of the unskilful, who in true religion itself either are superstitious, or so given to lusts, that they have forgotten what they have promised to God. I know that there are many worshippers of sepulchres and pictures; I know that there are many who live luxuriously over [the graves of] the dead."[a] That St. Austin reckons these that are worshippers of pictures, among the superstitious and the vicious, is plain, and forbids us to follow such superstitious persons. But see what follows: "But how vain, how hurtful, how sacrilegious, they are, I have purposed to show in another volume."[b] Then addressing himself to the Manichees, who, upon the occasion of these evil and superstitious practices of some catholics, did reproach the catholic church, he says, "Now I admonish you that at length you will give over the reproaching the catholic church by reproaching the manners of these men, (viz. worshippers of pictures and sepulchres, and livers riotously over the dead,) whom she herself condemns, and whom as evil sons she endeavours to corect."—By these words now cited, it appears plainly, that St. Austin affirms, that those few christians, who in his time did worship pictures, were not only superstitious, but condemned by the church. This the "Letter-writer" denies St. Austin to have said; but that he did say so, we have his own words for witness. Yea, but, 2. "St. Austin did not speak of worshippers of pictures alone:"—What then? Neither did he of them alone say they were superstitious, and their actions vain, hurtful, and sacrilegious. But does it follow that therefore he does not say so at all of these, because he says it of the others too?—"But, 3. Neither doth he formally call them superstitious;"—I know not what this offer of an answer means: certain it is, when St. Austin had complained that many christians were superstitious, his first instance is of them that worship pictures and graves. But I perceive this gentleman found himself pinched beyond remedy, and like a man fastened by his thumbs at the whipping-post, he writhes his back and shrinks from the blow, though he knows he cannot get loose.

In the margent of the Dissuasive, there were two other testimonies of St. Austin[c] pointed at; but the[d] Letter says that, in these, St. Austin hath not a word to any such purpose: that is now to be tried. The purpose for which they were brought, is to reprove the doctrine and practice of the church of Rome in the matter of images: it was not intended that all these places should all speak or prove the same particular; but that which was affirmed in the text, being sufficiently verified by the first quotation in the margent, the other two are fully pertinent to the main inquiry, and to the condemnation of the Roman doctrine, as the first was of the Roman practice. The words are these: "Neither is it to be thought, that God is circumscribed in a human shape, that they who think of him, should fancy a right or a left side; nor that because the Father is said to sit, it is to be supposed, that he does it with bended knees, lest we fall into that sacrilege, for which the apostle execrates them that change the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of a corruptible man. For, for a christian to place such an image to God in the church is wickedness, but much more wicked is it to place it in our heart." So St. Austin. Now this testimony had been more properly made use of in the next section, as more relating to the proper matter of it, as being a direct condemnation of the picturing of God; but here it serves without any sensible error, and wherever it is, it throws a stone at them, and hits them. But of this more in the sequel.

But the third testimony[e] (however it pleases A. L. to deny it) does speak home to this part of the question, and condemns the Roman hypothesis: the words are these; "See that ye forget not the testimony of your God which he wrote, or that ye make shapes and images:" but it adds also saying, "Your God is a consuming fire, and a zealous God." These words from the Scripture Adimantus propounded; "Yet remember not only there, but also here concerning the zeal of God, he so blames the Scriptures, that he adds that which is commanded by our Lord God in those books, concerning the not worshipping of images; as if for nothing else he reprehends that zeal of God, but only because by that very zeal we are forbidden to worship images. Therefore he would seem to favour images, which therefore they do that they might reconcile the good will of the pagans to their miserable and mad sect;" meaning, the sect of the Manichees, who to comply with the pagans, did retain the worship of images. And now the three testimonies are verified; and though this was an unnecessary trouble to me, and I fear it may be so to my reader, yet the church of Rome hath got no advantage but this, that in St. Austin's sense, that which Romanists do now, the Manichees did then; only these did it to comply with

[a] Jam videbitis quid inter ostentationem et sinceritatem—postremo quid inter superstitionis Sirenas et portum religionis intersit. Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. Nolite consectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsâ verâ religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores, novi multos esse qui luxuriosissimè super mortuos vivant. C. 31.

[b] Sed et illa quàm vana sint, quàm noxia, quàm sacrilega, quemadmodum à magnâ parte vestrum, atque adeò penè ab omnibus vobis non observentur, alio volumine ostendere instituí.—Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando ecclesiæ catholicæ maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.

[c] De Fide et Symb. c. 7. contr. Adimant. c. 13.

[d] P. 27. [e] Contr. Adimant. c. 13.

the heathens, and those out of direct and mere superstition. But to clear this point in St. Austin's doctrine, the reader may please to read his nineteenth book against Faustus the Manichee, chap. 18. and the 119th epistle against him, chap. 12. where he affirms that the christians observe that, which the Jews did in this, viz. that which was written, "Hear, O Israel, The Lord thy God is one God, thou shalt not make an idol to thee, and such-like things:" and in the latter place, he affirms that the second commandment is moral, viz. that all of the decalogue are so, but only the fourth. I add a third as pregnant as any of the rest: for in his first book "de Consensu Evangelistarum," speaking of some who had fallen into error upon occasion of the pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, he says, "Sic nempe errare meruerunt, qui Christum et apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus sed in pictis parietibus quæsiverunt."

The council of Eliberis is of great concern in this question, and does great effort to the Roman practices. E. W.[1] takes notice of it, and his best answer to it is, that it hath often been answered already. He says true; it hath been answered both often and many ways. The council was, in the year 305. of nineteen bishops, who in the thirty-sixth canon decreed this; "Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere," "It hath pleased us that pictures ought not to be in churches;" that is the decree; the reason they give is, "ne quod colitur et adoratur. in parietibus depingatur," "lest that which is worshipped be painted on the walls." So that there are two propositions; 1. Pictures ought not to be in churches. 2. That which is worshipped ought not to be painted upon walls. E. W.[2] hath a very learned note upon this canon. "Mark, first the council supposeth worship and adoration due to pictures, 'ne quod colitur et adoratur.'" By which "mark." E. W. confesses, that pictures are the object of his adoration, and that the council took no care and made no provision for the honour of God, (who is and ought to be worshipped and adored in churches, "et illi soli servies,") but only were good husbands for the pictures for fear, 1. they should be spoiled by the moisture of the walls, or, 2. defaced by the heathen; the first of these is Bellarmine's, the latter is Perron's answer; but too childish to need a severer consideration. But how easy had it been for them to have commanded, that all their pictures should have been in frames, upon boards or cloth, as it is in many churches in Rome, and other places. 2. Why should the bishops forbid pictures to be in churches? for fear of spoiling one kind of them, they might have permitted others, though not these. 3. Why should any man be so vain as to think, that in that age, in which the christians were in perpetual disputes against the heathens for worshipping pictures and images, they should be so curious to preserve their pictures, and reserve them for adoration. 4. But then to make pictures to be the subject of that caution, "ne quod colitur et adoratur," and not to suppose God and his Christ to be the subject of it, is so unlike the religion of christians, the piety of those ages, the economy of the church, and the analogy of the commandment, that it betrays a refractory and heretical spirit in him, that shall so perversely invent an unreasonable commentary, rather than yield to so pregnant and easy testimony. But some are wiser, and consider, that the council takes not care that pictures be not spoiled, but "that they be not in the churches:" and that what is adorable, "be not there painted," and not "be not there spoiled." The not painting them is the utmost of their design, not the preserving them; for we see vast numbers of them every where painted on walls, and preserved well enough, and easily repaired upon decay; therefore this is too childish: to blot them out for fear they be spoiled, and not to bring them into churches for fear they be taken out. Agobardus, bishop of Lyons, above eight hundred years since, cited this canon in a book of his which he wrote "de Picturis et Imaginibus," which was published by Papirius Massonus; and thus illustrates it; "Recte (saith he) nimirum ob hujusmodi evacuandam superstitionem ab orthodoxis patribus definitum est 'picturas in ecclesiâ fieri non debere; nec quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur;'" where first he expressly affirms these fathers in this canon to have intended only rooting up this superstition, not the ridiculous preserving the pictures. So it was understood then. But then, 2. Agobardus reads it, "*nec*," not "*ne* quod colitur;" which reading makes the latter part of the canon to be part of the sanction, and no reason of the former decree; "Pictures must not be made in churches; neither ought that to be painted upon walls which is worshipped and adored." This was the doctrine and sentiment of the wise and good men above eight hundred years since. By which also the unreasonable supposition of Baronius, that the canon is not genuine, is plainly confuted; this canon not being only in all copies of that council, but owned for such by Agobardus so many ages before Baronius, and so many ages after the council. And he is yet further reproved by Cardinal Perron, who tells a story, that in Granada, in memory of this council, they use frames for pictures, and paint none upon the wall at this day. It seems they in Granada are taught to understand that canon according unto the sense of the patrons of images, and to mistake the plain meaning of the council. For the council did not forbid only to paint upon the walls, for that, according to the common reading, is but accidental to the decree; but the council commanded that no picture should be in churches. Now then let this canon be confronted with the council of Trent, "sess. 25. decret. de S. S. Invoc." "Imagines Christi, Deiparæ virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, in templis præsertim, habendas et retinendas," "that the images of Christ, and of the Virgin-mother of God, and of other saints, be had and kept especially in churches:" and in the world there cannot be a greater contradiction between two, than there is between Eliberis and Trent, the old and the new church: for the new church not only commands pictures and images to be kept in churches, but paints them upon walls, and neither

[1] P. 57. [2] Ibid.

fears thieves nor moisture. There are divers other little answers amongst the Roman doctors to this uneasy objection; but they are only such as venture at the telling the secret reasons why the council so decreed; as Alan Cope saith, it was so decreed, lest the christians should take them for gods, or lest the heathens should think the christians worshipped them: so Sanders.—But it matters not for what reason they decreed: only if either of these say true, then Bellarmine and Perron are false in their conjectures of the reason. But it matters not; for suppose all these reasons were concentred in the decree, yet the decree itself is not observed at this day in the Roman church, but a doctrine and practice quite contrary introduced. And therefore my opinion is, that Melchior Canus answers best: "Aut nimis duras aut parum rationi consentaneas à conciliis provincialibus interdum editas, non est negandum. Qualis illa non impudenter modo, verum etiam impie, à concilio Elibertino de tollendis imaginibus."[h] By this we may see, not only how irreverently the Roman doctors use the fathers, when they are not for their turns; but we may also perceive, how the canon condemns the Roman doctrine and practice in the matter of images.

The next inquiry is concerning matter of history, relating to the second synod of Nice in the east, and that of Frankfort in the west. In the Dissuasive it was said, that Eginardus, Hincmarus, Aventinus, &c., affirmed, 1. That the bishops assembled at Frankfort, and condemned the synod of Nice. 2. That they commanded it should not be called a general council. 3. They published a book under the name of the emperor, confuting that unchristian assembly. These things were said out of these authors, not supposing that every thing of this should be proved from every one of them, but the whole of it by its several parts from all these put together.

1. That the bishops of Frankfort condemned the synod of Nice or the seventh general. Whether the Dissuasive hath said this truly out of the authors quoted by him, we need no further proof but the confession of Bellarmine. "Auctores antiqui omnes conveniunt in hoc, quod in concilio Francofordiensi sit reprobata synodus VII., quæ decreverat imagines adorandas. Ita Hincmarus, Aimonius, Rhegino, Ado, et alii passim docent."[i] So that if the objector blames the Dissuasive for alleging these authorities, let him first blame Bellarmine, who confesses that to be true, which the Dissuasive here affirms. Now, that by the seventh synod Bellarmine means the second Nicene, appears by his own words in the same chapter; "Videtur igitur mihi in synodo Francofordiensi vere reprobatam Nicænam II. synodum; sed per errorem, et materialiter,"[k] &c. And Bellarmine was in the right; not only those which the Dissuasive quoted, but "all the ancient writers," saith Bellarmine. So the author of the Life of Charles the Great, speaking of the council of Frankfort; "Their queen Fastrada died. 'Pseudosynodus Græcorum, quam falso septimam vocabant pro imaginibus, rejecta est à pontificibus.'" The same is affirmed by the annals of the Franks;[l] by Adhelmus Benedictinus in his annals, in the same year; by Hincmarus Rhemensis[m] in an epistle to Hincmarus his nephew; by Strabus the monk of Fulda, Rhegino Prumiensis, Uspergensis, and Hermanus Contractus, in their annals and chronicles of the year 794. By Ado Viennensis;[n] "Sed pseudosynodus, quam septimam Græci appellant, pro adorandis imaginibus, abdicata penitus." The same is affirmed by the annals of Eginardus;[o] and by Aimonius;[p] and Aventinus. I could reckon many more, if more were necessary, but these are they whom the Dissuasive quoted, and some more; against this truth nothing material can be said, only that Hincmarus and Aimonius (which are two whom the Dissuasive quotes) do not say that the synod of Frankfort rejected the second Nicene, but the synod of Constantinople. But to this Bellarmine himself answers, that it is true they do so, but it is by mistake; and that they meant the council which was kept at Nice; so that the Dissuasive is justified by his greatest adversary. But David Blondel answers this objection, by saying, that Constantinople being the head of the eastern empire, these authors used the name of the imperial city for the provinces under it: which answer though it be ingenious, yet I rather believe that the error came first from the council of Frankfort, who called it the synod at Constantinople, and that after it, these authors took it up: but that error was not great, but always excusable, if not warrantable; because the second Nicene council was first appointed to be at Constantinople, but by reason of the tumults of the people, was translated to Nice. But to proceed: that Blondus (whom the Dissuasive also quotes) saith, the synod of Frankfort abrogated the seventh synod, the objector confesses, and adds, that it confuted the Felician heresy for taking away of images: concerning which, lest the less wary reader should suppose the synod of Frankfort to have determined for images, as Alan Cope, Gregory de Valentia, Vasquez, Suarez, and Binius, would fain have the world believe; I shall note, that the synod of Frankfort did at the same time condemn the heresy of Felix Urgetitanus, which was, "that Christ was the adopted Son of God." Now because in this synod were condemned the breakers of images, and the worshippers of images; some ignorantly (amongst which is this gentleman the objector) have supposed that the Felician heresy was that of the Iconoclasts.

2. Now for the second thing which the Dissuasive said from these authors; that the fathers of Frankfort commanded that the second Nicene should not be called a general council, that matter is sufficiently cleared in the proof of the first particular; for if they abrogated it, and called it "pseudosynodum," and decreed against it,—"hoc ipso," they caused it should not be, or be called, a general synod.

[h] Loc. Treol. lib. 5. c. 4.
[i] Lib. 2. de Imagin. c. 14. sect. Secundò quia.
[k] Sect. Neque obstat. [l] Ad Annum 794.
[m] Opusc. 55. n. cap. 20.
[n] Chron. ætat. 6. ad annum Christi eundem et 792.
[o] Ad eund. annum. [p] Lib. 4. c. 85.

But I shall declare what the synod did in the words of Adhelmus Benedictinus;[q] "Synodus etiam, quæ paucos ante annos Constantinopoli sub Helenâ et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non tantum septima, verum etiam universalis est appellata, ut nec septima nec universalis diceretur, habereturque quasi supervacua, in totum ab omnibus abdicata est."

3. Now for the third thing, which the Dissuasive said, that they published a book under the name of the emperor; I am to answer, that such a book about that time, within three or four years of it, was published in the name of the emperor, is notoriously known, and there was great reason to believe it was written three or four years before the synod, and sent by the emperor to the pope; but that divers of the church of Rome did endeavour to persuade the world that the emperor did not write it, but that it was written by the synod, and contains the acts of the synod, but published under the emperor's name. Now this the Dissuasive affirmed by the authority of Hincmarus, who does affirm it, and of the same opinion is Bellarmine: "Scripti videntur in synodo Francofordiensi et acta continere synodi Francofordiensis: et enim asserit Hincmarus ejus temporis auctor."[r] So that by all this the reader may plainly see, how careful the Dissuasive was in what was affirmed, and how careless this gentleman is of what he objects: only this I add, that though it be said that this book contained the acts of the synod of Frankfort, though it might be partly true, yet not wholly. For this synod did indeed do so much against that of the Greeks, and was so decretory against the worship of images, ("quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur," said Hoveden, and Matthew of Westminster,[s]) that it is vehemently suspected, that the patrons of images (the objector knows whom I mean) have taken a timely course with it, so that the monuments of it are not to be seen, nor yet a famous and excellent epistle of Alcuinus written against the Greek synod, though his other works are in a large volume carefully enough preserved.

It was urged as an argument "à minori ad majus," that in the primitive church, it was accounted unlawful to make images; and therefore it was impossible that the worship of images should then be the doctrine or practice of the catholic church. To this purpose Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen, were alleged.[u] First for Tertullian, of whom the Letter says, that he said no such thing: sure it is, this man did not care what he said; supposing it sufficient to pass the common reader, to say Tertullian did not say for what he is alleged, for more will believe him than examine him. But the words of Tertullian shall manifest the strange confidence of this person. The quotations out of Tertullian are only noted in the margent, but the words were not cited, but now they must, to justify me and themselves. 1. That reference to Tertullian's book of idolatry,[x] the objector takes no notice of, as knowing it would reproach him too plainly: see the words,—"the artificers of statues, and images, and all kind of representations, the devil brought into the world:"[y] and when he had given the etymology of an idol, saying εἴδωλον is "formula," he adds, "Igitur omnis forma vel formula idolum se dici exposcit: Inde omnis idoli artifex ejusdem et unius est criminis." And a little before: "Exinde jam caput facta est idololatriæ ars omnis, quæ idolum quoquo modo edit."—And in the beginning of the fourth chapter, "Idolum tam fieri quam coli Deus prohibet. Quanto precedit ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est ne fiat si coli non licet."—And again: "Toto mundo ejusmodi artibus interdixit servis Dei."—And a little after he brings in some or other objecting; "Sed ait quidam adversus similitudinis interdictæ propositionem, cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis ex ære fecit?" To this at last he answers; "Si eundum Deum observas 'habes legem ejus,' ne feceris similitudinem; si et præceptum factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Moysen. Ne facias adversus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit." Now here is no subterfuge for any one: for Tertullian first says, the devil brought into the world all the artists and makers of statues, images, and all sorts of similitudes. 2. He makes all these to be the same with idols. And, 3. That God as well forbade the making of these and the worship of them, and that the maker is guilty of the same crime; and lastly, I add his definition of idolatry, "Idololatria est omnis circa omne idolum famulatus et servitus;" Every image is an idol, and every service and obeisance about any or every idol is idolatry."—I hope all this put together will convince the gentleman that denied it, that Tertullian hath said some such thing as the Dissuasive quoted him for. Now for the other place quoted, the words are these: "Proinde et similitudinem vetans fieri omnium quæ in cœlo et in terrâ et in aquis, ostendit et causas, idololatriæ scilicet substantiam exhibentes:"[z] "God forbidding all similitude to be made of things in heaven and earth, and in the waters, shows the causes that restrain idolatry:" the causes of idolatry be more fully described in the forecited place: "Quando enim et sine idolo idololatria fiat:" for he supposes the making of the images to be the cause of their worshipping, and he calls this making statues and images "dæmoniis corpora facere."—But there is yet another place in his books against Marcion, where Tertullian[a] affirming that St. Peter knew Moses and Elias, on mount Tabor, by a spiritual ecstasy, says it upon this reason; "Nec enim imagines eorum aut statuas populus habuisset aut similitudines, lege prohibente." The same also is to be seen in his book "de Spectaculis," c. 23.; "Jam vero ipsum opus personarum, quæro, an Deo placeat, qui omnem similitudinem vetat fieri, quanto magis imaginis suæ." By this time I hope the

[q] In annal.
[r] Vide supra sect Primò quia.
[s] A. D. 793.
[u] A. L. p. 27.
[x] Cap. 3.
[y] Diabolum seculo intulisse artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum.
[z] Lib. 2. advers. Marc. 4. c. 22.
[a] Lib. 4. c. 22.

gentleman thinks himself in some shame, for denying that Tertullian said the making of images to be unlawful.

Now let us see for the other two authors quoted by the Dissuasive: the objector in the Letter says,[b] they only spake of making the images of Jupiter and the other heathen gods: but E. W.[c] says he cannot find those quotations out of Clemens of Alexandria, because the books quoted are too big, and he could not espy them. The author of the Letter never examined them, but took them for granted; but E. W. did search a little, but not exactly. However, he ought not to have looked in the sixth book of the "Stromata" for the words there quoted, but in the "Protrepticon," as I shall show by and by. That other quotation in the "Stromata" is the sixth book, and is only referred to, as to the question in general against images, for so St. Clement calls it "spiritual adultery," to make idols or images. Now to this E. W. says, although he did not find what he looked for, yet he knows beforehand, that the word, in the Latin translation, is "simulacrum,"[d] that is, εἴδωλον, "an idol."—It is indeed well guessed of E. W., for the word is ἀνειδωλοποιῶν, and if he had seen the place, he now tells us what answer we might have expected. But I am beforehand with him in this particular, and out of Tertullian have proved "idolum" to be the same with "formula," derived from εἶδος, and consequently means the same with an "image." And he hath a good warrant from the greatest master of the Latin tongue: "Imagines quæ idola nominant, quorum incursione non solum videamus, sed etiam cogitemus,"[e] &c. said Cicero: and the same notion of εἴδωλον is in a great master of the Greek, St. Chrysostom, who, speaking of the statues and images with which they adorned their houses, calls them "idols."[f] Οἰκίας κατασκῶμεν εἴδωλα πανταχοῦ καὶ ξόανα ἱστῶτες. But it matters not so much what Greek or Latin word is used in any translation; for in the Hebrew, in which the Spirit of God spake, when he forbade the worship of images, he used two words, פסל "pesel" and תמונה "themunah," and the latter of these signifies always an image or similitude, and that most properly, and is always so translated: and the former of these is translated indifferently by γλυπτὸν, or εἴδωλον, and εἰκὼν, "image," "carved image," and "idol;" for they are all one. And therefore proportionably Justin Martyr reciting this law of God, says, that God forbade every "image and similitude," εἰκόνα, καὶ ὁμοίωμα are the words. But suppose that "idolum" and "imago" were not the same; yet because the commandment forbids not only "idolum" but "imago," not only "pesel" but "themunah;" they do not observe the commandment, who make to themselves, viz. for worship, either one or the other. But to return to St. Clement, of whom our present inquiry is. And to deal most clearly in this affair, as in all things else, that out of the "Stromata" of St. Clement, that I rather remark, is not this of the sixth book, but out of the fifth. St. Clement of Alexandria[g] saith; Πάλιν δ' αὖ δακτύλιον μὴ φορεῖν, μηδὲ εἰκόνας αὐτοῖς ἐγχαράσσειν θεῶν παρεργυιᾶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ὥσπερ Μωσῆς, προπάλαι διαῤῥήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν, μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν, ἢ πλαστὸν, ἢ γραπτὸν ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι. "Pythagoras commanded that his disciples should not wear rings, or engrave them with the images of their gods; as Moses, many ages before, made an express law, that no man should make any graven, cast, or painted image;" and of this he gives two reasons. 1. Ὡς μὴ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχωμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετίωμεν, "that we may not attend to sensible things, but pass on to the things discernible by the understanding." 2. Ἐξευτελίζει γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Θείου σεμνότητα ἡ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῆς ὄψεως συνήθεια, καὶ τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν δι' ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι, ἀτιμάζειν ἐστὶν αὐτὴν δι' αἰσθήσεως. "The custom of seeing so readily causes, that the majesty of God becomes vile and contemptible, and by matter to worship that which is perceived intellectually, is to disesteem him by sensation." Now the reader may perceive that St. Clement speaks against the making of any images, not only of Jupiter and the heathen gods, but of the true God, of whatsoever intelligible being we ought to worship; and that upon such reasons which will greatly condemn the Roman practices. But hence also it is plain, how careless and trifling this objector is, minding no truth but the number of objections.—See yet further out of St. Clement:[h] "Nobis enim est aperte vetitum fallacem artem exercere. Non facies enim (inquit propheta) cujusvis rei similitudinem:" "We are forbidden to exercise that cozening art (viz. of making pictures or images); for, (says the prophet, meaning Moses,) Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing." E. W. it seems[i] could not find these words of St. Clement in his Parænetic: he should have said his Protreptic, for I know of no Parænetic that he hath written. But E. W. followed the printer's error in the margent of the Dissuasive, and very carefully turned over a book that was not, and compared it in bigness with a book that was. But I will not suppose this to be ignorance in him, but only want of diligence: however, the words are to be found in the forty-first page of this Protreptic, or his admonition to the gentiles, and now they are quoted, and the very page named; only I desire E. W. to observe, that in this place St. Clement uses not the word εἴδωλον, but πάντος ὁμοίωμα, not "simulacrum," but "cujusvis rei similitudinem."

In the place which was quoted out of Origen[k] in his fourth book against Celsus, speaking of the Jews he hath these words: Οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰκόνας ποιούντων ἐπολιτεύετο· οὔτε γὰρ ζώγραφος, οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν ἦν. "All makers of images were turned from their commonwealth:

[b] P. 27.
[c] P. 54, 55.
[d] Strom. lib. 6. p. 687. edit. Paris. 1629.
[e] Lib. 1. de Fin. Bon. et Malor.
[f] In cap. 3. Epist. ad Philip. hom. 10.
[g] Lib. Strom. 5. p. 559. Paris. 1629. Gr. Lat.
[h] Vide etiam eundem in Protreptico, p. 41. Nobis enim est apertè vetitum fallacem artem exercere. Non facies enim (inquit Propheta) cujusvis rei similitudinem. Id. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 687.
[i] P. 55.
[k] P. 181. edit. G. L. Cantab. 1658.

for not a painter or a statuary was admitted, their laws wholly forbidding them, lest any occasion should be given to dull men, or that their mind should be turned from the worship of God to earthly things by these temptations." Then he quotes the law of God against making images, and adds, "By which law this was intended, that being content with the truth of things, they should beware of lying figments." There it is plain that Origen affirms the law of God to have forbidden the making images, any similitude of things in heaven, earth, or waters: which law also he in another place[l] affirms to be of a moral and eternal obligation, that is, not to be spoken to them only who came out of the terrestrial Egypt; and therefore is of christian duty. And of the same mind are St. Irenæus,[m] Tertullian,[n] St. Cyprian,[o] and St. Austin,[p] affirming the whole decalogue, except the law of the sabbath, to be an unalterable or natural law. But for the further verification of the testimony from Origen against the worship of images in the primitive church, I thought fit to add the concurrent words of the prudent and learned Cassander:[q] "Quantum autem veteres initio ecclesiæ ab omni veneratione imaginum abhorruerunt declarat unus Origenes adversus Celsum:" but of this I shall have occasion to speak yet once more. And so at last all the quotations are found to be exact, and this gentleman to be greatly mistaken.

From the premises I infer;—If in the primitive church it was accounted unlawful to make images, certainly it is unimaginable they should worship them; and the argument is the stronger, if we understand their opinion rightly: for neither the second commandment, nor yet the ancient fathers in their commentaries on them, did absolutely prohibit all making of images; but all that was made for religious worship, and in order to adoration, according as it is expressed in him, who among the Jews collected the negative precepts, which Arias Montanus translated into Latin:[r] the second of which is, "signum cultus causa ne facito;" the third, "simulacrum divinum nullo pacto conflato;" the fourth, "signa religiosa nullâ ex materiâ facito."

The authorities of these fathers being rescued from slander, and proved very pungent and material; I am concerned in the next place to take notice of some authorities, which my adversaries[s] urge from antiquity, to prove that in the primitive church they did worship images. Concerning their general council, viz. the second Nicene, I have already made account in the preceding periods: the great St. Basil is with great solemnity brought into the Circus, and made to speak for images as apertly, plainly, and confidently, as Bellarmine or the council of Trent itself. His words are these:[t] "I admit the holy apostles, and prophets, and martyrs, and in my prayer made to God call upon them, that by their intercession God may be propitious unto me. Whereupon I honour and adore the characters of their images; and especially those things being delivered from the holy apostles, and not prohibited, but are manifested, or seen in all our churches." Now I confess these words are home enough, and do their business at the first sight; and if they prove right, St. Basil is on their side, and therefore E. W. with great noise and preface insults, and calls them unanswerable. The words he says are found in St. Basil's two hundred and fifth epistle "ad Julianum." I presently consulted St. Basil's works, such as I had with me in the country, of the Paris edition by Guillard, 1547, and there I found that St. Basil had two hundred and five epistles in all; the number of all written by him and to him being but one hundred and eighty, of which, that to Julianus is one, viz. epistle one hundred and sixty-six, and in that there is not one word to any such purpose as is here pretended. I was then put to a "melius inquirendum." Bellarmine[u] (though both he and Lindan and Harding cry up this authority as irrefragable) quotes this authority not upon his own credit, but as taking it from the report of a book published 1596, called Synodus Parisiensis, which Bellarmine calls "unworthy to see the light." From hence arises this great noise; and the fountain being confessedly corrupt, what wholesome thing can be expected thence? But in all the first and voluminous disputations of Bellarmine upon this question, he made no use of this authority, he never saw any such thing in St. Basil's works, or it is not to be imagined that he would have omitted it. But the words are in no ancient edition of St. Basil, nor in any manuscript that is known in the world. 2. John Damascen, and Germanus bishop of Constantinople, who wrote for the worship of images, and are the most learned of all the Greeks that were abused in this question; yet they never urged this authority of St. Basil, which would have been more to their purpose than all that they said beside. 3. The first mention of this is an epistle of Pope Adrian to the emperors in the seventh synod, and that makes the business more suspicious, that when the Greek writers knew nothing of it, a Latin bishop, a stranger, not very well skilled in antiquity, should find this out, which no man ever saw before him, nor since, in any copy of St. Basil's works; but in the second Nicene council such forgeries as these were many and notorious. St. Gregory the great is there quoted as author of an epistle "de Veneratione Imaginum;" when it is notorious it was written by Gregory III., and there were many Basils, and any one of that name would serve to

[l] Homil. 8. in Exod. apud Bellarm. Imagin. lib. 2. c. 7. sect. Sed hæc.
[m] Lib. 4. c. 31, 32.
[n] Lib. de Idololat. cap. 5.
[o] Lib. 3. ad Quirinum, c. 59. et de Exhort. Martyrii, c. 1.
[p] Lib. 15. contra Faustum, c. 4. 7.
[q] Consult. de Imagin. et Simulacris.
[r] Lib. 4. de Generat. et Regeneratione Adam.
[s] E. W. p. 49.
[t] Δέχομαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, προφήτας, καὶ μάρτυρας, καὶ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἱκησίαν τούτους ἐπικαλοῦμαι, τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν, ἤγουν διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτῶν, ἵλεων μοὶ γενέσθαι καὶ δοθῆναι· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ· κατ' ἐξαίρετον τούτων παραδεδομένων ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγορευμένων ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν τούτων ἀνιστορουμένων.
[u] Appendix ad Tract. de Cultu Imaginum in procem. ante cap. 1. et in cap. 4.

give countenance to the error of the second Nicene synod; but in St. Basil the Great there is not one word like it. And therefore they who set forth St. Basil's works at Paris, 1618, who either could not or ought not to have been ignorant of so vile a cheat, were infinitely to blame to publish this as the issue of the right St. Basil, without any mark of difference, or note of inquiry.

There is also another saying of St. Basil, of which the Roman writers make much, and the words are by Damascen imputed to the great St. Basil; "Imaginis honor exemplum transit," which indeed St. Basil speaks only of the statues of the emperors, and of that civil honour, which by consent and custom of the world did pass to the emperor, and he accepted it so; but this is no argument for religious images put up to the honour of God; he says not, the honour of any such image passes to God: for God hath declared against it, (as will appear in the following periods,) and therefore from hence the church of Rome can have no argument, no fair pretence; and yet upon this very account, and the too much complying with the heathen rites and manners, and the secular customs of the empire, the veneration of images came into churches. But suppose it be admitted to be true; yet although this may do some countenance to Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure's way of worshipping the image and the sampler with the same worship; yet this can never be urged by all those more moderate papists, who make the worship to an image of a lower kind; for if it be not the same worship, then they that worship images, worship God and his saints by the image not as they deserve, but give to them no more than the image itself deserves: let them take which part they please, so that they will but publicly own it. But let this be as it will, and let it be granted true, that the honour done to the image can pass to the sampler, yet this is but an arbitrary thing, and a king may esteem it so if he please; but if the king forbids any image to be made of him, and counts it a dishonour to him, then I hope it is; and that is the case now; for God hath forbidden any such way of passing honour to him by an image of him; and he hath forbidden it in the second commandment, and this is confessed by Vasquez:[x] so that upon this account, for all the pretence of the same motion to the image and the sampler, to pass such a worship to God, is no better than the doing as the heathen did, when they worshipped Mercury by throwing stones at him.

Another authority brought by E. W.[y] for veneration of images, is from Athanasius, but himself damns it in the margent, with and without ingenuity; for ingenuously saying, that he does not affirm it to be the great Athanasius, yet most disingenuously he adds, "valeat quantum valere potest," that is, they that will be cozened, let them. And indeed these questions and answers to Antiochus are notoriously spurious;[z] for in them are quoted St. Epiphanius, and Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Scala Johannis, Maximus, and Nicephorus, who were after Athanasius; and the book is rejected by Delrio, by Sixtus Senensis, and Possevine. But with such stuff as this the Roman doctors are forced to build their Babel; and E. W. in page fifty-six quotes the same book against me for worshipping the cross, together with another spurious piece "de Cruce et Passione Domini," which Nannius, a very learned man of their own, and professor at Louvaine, rejects, as is to be seen in his "Nuncupatory Epistle."

Yea, but St. Chrysostom's liturgy is very clear, for it is said, that "the priest turns himself to our Saviour's picture, and bows his head before the picture, and says this prayer;"—these words indeed are very plain; but it is not plain, that these are St. Chrysostom's words, for there are none such in St. Chrysostom's liturgy in the editions of it by Claudius de Saintes, or Morellus; and Claudius Espencæus acknowledges with great truth and ingenuity, that this liturgy, begun and composed by St. Chrysostom, was enlarged by many things put into it, according to the variety of times. And it is evidently so, because divers persons are there commemorated, who lived after the death of Chrysostom, as Cyrillus, Euthymius, Sabas, and Johannes Eleemosynarius, whereof the last but one lived one hundred and twenty-six years, the last two hundred and thirteen years, after St. Chrysostom. Now how likely, nay how certain it is, that this very passage was not put in by St. Chrysostom, but is of later interpolation, let all the world judge by that known saying of St. Chrysostom;[a] "Quid enim est vilius atque humilius homine ante res inanimatas se incurvante et saxa venerante?" "What in the world is baser and more abject than to see a man worshipping stones, and bowing himself before inanimate things?" These are his great authorities, which are now come to nothing; what he hath from them who came after these, I shall leave to him to make his best of them: for, about the time of Gregory, some began to worship images, and some to break them; the latter of which he reproves, and the former he condemns; what it was afterward all the world knows.

But now having cleared the question from the trifling arguments of my adversaries, I shall observe some things fit to be considered in this matter of images. 1. It came at first from a very base and unworthy stock. I have already pointed at this, but now I shall explain it more fully; it came from Simon Magus and his crew: Theodoret says, that the followers of Simon brought in the worship of images, viz. of Simon in the shape of Jupiter, and Helena in the figure of Minerva; but St. Austin[b] says that Simon Magus himself "imagines et suam et cujusdam meretricis, quam sibi sociam scelerum fecerat, discipulis suis præbuisse adorandas."—E. W.,[c] upon what confidence I know not, says, that Theodoret hath nothing like it, either under the title "de Simone" or "Carpocrate." And he says true, but with a shameful purpose to calumniate

[x] Tom. 3. comment. in 3. part. qu. 25. art. 3. disp. 91. c. 3.
[y] P. 50.
[z] Martinus Delrio Vindiciæ Areopag. c. 11.

[a] Comment. in Isai. c. 2. t. 3.
[b] De Hæres. ad quod vult Deum. paulò ab initio. hæres. 1.
[c] E. W. p. 51.

me, and deceive his reader; as if I had quoted a thing that Theodoret said not, and therefore the reader ought not to believe me. But since in the Dissuasive, Theodoret was only quoted "lib. 5. Hæret. Fabul." and no title set down; if he had pleased to look to the next title, "Simonis Hæresis," where in reason all Simon's heresies were to be looked for, he should have found that which I referred to.[d] But why E. W. denies St. Austin to have reported that for which he is quoted, viz. that Simon Magus brought in some images, to be worshipped, I cannot conjecture, neither do I think himself can tell; but the words are plain in the place quoted, according to the intention of the Dissuasive. But that he may yet seem to lay more load upon me, he very learnedly says that Irenæus, in the place quoted by me, says not a word of Simon Magus being author of images; and would have his reader believe that I mistook Simon Magus for Simon Irenæus.[e] But the good man I suppose wrote this after supper, and could not then read or consider that the testimony of Irenæus was brought in to no such purpose; neither did it relate to any Simon at all, but to the Gnostics or Carpocratians, who also were very early and very deep in this impiety; only they did not worship the pictures of Simon and Helena, but of Jesus and Paul, and Homer and Pythagoras, as St. Austin[f] testifies of them; but that which he remarks in them is this, that Marcellina, one of their sect, worshipped the pictures of Jesus, &c. "adorando, incensumque ponendo," "they did adore them, and put incense before them:" I wish the church of Rome would leave to do so, or acknowledge whose disciples they are in this thing. The same also is said by Epiphanius; and that the Carpocratians placed the image of Jesus with the philosophers of the world, "collocatasque adorant, et gentium mysteria perficiunt." But I doubt that both Epiphanius and St. Austin, who took this story from Irenæus, went further in the narrative than Irenæus; for he says only that they placed the images of Christ, &c. "et has coronant:" no more; —and yet even for this, for crowning the image of Christ with flowers,[g] though they did not so much as is now-a-days done at Rome, St. Irenæus made an outcry, and reckoned them in the black catalogue of heretics, not for joining Christ's image with that of Homer and Aristotle, Pythagoras and Plato, but even for crowning Christ's image with flowers and coronets, as they also did those of the philosophers; for though this may be innocent, yet the other was a thing not known in the religion of any that were called christians, till Simon and Carpocrates began to teach the world.

2. We find the wisest and most sober of the heathens speaking against the use of images in their religious rites. So Varro, when he had said that the old Romans had for one hundred and seventy years worshipped the gods without picture or image, adds, "quod si adhuc mansissent, castius dii observarentur;" and gives this reason for it; "Qui primi simulacra deorum populis posuerunt, et civitatibus suis et metum dempsisse, et errorem addidisse;" "The making images of the gods took away fear from men and brought in error:" which place St. Austin quoting, commends and explicates it, saying, "he wisely thought that the gods might easily be despised in the blockishness of images."[h] —The same also was observed by Plutarch, and he gives this reason: "Nefas putantes augustiora exprimere humilioribus, neque aliter, aspirari ad Deum quam mente posse:" "They accounted it impiety to express the great beings with low matter, and they believed there was no aspiring up to God but by the mind."[i] This is a philosophy, which the church of Rome need not be ashamed to learn.

3. It was so known a thing, that christians did abominate the use of images in religion and in their churches, that Adrian the emperor was supposed to build temples to Christ, and to account him as God, because he commanded that churches without images should be made in all cities, as is related by Lampridius.[k]

4. In all the disputations of the Jews against the christians of the primitive church, although they were impatient of having any image, and had detested all use of them, especially ever since their return from Babylon, and still retained the hatred of them, even after the dissolution of their temple, "even unto superstition," says Bellarmine;[l] yet they never objected against christians their having images in their churches, much less their worshipping them. And let it be considered, that in all that long disputation between Justin Martyr and Tryphon the Jew, in which the subtle Jew moves every stone, lays all the load he can at the christian's door, makes all objections, raises all the envy, gives all the matter of reproach, he can against the christians, yet he opens not his mouth against them concerning images. The like is to be observed in Tertullian's book against the Jews; no mention of images, for there was no such thing amongst the christians, they hated them as the Jews did; but it is not imaginable they would have omitted so great a cause of quarrel. On the other side, when in length of time images were brought into churches, the Jews forbore not to upbraid the christians with it. There was a dialogue written a little before the time of the seventh synod, in which a Jew is brought in saying to the christians, "I have believed all ye say, and I do believe in the crucified Jesus Christ, that he is the Son of the living God; 'Scandalizor autem in vos christianos, quia imagines adoratis,' 'I am offended at you christians that ye worship

[d] Cum ejus statuam in Jovis figuram construxissent, Helenæ autem in Minervæ speciem, eis thura adolebant, et libabant, et tanquam Deos adorabant, Simonianos seipsos nominantes.—Theodoret Hæret. Fab. lib. 1. tit. Simonis Hæresis in fin.

[e] Vide Irenæ. lib. 1. adv. Hæres. c. 23, 24.

[f] Ubi suprà Hæres. 7.

[g] Iren. reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut gentes faciunt, i. e. sicut cæterorum illustrium virorum imaginibus consueverunt facere.

[h] Prudenter existimavit deos facile posse in simulacrorum stoliditate contemni.

[i] Plut. in Numâ.

[k] Ælius Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo. edit. Salmat. p. 120.

[l] De Imag. c. 7. sect. Ad primum.

images;"[m] for the Scripture forbids us every where to make any similitude or graven image."—And it is very observable, that in the first and best part of the talmud of Babylon, called the Misna, published about the end of the second century, the christians are not blamed about images; which shows they gave no occasion: but in the third part of the talmud, about the tenth and eleventh age after Christ, the christians are sufficiently upbraided and reproached in this matter. In the Gemara, which was finished about the end of the fifth century, I find that learned men say the Jews called the christian church "the house of idolatry;" which though it may be expounded in relation to images, which about that time began in some churches to be placed and honoured; yet I rather incline to believe, that they meant it of our worshipping Jesus for the true God and the true Messias; for at this day they call all christians "idolaters," even those that have none, and can endure no images in their religion or their churches. But now since these periods, it is plain that the case is altered, and when the learned christians of the Roman communion write against the Jews, they are forced to make apologies for the scandal they give to the Jews in their worshipping of images, as is to be seen (besides Leontius Neopolitanus of Cyprus's Apology, which he published for the christians against the Jews) in Ludovicus Carretus's epistle, in Sepher Amana, and Fabianus Fioghus's Catechetical Dialogues. But I suppose this case is very plain, and is a great conviction of the innovation in this matter made by the church of Rome.

5. The matter of worshipping images looks so ill, so like idolatry, so like the forbidden practices of the heathens, that it was infinitely reasonable, that if it were the practice and doctrine of the primitive church, the primitive priests and bishops should at least have considered, and stated the question how far, and in what sense, it was lawful, and with what intention, and in what degrees, and with what caution and distinctions, this might lawfully be done; particularly when they preached and wrote commentaries and explications upon the decalogue; especially since there was at least so great a semblance of opposition and contradiction between the commandment and any such practice; God forbidding any image and similitude to be made of himself, or any thing else in heaven, or in earth, or in the sea, and that with such threatenings and interminations of his severe judgments against them that did make them for worship, and this thing being so constantly objected by all those many that opposed their admission and veneration; it is certainly very strange that none of the fathers should take notice of any difficulty in this affair. They objected the commandment against the heathens for doing it; and yet that they should make no account, nor take notice how their worshipping saints and God himself by images, should differ from the heathen superstition that was the same thing to look upon: this indeed is very unlikely. But so it is; Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus speak plainly enough of this matter, and speak plain downright words against making and worshipping images; and so careless they were of any future chance, or the present concern of the Roman church, that they do not except the image of the true God, nor the images of saints and angels, no, not of Christ, or the blessed Virgin Mary herself. Nay, Origen[n] expounds the commandments, and St. Austin makes a professed commentary upon them, but touched none of these things with the top of his finger, only told that they were all forbidden; we are not so careless now-a-days in the church of Rome; but carefully expound the commandments against the insufferable objections of the heretics of late, and the prophets and the fathers of old. But yet for all this, a suspicious man would conclude, that in the first four hundred years, there was no need of any such explications, inasmuch as they had nothing to do with images, which only could make any such need.

6. But then, in the next place I consider, that the second commandment is so plain, so easy, so peremptory, against all the making and worshipping any image or likeness of any thing, that besides that every man naturally would understand all such to be forbidden, it is so expressed, that upon supposition that God did intend to forbid it wholly, it could not more plainly have been expressed. For the prohibition is absolute and universal, and therefore of all particulars; and there is no word or sign, by the virtue of which it can, with any probability, be pretended that any one of any kind is excepted. Now then to this when the church of Rome pretends to answer, they overdo it, and make the matter the more suspicious. Some of them answer by saying, that this is no moral commandment, not obligatory to christians, but to the Jews only: others say, that by this commandment it is only forbidden to account an image to be very God; so Cajetan: others say, that an idol only is forbidden, and that an image is no idol. Others yet distinguish the manner of worshipping, saying, that the image is worshipped for the sampler's sake, not for its own. And this worship is by some called δουλεία or service; by others λατρεία; saying that the first is to images of saints, the other to God only. And yet with this difference; some saying that the image of God is adored with the same kind of adoration that God is; only it is to the image for God's sake; so St. Thomas of Aquine, and generally his scholars. Others say that it is a religious kind of worship due to images, but not at all Divine; some say it is but a civil worship. And then it is for the image's sake, and so far is intransitive, but whatever is paid more to the image is transitive, and passes further. And whatsoever it be, it cannot be agreed how it ought to be paid: whether properly or improperly, univocally or equivocally, for themselves or for something else, whether analogically or simply, whether absolutely or by reduction. And it is remarkable what Bellarmine answers to the question, With what kind of worship images may be adored? He answers with this

[m] Synod. 7. act. 5.

[n] Homil. 8. in Exod.

proposition; "The worship which by itself and properly is due to images, is a certain imperfect worship, which analogically and reductively pertains to a kind of that worship which is due to the exemplar:" [o] and a little after, "To the images a certain inferior worship is due, and that not all one, but various according to the variety of images." To the images of saints is due "dulia secundum quid;" which if you do not understand, Bellarmine in the next words explains most clearly; "dulia secundum quid," is, as a man may say, "reductive and analogical." But after all this we may be mistaken, and we cannot tell whom to follow nor what to do in the case. Thomas and his scholars warrant you to give the same worship to God's image as to God: and this is the easiest way indeed to be understood, and indeed may quickly be understood, to be direct idolatry. Bellarmine and others tell you, Stay, not so altogether; but there is a way to agree with St. Thomas, that it shall be the same worship, and not the same worship; for it is the same by reduction, that is, it is of the same kind, and therefore Divine, but it is imperfectly Divine; —as if there could be degrees in Divine worship; that is, as if any worship could be Divine and yet not the greatest. But if this seems difficult, Bellarmine illustrates it by similitudes: "This worship of images is the same with the worship of the example, viz. of God, or of Christ, as it happens; just as a painted man is the same with a living man, and a painted horse with a living horse, for a painted man and a painted horse differ specifically; as the true man and the true horse do; and yet the painted man is no man, and the painted horse is no horse." The effect of which discourse is this, that the worship of images is but the image of worship; hypocrisy and dissimulation all the way; nothing real, but imaginative and fantastical; and indeed though this gives but a very ill account of the agreement of Bellarmine, with their saints, Thomas and Bonaventure, yet it is the best way to avoid idolatry, because they give no real worship to images: but then on the other side, how do they mock God and Christ, by offering to them that which is nothing; by pretending to honour them by honouring their images; when the honour they do give to images, is itself but imaginary, and no more of reality in it, than there is of human nature in the picture of a man! However, if you will not commit downright idolatry, as some of their saints teach you, then you must be careful to observe these plain distinctions, and first be sure to remember, that when you worship an image, you do it not materially but formally; not as it is of such a substance, but as it is a sign; next take care that you observe what sort of image it is, and then proportion your right kind to it, that you do not give "latria" to that where "hyperdulia" is only due; and be careful that if "dulia" only be due, that your worship be not "hyperdulical." In the next place consider that the worship to your image is intransitive but in few cases, and according but to a few doctors; and therefore when you have got all these cases together, be sure that in all other cases it be transitive. But then when the worship is passed on to the exemplar, you must consider, that if it be of the same kind with that which is due to the example, yet it must be an imperfect piece of worship, though the kind be perfect; and that it is but analogical, and it is reductive, and it is not absolute, not simple, not by itself; not by an act to the image distinct from that which is to the example, but one and the same individual act, with one intention, as to the supreme kind, though with some little variety, if the kinds be differing. Now by these easy, ready, clear, and necessary distinctions, and rules, and cases, the people being fully and perfectly instructed, there is no possibility that the worship of images should be against the second commandment, because the commandment does not forbid any worship that is transitive, reduct, accidental, consequential, analogical, and hyperdulical, and this is all that the church of Rome does by her wisest doctors teach now-a-days. But now after all this, the easiest way of all certainly is to worship no images, and no manner of way, and trouble the people's heads with no distinction; for by these no man can ever be at peace, or understand the commandment, which without these laborious devices, (by which they confess the guilt of the commandment does lie a little too heavy upon them,) would most easily by every man and every woman be plainly and properly understood. And therefore I know not whether there be more impiety, or more fearful caution, in the church of Rome in being so curious, that the second commandment be not exposed to the eyes and ears of the people; leaving it out of their manuals, breviaries and catechisms, as if when they teach the people to serve God, they had a mind they should not be tempted to keep all the commandments. And when at any time they do set it down, they only say thus, "Non facies tibi idolum," which is a word not used in the second commandment at all; and if the word which is there used be sometimes translated "idolum," yet it means no more than "similitude;" or if the words be of distinct signification, yet because both are expressly forbidden in that commandment, it is very ill to represent the commandment so as if it were observed according to the intention of that word, yet the commandment might be broken by the not observing it according to the intention of the other word, which they conceal. But of this more by and by.

7. I consider that there is very great scandal and offence given to enemies and strangers to christianity; the very Turks and Jews, with whom the worship of images is of very ill report, and that upon, at least, the most probable grounds in the world. Now the apostle having commanded all christians to pursue those things which are of good report, and to walk circumspectly and charitably towards them that are without, and that "we give no offence neither to the Jew nor to the gentile:" now if we consider, that if the christian church were wholly without images, there would nothing perish to the faith or to the charity of the church, or to any grace which is in order to heaven; and that

[o] Lib. 2. de Imagin. S. S. cap. 25.

the spiritual state of the christian church may as well want such baby-ceremonies as the synagogue did; and yet on the other side, that the Jews and Turks are the more, much more, estranged from the religion of Christ Jesus, by the image-worship[p] done by his pretended servants; the consequent will be, that to retain the worship of images is both against the faith and the charity of christians, and puts limits, and retrenches the borders of the christian pale.

8. It is also very scandalous to christians, that is, it makes many, and endangers more, to fall into the direct sin of idolatry. Polydore Virgil[q] observes of St. Jerome, that "almost all the holy fathers damned the worship of images, for this very reason, for fear of idolatry;" and Cassander says, that all the ancients did abhor all adoration of images; and he cites Origen[r] as an instance great enough to verify the whole affirmative: "Nos vero ideo non honoramus simulacra, quia quantum possumus cavemus, ne quo modo incidamus in eam credulitatem, ut his tribuamus divinitatis aliquid."—This authority E. W. (p. 55.) is not ashamed to bring in behalf of himself in this question, saying, that "Origen hath nothing against the use of images, and declares our christian doctrine thus;" then he recites the words above quoted; than which, Origen could not speak plainer against the practice of the Roman church; and E. W. might as well have disputed for the Manichees with this argument: "The Scripture doth not say that God made the world, it only declares the christian doctrine thus, In the beginning God made heaven and earth," &c. But this gentleman thinks any thing will pass for argument amongst his own people. And of this danger St. Austin[s] gives a rational account; "No man doubts but idols want all sense; but when they are placed in their seats, in an honourable sublimity, that they may be attended by them that pray and offer sacrifice, by the very likeness of living members and senses, although they be senseless and without life, they affect weak minds, that they seem to live and feel, especially when the veneration of a multitude is added to it, by which so great a worship is bestowed upon them." Here is the danger, and how much is contributed to it in the church of Rome by clothing their images in rich apparel, and by pretending to make them nod their head, to twinkle the eyes, and even to speak, the world is too much satisfied. Some such things as these, and the superstitious talkings and actings of their priests, made great impressions upon my neighbours in Ireland; and they had such a deep and religious veneration for the image of our lady of Kilbrony, that a worthy gentleman, who is now with God, and knew the deep superstition of the poor Irish, did not distrain upon his tenants for his rents, but carried away the image of the female saint of Kilbrony; and instantly the priest took care that the tenants should redeem the lady, by a punctual and speedy paying of their rents; for they thought themselves unblessed as long as the image was away; and therefore they speedily fetched away their ark from the house of Obed-Edom, and were afraid that their saint could not help them, when her image was away. Now if St. Paul would have christians to abstain from "meats sacrificed to idols," to avoid the giving offence to weak brethren, much more ought the church to avoid tempting all the weak people of her communion to idolatry, by countenancing, and justifying, and imposing, such acts, which all their heads can never learn to distinguish from idolatry.

I end this with a memorial out of the councils of Sens and Mentz, who command "moneri populum, ne imagines adorent:" "The preachers were commanded to admonish the people, that they should not adore images."[t] And for the novelty of the practice here in the British churches, it is evident in ecclesiastical story, that it was introduced by a synod of London, about the year 714, under Bonifacius the legate, and Bertualdus archbishop of Dover; and that without disputation or inquiry into the lawfulness or unlawfulness of it, but wholly upon the account of a vision pretended to be seen by Eguinus bishop of Worcester; the Virgin Mary appearing to him, and commanding that her image should be set in churches and worshipped. That Austin the monk brought with him the banner of the cross, and the image of Christ, Beda tells; and from him Baronius and Binius affirm, that before this vision of Egwin, the cross and image of Christ were in use; but that they were at all worshipped or adored, Beda saith not; and there is no record, no monument of it, before this hypochondriacal dream of Egwin: and it further appears to be so, because Albinus or Alcuinus an Englishman,[u] master of Charles the Great, when the king had sent to Offa the book of Constantinople, for the worship of images, wrote an epistle against it, "ex auctoritate Divinâ Scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatum;" and brought it to the king of France in the name of our bishops and kings, saith Hovedon.[x]

[p] 1 Cor. viii. 13.

[q] De Invent. Rerum, lib. 6. c. 13. Eo insaniæ deventum est, ut hæc pietatis pars parum differat ab impietate. Sunt enim benè multi rudiores stupidioresque, qui saxeas vel ligneas, seu in parietibus pictas imagines colant, non ut figuras, sed perindè ac si ipsæ sensum aliquem habeant, et eis magis fidant quam Christo: Polyd. Virg. lib. 6. c. 13. de Invent. Rerum.—Lilius Giraldus in Syntag. de Diis Gentium loquens de excessu Romanæ ecclesiæ in negotio imaginum, præfatur, Satius esse ea Harpocrati et Angeronæ consignare. Illud certè non prætermittam, non dico christianos, ut aliquando Romanos fuisse sine imaginibus in primitivâ, quæ vocatur, ecclesiâ. Erasmus in catechisi ait, usque ad ætatem Hieronymi erant probatæ religionis viri, qui in templis nullam ferebant imaginem, nec pictam, nec sculptam, nec textam, ac ne Christi quidem.—Et ibid. Ut imagines sint in templis nulla præcepit vel humana constitutio; et ut facilius est, ita tutius quoque omnes imagines è templis submovere. Videatur etiam Cassandri consultatio; sub hoc titulo et Masius in Josua, cap. 8. Sic autem queritur Ludovicus Vives Comment. in lib. 8. c. ult. de Civit. Dei. Divos divasque non alitèr venerantur, quàm Deum ipsum. Non video in multis quid discrimen sit inter eorum opinionem de sanctis, et id quod Gentiles putabant de Diis suis. Diodorus Siculus dixit de Mose, imaginem statuit nullam, ideo quod non crederet Deum homini similem esse: et Dion. lib. 36. Nullam effigiem in Hierosolymis habuere, quod Deum crederent ut ineffabilem, ita inaspicuum *ἀειδῆ*.

[r] Consul. de Imagin. ex Origene contr. Celsum, lib. 7. versus finem.

[s] Epist. 49. q. 3.

[t] C. 14. c. 11. apud Bellarmin. lib. 2. de Imag. S. S. c. 22. sect. Secunda propositio.

[u] A. D. circiter 792. [x] Annal. part. 1.

SECTION VII.

Of Picturing God the Father, and the Holy Trinity.

Against all the authorities almost, which are or might be brought to prove the unlawfulness of picturing God the Father, or the Holy Trinity, the Roman doctors generally give this one answer; that the fathers intended by their sayings, to condemn the picturing of the Divine essence; but condemn not the picturing of those symbolical shapes or forms, in which God the Father, or the Holy Ghost, or the blessed Trinity, is supposed to have appeared. To this I reply, 1. That no man ever intended to paint the essence of any thing in the world. A man cannot well understand an essence, and hath no idea of it in his mind, much less can a painter's pencil do it. And therefore it is a vain and impertinent discourse to prove, that they do ill, who attempt to paint the Divine essence.[y] This is a subterfuge which none, but men out of hope to defend their opinion otherwise, can make use of. 2. To picture God the Father in such symbolical forms in which he appeared, is to picture him in no form at all; for generally both the schools of the Jews and christians consent in this, that God the Father never appeared in his person; for, as St. Paul affirms, he "is the invisible God, whom no eye hath seen or can see;" he always appeared by angels, or by fire, or by storm and tempest, by a cloud, or by a still voice; he spake by his prophets, and at last by his Son; but still the adorable majesty was reserved in the secrets of his glory. 3. The church of Rome paints the Holy Trinity in forms and symbolical shapes, in which she never pretends the blessed Trinity did appear, as in a face with three noses and four eyes, one body with three heads; and as an old man with a great beard, and a pope's crown upon his head, and holding the two ends of the transverse rafter of the cross with Christ leaning on his breast, and the Holy Spirit hovering over his head: and therefore they worship the images of God the Father, and the Holy Trinity, "figures which," as is said of Remphan and the heathen gods and goddesses, "themselves have made;" which therefore must needs be idols by their own definition of "idolum;" "simulacrum rei non existentis;" for never was there seen any such of the Holy Trinity in Unity, as they most impiously represent. And if when any thing is spoken of God in Scripture allegorically, they may of it make an image to God, they would make many more monsters than yet they have found out: for as Durandus[z] well observes, "If any one shall say, that because the Holy Ghost appeared in the shape of a dove, and the Father, in the Old Testament, under the corporal forms, that therefore they may be represented by images, we must say to this, that those corporal forms were not assumed by the Father and the Holy Spirit: and therefore a representation of them by images is not a representation of the Divine person, but a representation of that form or shape alone. Therefore there is no reverence due to it, as there is none due to those forms by themselves. Neither were these forms to represent the Divine persons, but to represent those effects, which those Divine persons did effect." And therefore there is one thing more to be said to them that do so; "They have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of a mortal man."[a] Now how will the reader imagine that the Dissuasive is confuted, and his testimonies from antiquity answered? Why, most clearly: E. W. saith,[b] that "one principle of St. John Damascen doth it, it solves all that the Doctor hath or can allege in this matter." Well! what is this principle? The words are these (and St. Austin[c] points at the same); "Quisnam est, qui invisibilis, et corpore vacantis, ac circumscriptionis et figuræ expertis, Dei simulacrum effingere queat? Extremæ itaque dementiæ atque impietatis fuerit divinum numen fingere et figurare."—This is the principle to confute the Doctor:—why, but the Doctor thinks, that, in the world, there cannot be clearer words for the reproof of picturing God and the Holy Trinity. For "to do so is madness and extreme impiety," so says Damascen:—But stay, says E. W.,[d] these words of Damascen are "as who should say, he that goes about to express by any image the perfect similitude of God's intrinsical perfections or his nature," *(which is immense without body or figure,)* "would be both impious, and act the part of a madman." But how shall any man know that these words of Damascen are "as much as to say" this meaning of E. W.? and where is this principle, as he calls it, of Damascen, by which the Doctor is so every where silenced? Certainly E. W. is a merry gentleman, and thinks all mankind are fools. This is the ridiculous commentary of E. W.; but Damascen was too learned and grave a person to talk such wild stuff. And Cardinal Cajetan gives a better account of the doctrine of Damascen:[e] "The authority of Damascen in the (very) letter of it condemns those images (viz. of God) of folly and impiety. And there is the same reason now concerning the Deity which was in the old law. And it is certain, that in the old law the images of God were forbidden." To the like purpose[f] is that of the famous Germanus, who though too favourable to pictures in churches for veneration, yet he is a great enemy to all pictures of God: "Neque enim invisibilis Deitatis imaginem, et similitudinem, vel schema, vel figuram aliquam formamus," &c., as who please may see in his epistle to Thomas, Bishop of Claudiopolis. But let us consider when God forbade the children of Israel to

[y] Vide Plutarch. de Iside et Osir.
[z] In 3. Sent. dist. 9. q. 2. n. 15.
[a] Rom. i. 23.
[b] P. 60.
[c] De Fide et Symbolo, c. 7. Damasc. lib. 4. Orthod. Fidei, cap. 17.
[d] P. 60.
[e] Auctoritas Damasceni in literâ damnat illas (imagines Dei) insipientiæ et impietatis. Et eadem est ratio nunc de Deitate, quæ erat in veteri lege quoad rem figurabilem vel non secundum se. Constat autem in veteri lege imagines Dei esse prohibitas.
[f] Videat (si placet) lector Lucum Fudensem adv. Albig. Error. lib. 2. 9. tom. 4. Bibl. p.p. part. 2. Apud. Nicen. Synod. II. act. 5.

make any likeness of him, did he only forbid them to express by any image the perfect similitude of his intrinsical perfections? Had the children of Israel leave to picture God in the form of a man walking in Paradise? or to paint the Holy Trinity like three men talking to Abraham? Was it lawful for them to make an image or picture, or (to use E. W.'s expression) "to exhibit to their eyes those visible or circumscribed lineaments," which any man had seen? And when they had exhibited these forms to the eyes, might they then have fallen down and worshipped those forms, which themselves exhibited to their own and others' eyes? I omit to inquire how they can prove that God appeared in Paradise in the form of a man, which they can never do, unless they will use the friar's argument; "Faciamus hominem ad similitudinem nostram," &c., and so make fair way for the heresy of the Anthropomorphites.

But I pass on a little further: Did the Israelites, when they made a molten calf, and said, "These are thy gods, O Israel," did they imagine, that, by that image, they represented the true form, essence, or nature, of God? Or did the heathens ever pretend to make any image of the intrinsical perfections of any of their "majores" or "minores dii," or any of their demons and dead heroes? And because they neither did nor could do that, may it therefore be concluded, that they made no images of their gods? Certain it is, the heathens have as much reason to say they did not picture their gods, meaning their nature and essence, but by symbolical forms and shapes, represented those good things which they supposed them to have done. Thus the Egyptians pictured Joseph with a bushel upon his head, and called him their god Serapis; but they made no image of his essence, but symbolically represented the benefit he did the nation by preserving them in the seven years' famine. Thus Ceres is painted with a hook and a sheaf of corn, Pomona with a basket of apples, Hercules with a club, and Jupiter himself with a handful of symbolical thunderbolts; this is that which the popish doctors call picturing God, not in his essence, but in history, or in symbolical shapes: for of these three ways[g] of picturing God, Bellarmine says, the two last are lawful. And therefore the heathens, not doing the first, but the second and the third only, are just so to be excused as the church of Rome is. But then neither these nor those must pretend that they do not picture God: for whatever the intention be, still an image of God is made: or else why do they worship God by that, which if it be no image of God, must by their own doctrine be an idol? And therefore Bellarmine's distinction is very foolish, and is only crafty to deceive; for besides the impertinency of it in answering the charge, only by declaring his intention, as being charged with picturing God; he tells he did it indeed, but he meant not to paint his nature, but his story or his symbolical significations; which I say is impertinent, it not being inquired with what purpose it is done, but whether or no; and an evil thing may be done with a good intention: besides this I say, that Bellarmine's distinction comes just to this issue: God may be painted or represented by an image, not to express a perfect similitude of his form or nature, but to express it imperfectly, or rather not to express it, but "ad explicandam naturam," to explain it, not to describe him truly but historically; though that be a strange history, that does not express truly and as it is: but here it is plainly acknowledged, that besides the history, "the very nature of God may be explicated by pictures" or images, provided they be only metaphorical and mystical, as if the only reason of the lawfulness of painting God is, because it is done imperfectly and unlike him; or as if the metaphor made the image lawful; just as if to do Alexander honour, you should picture him like a bear, tearing and trampling every thing; or, to exalt Cæsar, you should hang upon a table the pictures of a fox and a cock and a lion, and write under it, This is Caius Julius Cæsar. But I am ashamed of these prodigious follies. But at last, why should it be esteemed madness and impiety to picture the nature of God, which is invisible, and not also be as great a madness to picture any shape of him, which no man ever saw? But he that is invested with a thick cloud, and encircled with an inaccessible glory, and never drew aside the curtains to be seen under any representment, will not suffer himself to be exposed to vulgar eyes, by fantastical shapes and ridiculous forms.

But it may be, the church of Rome does not use any such impious practice, much less own so mad a doctrine; for one of my adversaries says, that "the picturing the forms or appearances of God is all that some (in their church) allow," that is, some do, and some do not: so that it may be only a private opinion of some doctors, and then I am to blame to charge popery with it. To this I answer that Bellarmine[h] indeed says, "Non esse tam certum in ecclesiâ an sint faciendæ imagines Dei sive Trinitatis, quam Christi et sanctorum;" "It is not so certain," viz. as to be an article of faith. But yet besides that Bellarmine allows it, and cites Cajetan, Catharinus, Payva, Sanders, and Thomas Waldensis, for it; this is a practice and doctrine brought in by an unproved custom of the church; "Constat quod hæc consuetudo depingendi angelos et Deum, modo sub specie Columbæ, modo sub figurâ Trinitatis, sit ubique inter catholicos recepta:" "The picturing angels, and God, sometimes under the shape of a dove, and sometimes under the figure of the Trinity, is every where received among the catholics," said a great man[i] amongst them. And to what purpose they do this, we are told by Cajetan,[k] speaking of images of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,

[g] Observandum est tribus modis posse aliquid pingi. Uno modo ad exprimendam perfectam similitudinem formulæ, et naturæ rei ipsius. Altero modo ad historiam aliquam oculis exhibendam. Tertio potest aliquid pingi extra historiam ad explicandam naturam rei, non per immediatam et propriam similitudinem, sed analogiam, sive metaphoricas, mysticasque significationes.—BELLARM. de Imag. lib. 2. c. 8. sect. Pro Solutione. Hoc modo pinginus Deum, ibid. sect. Hoc modo.

[h] Lib. 2. de Reliq. et Imagin. S. S. cap. 8. sect. Ego dico tria.

[i] Pujol. de Adorat. disp. 3. sect. 4.

[k] In 3. part. tom. q. 25. a. 3.

saying, "Hæc non solum pinguntur, ut ostendantur sicut cherubim olim in templo, sed ut adorentur:" "They are painted, that they may be worshipped," "ut frequens usus ecclesiæ testatur:" "This is witnessed by the frequent use of the church."—So that this is received every where among the catholics, and these images are worshipped, and of this there is an ecclesiastical custom; and I add, in their mass-book lately printed, these pictures are not unfrequently seen. So that now it is necessary to show that this, besides the impiety of it, is against the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, and is an innovation in religion, a propriety of the Roman doctrine, and of infinite danger and unsufferable impiety.

To some of these purposes the Dissuasive alleged Tertullian, Eusebius, and St. Jerome; but A. L. says,[l] these fathers have nothing to this purpose. This is now to be tried. These men were only named in the Dissuasive. Their words are these which follow.

1. For Tertullian:[m] A man would think it could not be necessary to prove that Tertullian thought it unlawful to picture God the Father, when he thought the whole art of painting and making images to be unlawful, as I have already proved. But however let us see. He is very curious that nothing should be used by christians or in the service of God, which is used on, or by, or towards, idols; and because they did paint and picture their idols, cast or carve them, therefore nothing of that kind ought to be "in rebus Dei," as Tertullian's phrase is. But the sum of his discourse is this; "The heathens use to picture their false gods, that indeed befits them, but therefore is unfit for God; and therefore we are to flee, not only from idolatry, but from idols: in which affair a word does change the case, and that, which before it was said to appertain to idols, was lawful,—by that very word was made unlawful, and therefore much more by a shape or figure; and therefore flee from the shape of them; for it is an unworthy thing, that the image of the living God should be made the image of an idol or a dead thing. For the idols of the heathens are silver and gold, and have eyes without sight, and noses without smell, and hands without feeling." So far Tertullian[n] argues. And what can more plainly give his sense and meaning in this article? If the very image of an idol be unlawful, much more is it unlawful to make an image or idol of the living God, or represent him by the image of a dead man.

But this argument is further and more plainly set down by Athanasius, whose book against the gentiles is spent in reproving the images of God real or imaginary; insomuch that he affirms that the gentiles dishonour even their false gods, by making images of them, and that they might better have passed for gods, if they had not represented them by visible images. And therefore, "That the religion of making images of their gods, is not piety, but impious. For to know God we need no outward thing; the way of truth will direct us to him. And if any man ask which is that way, viz. to know God, I shall say, It is the soul of a man, and that understanding which is planted in us; for by that alone God can be seen and understood."[o] The same father does discourse many excellent things to this purpose; "as that a man is the only image of God; Jesus Christ is the perfect image of his glory, and he only represents his essence; and man is made in the likeness of God, and therefore he also, in a less perfect manner, represents God: besides these, if any man desires to see God, let him look in the book of the creature; and all the world is the image and lively representment of God's power, and his wisdom, his goodness, and his bounty. But to represent God in a carved stone, or a painted table, does depauperate our understanding of God, and dishonours him below the painter's art; for it represents him lovely only by that art, and therefore less than him that painted it." But that which Athanasius adds is very material, and gives great reason of the command, why God should severely forbid any image of himself: "Calamitati enim et tyrannidi servientes homines unicum illud est nulli communicabile Dei, nomen lignis lapidibusque imposuerunt:" "Some, in sorrow for their dead children, made their images and fancied that presence; some desiring to please their tyrannous princes, put up their statues, and at a distance by a fantastical presence flattered them with honours. And in process of time, these were made gods; and the incommunicable name was given to wood and stones."—Not that the heathens thought that image to be very God, but that they were imaginarily present in them, and so had their name. "Hujusmodi igitur initiis idolorum inventio, Scripturâ teste, apud homines cœpit," "Thus idolatry began, saith the Scripture, and thus it was promoted;" and the event was, they made pitiful conceptions of God, they confined his presence to a statue, they worshipped him with the lowest way imaginable, they descended from all spirituality and the noble ways of understanding, and made wood and stone to be as it were a body to the Father of spirits; they gave the incommunicable name not only to dead men, and angels, and demons, but to the images of them; and though it is great folly to picture angelical spirits, and dead heroes, whom they never saw, yet by these steps when they had

[l] P. 28.

[m] De Coronâ Milit.

[n] De Cor. Milit. Johannes "Filioli" inquit, "Custodite vos ab idolis," non jam ab idololatriâ quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, id est, ab ipsâ effigie eorum: indignum enim est ut imago divini, imago idoli mortui fiat: si enim verbo nudo conditio polluitur, ut apostolus docet, "si quis dixerit idolothytum est, non contigeris," multo magis cum habitu, et ritu, et apparatu, &c. Quid enim tam dignum Deo quàm quod indignum idolo?

[o] "Nam si, ut dicitis, literarum instar Dei præsentiam signant, atque adeò, ac si Deum significantia, Divinis dignæ censentur honoribus, certè qui ea sculpsit, eisque effigiem dedit, multo magis hos promerebatur honores." Et paulò post: "Quocirca hujusmodi religio, Deorumque fictio non pietatis est, sed iniquitatis invectio. Veritatis via ad eum, qui verus Deus est, diriget. Ad eum verò cognoscendum et exactissimè intelligendum, nullius extra nos positæ rei opem necessarium habemus. Quod si quis interrogat quænam ista sit? Uniuscujusque animam esse dixerim, atque insitam illam intelligentiam; per ipsam enim solam Deus inspici, et intelligi potest." —Orat. cont. Gentiles.

come to picture God himself, this was the height of the gentile impiety, and is but too plain a representation of the impiety practised by too many in the Roman church.

But as we proceed further, the case will be yet clearer. Concerning the testimony of Eusebius, I wonder that any writer of Roman controversies should be ignorant, and being so, should confidently say, Eusebius had nothing to this purpose, viz. to condemn the picturing of God, when his words are so famous, that they are recorded in the seventh synod;[p] and the words were occasioned by a solemn message sent to Eusebius by the sister of Constantius and wife of Licinius, lately turned from being pagan to be christian, desiring Eusebius to send her the picture of our Lord Jesus; to which he answers: "Quia vero de quâdam imagine, quasi Christi, scripsisti, hanc volens tibi à nobis mitti, quam dicis, et qualem, hanc, quam perhibes, Christi imaginem? Utrum veram et incommutabilem, et natura characteres suos portantem? An istam, quam propter nos suscepit, servi formæ schemate circumamictus? Sed de formâ quidem Dei nec ipse arbitror te quærere semel ab ipso edoctam, quoniam neque patrem quis novit nisi filius, neque ipsum filium novit quis aliquando digne, nisi solus pater qui eum genuit." And a little after; "Quis ergo hujusmodi dignitatis et gloriæ vibrantes et præfulgentes splendores exarare potuisset, mortuis et inanimatis coloribus et scripturis umbraticis?" And then speaking of the glory of Christ in mount Tabor, he proceeds; "Ergo si tunc incarnata ejus forma tantam virtutem sortita est ab inhabitante in se divinitate mutata, quid oportet dicere cum mortalitate exutus, et corruptione ablutus, speciem servilis formæ in gloriam Domini et Dei commutavit?" Where besides that Eusebius thinks it unlawful to make a picture of Christ, and therefore consequently, much more to make a picture of God; he also tells Constantia, he supposes she did not offer at any desire of that.—Well, for these three of the fathers we are well enough; but for the rest, the objector says, that they "speak only against representing God as in his own essence, shape, or form." To this I answer, that God hath no shape or form; and therefore these fathers could not speak against making images of a thing that was not; and as for the images of his essence, no christian, no heathen, ever pretended to it; and no man or beast can be pictured so: no painter can paint an essence. And therefore although this distinction was lately made in the Roman schools, yet the fathers knew nothing of it, and the Roman doctors can make nothing of it, for the reasons now told. But the gentleman saith, that "some of their church allow only and practise the picturing those forms wherein God hath appeared." It is very well they do no more; but I pray, in what forms did God the Father ever appear, or the holy and mysterious Trinity? Or suppose they had, does it follow they may be painted? We saw but now out of Eusebius, that it was not esteemed lawful to picture Christ, though he did appear in a human body: and although it is supposed that the Holy Ghost did appear in the shape of a dove, yet it is forbidden by the sixth general council[q] to paint Christ like a lamb, or the Holy Spirit like a dove. Add to this, where did ever the holy and blessed Trinity appear like three faces joined in one, or like an old man with Christ crucified leaning on his breast, and a dove hovering over them? and yet however the objector is pleased to mince the matter, yet the doing this is "ubique inter catholicos recepta:" and that not only to be seen, but to be adored, as I proved a little above by testimonies of their own.

The next charge is concerning St. Jerome, that he says no such thing; which matter will soon be at an end, if we see the commentary[r] he makes on these words of Isaiah, "Cui ergo similem fecisti Deum?" "To whom do you liken God?" Or, "what image will ye make for him, who is a spirit, and is in all things, and runs every where, and holds the earth in his fist? And he laughs at the folly of the nations, that an artist, or a brasier, or a goldsmith, or a silversmith, makes a god, viz. by making the image of God." But the objector adds, that it would be long to set down the words of the other fathers quoted by the Doctor: and truly the Doctor thought so too at first; but because the objector says they do not make against what some of his church own and practise, I thought it might be worth the reader's pains to see them.

The words of St. Austin in this question are very plain and decretory: "For a christian to place such an image to God," (viz. with right and left hand, sitting with bended knees, that is, in the shape of a man,) "is wickedness; but much more wicked is it to place it in our hearts."[s] But of this I have given account in the preceding section.

Theodoret, Damascen, and Nicephorus, do so expressly condemn the picturing God, that it is acknowledged by my adversaries: only they fly for succour to the old "mumpsimus;" they condemn the picturing the essence of God, but not his forms and appearances; a distinction which those good old writers never thought of, but directly they condemned all images of God and the holy Trinity. And the bishops in the seventh synod, though they were worshippers of images, yet they thinking that angels were corporeal, believed they might be painted, but denied it of God expressly. And indeed it were a strange thing that God in the Old Testament should so severely forbid any image to be made of him, upon this reason, because he is invisible; and he presses it passionately, by calling it to their memory, that they heard a voice, but saw no shape; and yet that both he had formerly and did afterward show himself, in shapes and forms which

[p] Synod. 7. act. 6.

[q] Concil. Constantinop. can. 82.

[r] In cap. xl. Isai. Aut quam imaginem ponetis ei, qui spiritus est, et in omnibus est, et ubique discurrit, et terram quasi pugillo continet? Simulque irridet stultitiam nationum, quod artifex sive faber ærarius, aut aurifex aut argentarius Deum sibi faciat.

[s] De fide et Symb. c. 7. Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare, multò magis in corde nefarium est, ubi verè templum est.

might be painted, and so the very reason of the commandment be wholly void. To which add this consideration, that although the angels did frequently appear, and consequently had forms possible to be represented in imagery, yet none of the ancients did suppose it lawful to paint angels, but they that thought them to be corporeal. Τὸν ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ διαπλάσσειν οὐκ ὅσιον, said Philo.[t] To which purpose is that of Seneca, "Effugit oculos, cogitatione visendus est:"[u] and Antiphanes said of God, Ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ ὁρᾶται, οὐδενὶ ἔοικε, διόπερ αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος οὐδεὶς δύναται: "God is not seen with eyes, he is like to no man; therefore no man can by an image know him." By which it appears plainly to be the general opinion of the ancients, that whatever was incorporeal was not to be painted, no, though it had appeared in symbolical forms, as confessedly the angels did. And of this the second synod of Nice[x] itself is a sufficient witness; the fathers of which did all approve the epistle of John, bishop of Thessalonica, in which he largely discourses against the picturing of any thing that is incorporeal. He that pleases to see more of this affair, may find much more, and to very great purpose, in a little book "de Imaginibus,"[y] in the first book of the Greek and Latin "Bibliotheca Patrum;" out of which I shall only transcribe these words: "Non esse faciendum imagines Dei: imo si quis quid simile attentaverit, hunc extremis suppliciis, veluti Ethnicis communicantem dogmatis, subjici." Let them translate it that please, only I remember that Aventinus[z] tells a story, that Pope John the Twenty-second caused to be burnt for heretics, those persons who had painted the holy Trinity; which I urge for no other reason, but to show how late an innovation of religion this is in the church of Rome. The worship of images came in by degrees, and it was long resisted,—but until of late, it never came to the height of impiety as to picture God, and to worship him by images: but this was the state and last perfection of this sin, and hath spoiled a great part of christianity, and turned it back to Ethnicism.

But that I may sum up all; I desire the Roman doctors to weigh well the words of one of their own popes, Gregory II.:[a] to the question, "Cur tamen Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi non oculis subjicimus?" "Why do we not subject the Father of our Lord Jesus to the eyes?" he answers, "Quoniam Dei natura spectanda proponi non potest ac fingi:" "The nature of God cannot be exposed to be beheld, nor yet feigned." He did not conclude, that therefore we cannot make the image of his essence, but none at all, nothing of him to be exposed to the sight. And that this is his direct and full meaning, besides his own words, we may conclude from the note which Baronius makes upon it. "Postea in usu venisse, ut pingatur in ecclesiâ Pater et Spiritus Sanctus:" "Afterwards it became a use in the church (viz. the Roman) to paint the Father and the Holy Ghost." And therefore besides the impiety of it, the church of Rome is guilty of innovation in this particular also, which was the thing I intended to prove.

[t] Lib. de Legat. [u] Natur. q. 8. 30. [x] Act 5.
[y] P. 734, &c. [z] Annal. Biorum, lib. 7.

[a] In Epistolâ quam Baronius Græcè edidit tom. 9. Annal. ad A. D. 726. in margine.

TWO LETTERS

TO

PERSONS CHANGED IN RELIGION:

ALSO

THREE LETTERS

TO A

GENTLEMAN THAT WAS TEMPTED TO THE COMMUNION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

Ὁπόσους ἄν τις ἢ κεκτημένος ἑταίρους, τοσούτοις μὲν ὀφθάλμοῖς ἃ δεῖ βλέπει.
DION. Orat. I. de Regno.

LETTER I.

TO A GENTLEWOMAN SEDUCED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

M. B.

I WAS desirous of an opportunity in London to have discoursed with you concerning something of nearest concernment to you; but the multitude of my little affairs hindered me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long letter; which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, because it comes from one who hath a great respect to your person, and a very great charity to your soul. I must confess I was on your behalf troubled, when I heard you were fallen from the communion of the church of England, and entered into a voluntary, unnecessary schism, and departure from the laws of the king, and the communion of those with whom you have always lived in charity; going against those laws, in the defence and profession of which your husband died; going from the religion in which you were baptized, in which for so many years you lived piously and hoped for heaven; and all this without any sufficient reason, without necessity or just scandal ministered to you; and to aggravate all this, you did it in a time when the church of England was persecuted, when she was marked with characterisms of her Lord, the marks of the cross of Jesus, that is, when she suffered for a holy cause and a holy conscience, when the church of England was more glorious than at any time before; even when she could show more martyrs and confessors than any church this day in christendom; even then when a king died in the profession of her religion, and thousands of priests, learned and pious men, suffered the spoiling of their goods rather than they would forsake one article of so excellent a religion: so that seriously it is not easily to be imagined that any thing should move you, unless it be that which troubled the perverse Jews, and the heathen Greek, "scandalum crucis," "the scandal of the cross." You stumbled at that rock of offence; you left us because we were afflicted, lessened in outward circumstances, and wrapped in a cloud: but give me leave only to remind you of that sad saying of the Scripture, that you may avoid the consequent of it; "They that fall on this stone, shall be broken in pieces; but they on whom it shall fall, shall be grinded to powder." And if we should consider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the sons of our church are very conscientious and just in their persuasions, when it is evident, that we have no temporal end to serve, nothing but the great end of our souls; all our hopes of preferment are gone, all secular regards; only we still have truth on our sides, and we are not willing, with the loss of truth, to change from a persecuted to a prosperous church, from a reformed to a church that will not be reformed; lest we give scandal to good people that suffer for a holy conscience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which if you had been more careful, you would have remained much more innocent.

But I pray, give me leave to consider for you, because you, in your change, considered so little for yourself. What fault, what false doctrine, what wicked and dangerous proposition, what defect, what

amiss, did you find in the doctrine and liturgy and discipline of the church of England?

For its doctrine, it is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New Testament, all that which is in the three creeds, the apostolical, the Nicene, and that of Athanasius, and whatsoever was decreed in the four general councils, or in any other truly such; and whatsoever was condemned in these, our church hath legally declared it to be heresy. And upon these accounts, above four whole ages of the church went to heaven; they baptized all their catechumens into this faith, their hopes of heaven were upon this and a good life, their saints and martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied communion to none that professed this faith. "This is the catholic faith," so saith the creed of Athanasius; and unless a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whosoever live and die in this faith, are entirely catholic and christian. So that the church of England hath the same faith without dispute that the church had for four or five hundred years; and therefore there could be nothing wanting here to saving faith, if we live according to our belief.

For the liturgy of the church of England, I shall not need to say much, because the case will be very evident; 1. Because the disputers of the church of Rome have not been very forward to object any thing against it, they cannot charge it with any evil: 2. Because for all the time of King Edward the Sixth, and till the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, your people came to our churches, and prayed with us, till the bull of Pius the Fifth came out upon temporal regards, and made a schism by forbidding the Queen's subjects to pray as by law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themselves did believe. That bull enjoined recusancy, and made that, which was an act of rebellion, and disobedience, and schism, to be the character of your Roman catholics. And after this, what can be supposed wanting in order to salvation? We have the word of God, the faith of the apostles, the creeds of the primitive church, the articles of the four first general councils, a holy liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect sacraments, faith and repentance, the ten commandments, and the sermons of Christ, and all the precepts and counsels of the gospel. We teach the necessity of good works, and require and strictly exact the severity of a holy life; we live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for him, and do so when he requires us so to do; we speak honourably of his most holy name, we worship him at the mention of his name, we confess his attributes, we love his servants, we pray for all men, we love all christians, even our most erring brethren: we confess our sins to God and to our brethren whom we have offended, and to God's ministers in cases of scandal or of a troubled conscience: we communicate often, we are enjoined to receive the holy sacrament thrice every year at least: our priests absolve the penitent, our bishops ordain priests, and confirm baptized persons, and bless their people and intercede for them: and what could here be wanting to salvation? what necessity forced you out from us? I dare not suspect it was a temporal regard that you drew away, but I am sure it could be no spiritual.

But now that I have told you, and made you to consider from whence you went; give me leave to represent to you, and tell you whither you are gone, that you may understand the nature and conditions of your change; for do not think yourself safe because they tell you that you are come to the church; you are indeed gone from one church to another, from a better to a worse, as will appear in the induction, the particulars of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice: If you mean in this affair to understand what you do, it were better you inquired what your religion is, than what your church is; for that which is a true religion to-day, will be so to-morrow and for ever; but that which is a holy church to-day, may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her trust, or obtrude new articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude ancient truths, or may change your creed, or may pretend to be the spouse of Christ when she is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God: your religion is that which you must, and therefore may, competently understand; you must live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it; and in all questions concerning the church, you are to choose your church by the religion, and therefore this ought first and last to be inquired after.

Whether the Roman church be the catholic church, must depend upon so many uncertain inquiries,—is offered to be proved by so long, so tedious a method,—hath in it so many intrigues and labyrinths of question,—and is, like a long line, so impossible to be perfectly straight, and to have no declination in it, when it is held by such a hand as yours; that unless it be by material inquiries into the articles of the religion, you can never hope to have just grounds of confidence. In the mean time you can consider this; if the Roman church were the catholic, that is, so as to exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned christians; and all that are in the communion of all the other patriarchal churches in christendom, must also perish like heathens; which thing before any man can believe, he must have put off all reason, and all modesty, and all charity. And who can with any probability think that "the communion of saints" in the creed, is nothing but "the communion of Roman subjects," and the article of the "catholic church" was made up to dispark the enclosures of Jerusalem, but to turn them into the pale of Rome; and the church is as limited as ever it was, save only that the synagogue is translated to Rome, which I think you will easily believe was a proposition the apostles understood not. But though it be hard to trust to it, it is also so hard to prove it, that you shall never be able to understand the measures of that question, and therefore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can believe that God hath tied our salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an article that is

not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand.

And when you shall know that learned men, even of the Roman party, are not agreed concerning the catholic church that is infallibly to guide you; some saying that it is the virtual church, that is, the pope; some, that it is the representative church, that is, a council; some, that it is the pope and the council, the virtual church and the representative church, together; some, that neither of these, nor both together, are infallible; but only, the essential church, or the diffusive church, is the catholic, from whom we must at no hand dissent; you will quickly find yourself in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than a word in exchange for your soul, when you are told you are in the catholic church.

But I will tell you what you may understand, and see and feel something, that yourself can tell whether I say true or no concerning it. You are now gone to a church that protects itself by arts of subtilty and arms, by violence and persecuting all that are not of their minds;—to a church in which you are to be a subject of the king so long as it pleases the pope; in which you may be absolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the king, your promises to men, your duty to your parents in some cases: a church in which men pray to God, and to saints in the same form of words in which they pray to God, as you may see in the offices of saints, and particularly of our lady: a church in which men are taught by most of the principal leaders to worship images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose image it is, and in which they usually picture God the Father, and the holy Trinity, to the great dishonour of that sacred mystery, against the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, against the express doctrine of Scripture, against the honour of a Divine attribute, I mean the immensity and spirituality of the Divine nature. You are gone to a church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children should inquire into any thing her priests obtrude. You are gone from receiving the whole sacrament to receive it but half; from Christ's institution to a human invention, from Scripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pretences, from prayers which ye understood to prayers which ye understand not, from confidence in God to rely upon creatures, from entire dependence upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministries, in the external work of sacraments and of sacramentals. You are gone from a church whose worshipping is simple, christian, and apostolical, to a church where men's consciences are laden with a burden of ceremonies greater than that in the days of the Jewish religion, (for the ceremonial of the church of Rome is a great book in folio,) greater I say than all the ceremonies of the Jews contained in Leviticus, &c. You are gone from a church where you were exhorted to read the word of God, the Holy Scriptures, from whence you found instruction, institution, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellencies, to a church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of such cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out. And if it be told you that some men abuse Scripture, it is true; for if your priests had not abused Scripture, they could not thus have abused you: but there is no necessity they should, and you need not, unless you list; any more than you need to abuse the sacraments or decrees of the church, or the messages of your friend, or the letters you receive, or the laws of the land; all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings. It is now become a part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ, and now you are taught to worship saints and angels with a worship at least dangerous, and in some things proper to God; for your church worships the Virgin Mary with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for heresy in the Collyridians, who offered a cake to the Virgin Mary; a candle and a cake make no difference in the worship; and your joining God and the saints in your worship and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for king and parliament, the latter destroys the former. I will trouble you with no more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious conscience.

The first is, That all the points of difference between us and your church are such as do evidently serve the ends of covetousness and ambition, of power and riches; and so stand vehemently suspected of design and art, rather than truth of the article, and designs upon heaven. I instance in the pope's power over princes and all the world; his power of dispensation, the exemption of the clergy from jurisdiction of princes, the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences, which was once made means to raise a portion for a lady, the niece of Pope Leo the Tenth; the priest's power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from Scripture, a doctrine apt to bring absolute obedience to the papacy; but because this is possibly too nice for you to suspect or consider, that which I am sure ought to move you, is this:

That you are gone to a religion in which (though through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are, I hope and charitably suppose, many pious men that love God and live good lives, yet) there are very many doctrines taught by your men, which are very ill friends to a good life. I instance in your indulgences and pardons, in which vicious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon

them. The doctrine of purgatory, which gives countenance to a sort of christians, who live half to God and half to the world, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to hell and to heaven too. The doctrine that the priest's absolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that suddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed, or the minute before our death, is a dangerous heap of falsehoods, and gives license to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life with the hopes of heaven. And then for penances and temporal satisfaction, which might seem to be as a plank after the shipwreck of the duty of repentance, to keep men in awe and to preserve them from sinking in an ocean of impiety, it comes to just nothing by your doctrine; for there are so many easy ways of indulgences and getting pardons, so many confraternities, stations, privileged altars, little offices, Agnus Dei's, amulets, hallowed devices, swords, roses, hats, church-yards, and the fountain of these annexed indulgences the pope himself, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom, he list; that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to smart with penances; and after all, he may choose to suffer any at all, for he may pay them in purgatory if he please, and he may come out of purgatory upon reasonable terms, in case he should think it fit to go thither: so that all the whole duty of repentance seems to be destroyed with devices of men that seek power and gain, and find error and folly; insomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven at last, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But I forget I am writing a letter: I shall therefore desire you to consider upon the premises, which is the safer way. For surely it is lawful for a man to serve God without images; but that to worship images is lawful, is not so sure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confess him to be true, and every man a liar, to call no man master upon earth, but to rely upon God teaching us; but it is at least hugely disputable, and not at all certain, that any man, or society of men, can be infallible, that we may put our trust in saints, in certain extraordinary images, or burn incense and offer consumptive oblations to the Virgin Mary, or make vows to persons, of whose state, or place, or capacities, or condition, we have no certain revelation. We are sure we do well, when in the holy communion we worship God and Jesus Christ our Saviour; but they who also worship what seems to be bread, are put to strange shifts to make themselves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we see and feel; but it is an unnatural thing, upon pretence of faith, to disbelieve our eyes, when our sense and our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the question of the real presence, as it is taught by the church of England.

So that unless you mean to prefer a danger before safety, temptation to unholiness before a severe and a holy religion; unless you mean to lose the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the sacrament in great degrees by falling from Christ's institution, and taking half instead of all: unless you desire to provoke God to jealousy by images, and man to jealousy in professing a religion in which you may in many cases have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful trust: unless you will still continue to give scandal to those good people with whom you have lived in a common religion, and weaken the hearts of God's afflicted ones: unless you will choose a catechism without the second commandment, and a faith that grows bigger or less as men please, and a hope that in many degrees relies on men and vain confidences, and a charity that damns all the world but yourselves: unless you will do all this, that is, suffer an abuse in your prayers, in the sacrament, in the commandments, in faith, in hope, in charity, in the communion of saints, and your duty to your supreme, you must return to the bosom of your mother, the church of England, from whence you have fallen, rather weakly than maliciously; and I doubt not but you will find the comfort of it all your life, and in the day of your death, and in the day of judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own soul, and done an act of duty and charity, which at least you are bound to take kindly, if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me add this, That although most of these objections are such things which are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your church, and need not to be proved, as being either notorious or confessed; yet if any of your guides shall seem to question any thing of it, I will bind myself to verify it to a tittle, and in that too which I intend them, that is, so as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly, or heresy, or disobedience, according to the subject matter. And though I have propounded these things now to your consideration, yet, if it be desired, I shall represent them to your eye, so that even yourself shall be able to give sentence in the behalf of truth. In the mean time give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty, in being moved by such mock-arguments as your men use, when they meet with women and tender consciences and weaker understandings.

The first is: "Where was your church before Luther?" Now if you had called upon them to speak something against your religion from Scripture, or right reason, or universal tradition, you had been secure as a tortoise in her shell; a cart pressed with sheaves could not have oppressed your cause or person; though you had confessed you understood nothing of the mysteries of succession doctrinal or personal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Christ and his apostles taught, let the truth suffer what eclipses or prejudices can be supposed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity; yet what Christ and his apostles taught us, is eternally true, and shall, by some means or other, be conveyed to us; even the enemies of truth have been conservators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you still ask where it was before Luther, I answer, it was there where it was after,—even in the Scrip-

tures of the Old and New Testament; and I know no warrant for any other religion: and if you will expect I should show any society of men who professed all the doctrines which are now expressed in the confession of the church of England, I shall tell you it is unreasonable; because some of our truths are now brought into our public confessions that they might be opposed against your errors; before the occasion of which there was no need of any such confessions, till you made many things necessary to be professed which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your superinduced follies, we shall do unreasonably, unconscionably, and wickedly; but the questions themselves are so useless, abstracting from the accidental necessity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them more than the saints and martyrs did in the first ages of the church. But because your clergy have invaded the liberty of the church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend new necessities, and have introduced new articles, and affright the simple upon new pretensions, and slight the very institution and the commands of Christ and of the apostles, and invent new sacramentals, constituting ceremonies of their own head, and promise grace along with the use of them, as if they were not ministers but lords of the Spirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and make void the commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a strange body of divinity; therefore it is necessary that we should immure our faith by the refusal of such vain and superstitious dreams: but our faith was completed at first, it is no other than that which was delivered to the saints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a foolish demand to require, that we should show before Luther a system of articles declaring our sense in these questions: it was long before they were questions at all; and when they were made questions, they remained so a long time; and when by their several pieces they were determined, this part of the church was oppressed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progress of this affair. But if you will still insist upon it, then let the matter be put into equal balances, and let them show any church, whose confession of faith was such as was obtruded upon you at Trent: and if your religion be Pius the Fourth's creed at Trent, then we also have a question to ask, and that is, "Where was your religion before Trent?"

The council of Trent determined, That the souls departed before the day of judgment enjoy the beatifical vision. It is certain this article could not be shown in the confession of any of the ancient churches; for most of the fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greatest offence of christendom, is not only that these doctrines which we say are false were yet affirmed, but that those things which the church of God did always reject, or held as uncertain, should be made articles of faith, and so become parts of your religion; and of these it is that I again ask the question which none of your side shall ever be able to answer for you: "Where was your religion before Trent?"

I could instance in many particulars, but I shall name one to you, which because the thing of itself is of no great consequence, it will appear the more unreasonable and intolerable that your church should adopt it into the things of necessary belief, especially since it was only a matter of fact, and they took the false part too. For in the 21st sess. chap. 4. it is affirmed, that "although the holy fathers did give the sacrament of the eucharist to infants, yet they did it without any necessity of salvation," that is, they did not believe it necessary to their salvation: which is notoriously false, and the contrary is marked out with the blacklead of every man almost that reads their works; and yet your council says, this is "sine controversiâ credendum," "to be believed without all controversy;" and all christians forbidden to believe or teach otherwise. So that here it is made an article of faith amongst you, that a man shall neither believe his reason nor his eyes: and who can show any confession of faith in which all the Trent doctrine was professed and enjoined under pain of damnation?

And before the council of Constance, the doctrine touching the pope's power was so new, so decried, that as Gerson[a] says, he hardly should have escaped the note of heresy that would have said so much as was there defined: so that in that article, which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your religion before the council of Constance? And it is notorious that your council of Constance determined the doctrine of the half-communion with a "non obstante" to Christ's institution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, observed neglect of it, and with a profession it was otherwise in the primitive church. Where then was your religion before John Huss and Jerome of Prague's time, against whom that council was convened? But by this instance it appears most certainly that your church cannot show her confessions immediately after Christ, and therefore if we could not show ours immediately before Luther, it were not half so much; for since you receded from Christ's doctrine, we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who, or how many, or how long they professed your doctrine, if neither Christ nor his apostles did teach it: so that if these articles constitute your church, your church was invisible at the first; and if ours was invisible afterward, it matters not; for yours was invisible in the days of light, and ours was invisible in the days of darkness. For our church was always visible in the reflections of Scripture; and he that had his eyes of faith and reason, might easily have seen these truths all the way which constitute our church. But I add yet further, that our church, before Luther, was there where your church was, in the same place and in the same persons: for divers of the errors which have been amongst us reformed, were not the constituent articles of your church before Luther's time; for before the last councils of your church a man might have been of your communion upon easier terms; and indulgences were

[a] De Potest. Eccles. cons. 12.

indeed a practice, but no article of faith, before your men made it so, and that very lately, and so were many other things besides. So that although your men cozen the credulous and the simple by calling yours "the old religion," yet the difference is vast between truth and their affirmative, even as much as between old errors and new articles. For although ignorance and superstition had prepared the ore, yet the councils of Constance and Basil, and Trent especially, were the forges and the mint.

Lastly, If your men had not, by all the vile and violent arts of the world, stopped the mouths of dissenters, the question would quickly have been answered, or our articles would have been so confessed, so owned, and so public, that the question could never have been asked: but in despite of all opposition, there were great numbers of professors who did protest and profess and practise our doctrines contrary to your articles; as it is demonstrated by the divines of Germany in Illyricus's "Catalogus Testium Veritatis," and in Bishop Morton's "Appeal."

But with your next objection you are better pleased, and your men make most noise with it. For you pretend that by our confession salvation may be had in your church, but your men deny it to us; and therefore by the confession of both sides you may be safe, and there is no question concerning you; but of us there is great question, for none but ourselves say that we can be saved.

I answer, 1. That salvation may be had in your church, is it ever the truer because we say it? If it be not, it can add no confidence to you; for the proposition gets no strength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good, or else our reason; and if either be, then we have more reason to be believed, speaking of ourselves; because we are concerned to see that ourselves may be in a state of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this side if we had not greater reason to believe well of ourselves, than of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reason, because we have greater concernments, and therefore greater considerations.

2. As much charity as your men pretend us to speak of you, yet it is a clear case our hope of your salvation is so little, that we dare not venture ourselves on your side. The burgher of Oldwater, being to pass a river in his journey to Daventry, bade his man try the ford: telling him he hoped he should not be drowned; for though he was afraid the river was too deep, yet he thought his horse would carry him out, or at least the boats would fetch him off. Such a confidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an interest it is that you venture.

3. It would be remembered that though the best ground of your hope is not the goodness of your own faith, but the greatness of our charity; yet we that charitably hope well of you, have a fulness of assurance of the truth and certainty of our own way: and however you can please yourselves with images of things, as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of just and firm adherences; and if you were not empty of supports, and greedy of bulrushes, snatching at any thing to support your sinking cause, you would with fear and trembling consider the direct dangers which we demonstrate to you to be in your religion, rather than flatter yourselves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental possibilities, that some of you may escape.

4. If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and essential form of christian religion, be sure you love as well as make use of our charity: but if you make our charity an argument against us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the Donatists were condemned for heretics and schismatics, because they damned all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their communion.

5. But that our charity may be such indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into wormwood and colloquintida, I pray take notice in what sense it is that we allow salvation may possibly be had in your church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for some; we allow it to them as to the Sadducees in the law, and to the Corinthians in the gospel, who denied the resurrection; that is, till they were sufficiently instructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to outwear their prejudices, and the impresses of their education and long persuasion. But to them amongst you who can and do consider and yet determine for error and interest, we have a greater charity, even so much as to labour and pray for their conversion, but not so much fondness as to flatter them into boldness and pertinacious adherences to matters of so great danger.

6. But in all this affair, though your men are very bold with God, and leap into his judgment-seat before him, and give wild sentences concerning the salvation of your own party and the damnation of all that disagree; yet that which is our charity to you, is indeed the fear of God, and the reverence of his judgments. We do not say that all papists are certainly damned, we wish and desire vehemently that none of you may perish. But then this charity of judgment relates not to you, nor is derived from any probability which we see in your doctrines that differ from ours; but because we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article; it concerns neither you nor us to say, this or that man shall be damned for his opinion: for besides that this is a bold intrusion into that secret of God which shall not be opened till the day of judgment; and besides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from Scripture, that you exercise tyranny over souls, that you leave the Divine institution, and prevaricate God's commandment, that you divide the church without truth and without necessity, that you tie

men to believe things under pain of damnation, which cannot be made very probable, much less certain; and therefore that you sin against God, and are in danger of his eternal displeasure. But in giving the final sentence, as we have no more to do than your men have, yet so we refuse to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our blessed Lord; who decreed and declared against the crime, but not against the criminal before the day. He that does this, or that, is in danger of the council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell-fire: so we say of your greatest errors, they put you in the danger of perishing; but that you shall or shall not perish, we leave it to your Judge; and if you call this charity, it is well I am sure it is piety and the fear of God.

7. Whether you may be saved, or whether you shall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God sets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we dispute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it were well if your men would leave abusing you and themselves with these little arts of indirect support. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally perish; and you in your church damn millions, who, I doubt not, shall reign with Jesus eternally in the heavens.

8. I wish you would consider, that if any of our men say, salvation may be had in your church, it is not for the goodness of your new propositions, but only because you do keep so much of that which is our religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you or your religion as it distinguishes from us and ours. We hope that the good which you have common with us, may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an antidote of the venom, and an amulet against the danger of your very great errors: so that if you can derive any confidence from our concession, you must remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours: you are not at all safe or warranted for being papists; but we hope well of some of you, for having so much of the protestant: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whithersoever it leads you.

9. The safety that you dream of, which we say to be on your side, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect, and relative.

We do not say any thing whereby you can conclude yours to be safer than ours; for it is not safe at all, but extremely dangerous: we affirm those errors in themselves to be damnable, some to contain in them impiety, some to have sacrilege, some idolatry, some superstition, some practices to be conjuring and charming and very like to witchcraft, as in your hallowing of water, and baptizing bells, and exorcising demoniacs; and what safety there can be in these, or what you can fancy we should allow to you, I suppose you need not boast of. Now because we hope some are saved amongst you, you must not conclude yours to be safe; for our hope relies upon this: there are many of your propositions in which we differ from you, that thousands amongst you understand and know nothing of; it is to them as if they were not; it is to them now as it was before the council, they hear not of it. And though your priests have taken a course, that the most ignorant do practise some of your abominations most grossly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who, as St. Austin's expression is, "cautâ sollicitudine quærunt veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint;" "do, according as they are able, warily and diligently seek for truth, and are ready to follow it when they find it;" men who live good lives, and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, these men shall rejoice in the eternal goodness of God, which prevails over the malice of them that misguide you: but if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abused you, and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10. If you will have the secret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you, as it is known, principally rely upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we say that a man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he, —that prays heartily for the pardon of all sins and errors known and unknown,—by his general repentance may obtain many degrees and interests of mercy. Now thus much also your men allow to us; these who live well, and die in a true, though but general, repentance of their sins and errors even amongst us, your best and wisest men pronounce to be in a savable condition. Here then we are equal, and we are as safe by your confession as you are by ours. But because there are some bigots of your faction, fierce and fiery, who say that a general repentance will not serve our turns, but it must be a particular renunciation of protestancy; these men deny not only to us but to themselves too, all that comfort which they derive from our concession, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercies of God. For be you sure we think as ill of your errors as you can suppose of our articles; and therefore if for errors, be they on which side it chances, a general repentance will not serve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourselves by any thing of our kindness to your party: for you must have a particular, if a general be not sufficient. But if it be sufficient for you, it is so for us, in case we be in error, as your men suppose us; but if it will not suffice us for remedy to those errors you charge us with, neither will it suffice you; for the case must needs be equal as to the value of repentance and malignity of the error: and therefore these men condemn themselves, and will not allow us to hope well of them; but if they will allow us to hope, it must be by affirming the value of a general repentance; and if they allow that, they must hope as well of ours as we of theirs; but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themselves; and then they can no more brag of any thing of our

concession. This only I add to this consideration; that your men do not, cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing positive in our doctrine, but is either true or innocent; but we are accused for denying your superstructures: ours therefore, if we be deceived, is but like a sin of omission; yours are sins of commission, in case you are in the wrong, (as we believe you to be,) and therefore you must needs be in the greater danger than we can be supposed, by how much sins of omission are less than sins of commission.

11. Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy, and a trick that must needs deceive you if you rely upon it. For whereas your men argue thus: "the protestants say we papists may be saved; and so say we too; but we papists say that you protestants cannot, therefore it is safest to be a papist:" consider that of this argument, if it shall be accepted, any bold heretic can make use, against any modest christian of a true persuasion. For, if he can but outface the modesty of the good man, and tell him he shall be damned; unless that modest man say as much of him, you see impudence shall get the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in immediate succession were circumcised, believing it to be necessary so to be; with these other christian churches, who were of the uncircumcision, did communicate: suppose now that these bishops had not only thought it necessary for themselves, but for others too; this argument you see was ready; you of the uncircumcision who do communicate with us, think that we may be saved though we are circumcised; but we do not think that you who are not circumcised can be saved, therefore it is the safest way to be circumcised:—I suppose you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumcised. But this argument may serve the presbyterians as well as the papists. We are indeed very kind to them in our sentences concerning their salvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us. If they should argue so as you do, and say, "You episcopal men think we presbyterians, though in errors, can be saved, and we say so too: but we think you episcopal men are enemies of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; and therefore we think you in a damnable condition; therefore it is safer to be a presbyterian:" I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am sure we had reason to complain that we are used very ill on both hands for no other cause but because we are charitable. But it is not our case alone; but the old catholics were used just so by the Donatists in this very argument, as we are used by your men. The Donatists were so fierce against the catholics, that they would rebaptize all them who came to their churches from the other; but the catholics, as knowing the Donatists did give right baptism, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not rebaptize them. Upon this score, the Donatists triumphed, saying, You catholics confess our baptism to be good, and so say we: but we Donatists deny your baptism to be good; therefore it is safer to be of our side than yours. Now what should the catholics say or do? should they lie for God and for religion, and, to serve the ends of truth, say, the Donatist's baptism was not good? That they ought not. Should they damn all the Donatists, and make the rent wider? It was too great already. What then? They were quiet, and knew that the Donatists sought advantages by their own fierceness, and trampled upon the others' charity; but so they hardened themselves in error, and became evil, because the others were good.

I shall trouble you no further now, but desire you to consider of these things with as much caution, as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I shall pray to God to open your heart and your understanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do your first works. Which that you may do, is the hearty desire of

Your very affectionate
Friend and Servant,
JER. TAYLOR.

LETTER II.

To a Person newly converted to the Church of England.

MADAM,

I BLESS God I am safely arrived, where I desired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger: and now because I can have no other expression of my tenderness, I account that I have a treble obligation to signify it by my care of your biggest and eternal interest. And because it hath pleased God to make me an instrument of making you to understand in some fair measure the excellences of a true and holy religion, and that I have pointed out such follies and errors in the Roman church, at which your understanding, being forward and pregnant, did of itself start as at imperfect, ill-looking propositions, give me leave to do that now which is the purpose of my charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the church of England, whither you are now come, is not in condition to boast herself in the reputation of changing the opinion of a single person, though never so excellent; she hath no temporal ends to serve, which must stand upon fame and noises; all that she can design, is to serve God, to advance the honour of the Lord, and the good of souls, and to rejoice in the cross of Christ.

First; therefore I desire you to remember, that as now you are taught to pray both publicly and privately, in a language understood, so it is intended your affections should be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the understanding part. For though you have been often

told and have heard, that ignorance is the mother of devotion; you will find that the proposition is unnatural, and against common sense and experience; because it is impossible to desire that of which we know nothing, unless the desire itself be fantastical and illusive: it is necessary that in the same proportion in which we understand any good thing, in the same we shall also desire it; and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more passionate and material also your affections will be towards it: and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them, the more reason you have to love them. It is monstrous to think that devotion, that is, passionate desires of religious things, and the earnest prosecutions of them, should be produced by any thing of ignorance or less perfect notices in any sense. Since therefore you are taught to pray, so that your understanding is the precentor or the master of the choir, and you know what you say; your desires are made human, religious, express, material (for these are the advantages of prayers and liturgies well understood): be pleased also to remember, that now if you be not also passionate and devout for the things you mention, you will want the spirit of prayer, and be more inexcusable than before. In many of your prayers before, (especially the public,) you heard a voice, but saw and perceived nothing of the sense; and what you understood of it was like the man in the gospel that was half blind, he saw men walking like trees, and so you possibly might perceive the meaning of it in general; you knew when they came to the Epistle, when to the Gospel, when the "Introit," when the "Pax," when any of the other more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the spirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellences, which could or ought there to have been represented; but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is made facile and easy, and there can want nothing but your consent and observation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all human confidences, from relying wholly and almost ultimately upon the priest's power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and outsides; you are not to think that the priest's power is less, that the sacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently: but you are to remember, that all outward things and ceremonies, all sacraments and institutions, work their effect in the virtue of Christ, by some moral instrument: the priests in the church of England can absolve you as much as the Roman priests could fairly pretend; but then we teach that you must first be a penitent and a returning person, and our absolution does but manifest the work of God, and comfort and instruct your conscience, direct and manage it: you shall be absolved here, but not unless you live a holy life; so that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a strict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear soul by pretended ministries, but we so order our discourses and directions, that all our ministrations may be really effective. And when you receive the holy sacrament of the eucharist or the Lord's supper, it does more good here than they do there; because if they consecrate rightly, yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole representative sacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole sacrament; only we enjoin that you come with so much holiness, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principal, and the sacrament in our hands may be the ministering and assisting part. We do not promise great effects to easy trifling dispositions, because we would not deceive, but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the same expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of sanctification; but you must do something more of the work yourself, that we may not do less in effect than you have in your expectation; we will not, to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a less blessing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter yourself, that in our communion you may have more ease and liberty of life: for though I know your pious soul desires passionately to please God and to live religiously, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, lest it at any time should discompose your severity: therefore as to confession to a priest, (which how it is usually practised among the Roman party, yourself can very well account, and you have complained sadly, that it is made an ordinary act, easy and transient, sometimes matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent, but,) suppose it free from such scandal to which some men's folly did betray it, yet the same severity you will find among us: for though we will not tell a lie to help a sinner, and say that is necessary which is only appointed to make men do themselves good; yet we advise and commend it, and do all the work of souls to all those people that will be saved by all means, to devout persons, that make religion the business of their lives; and they that do not so in the churches of the Roman communion, as they find but little advantage by periodical confessions, so they feel but little awfulness and severity by the injunction. You must confess to God all your secret actions, you must advise with a holy man in all the affairs of your soul, you will be but an ill friend to yourself if you conceal from him the state of your spiritual affairs. We desire not to hear the circumstance of every sin, but when matter of justice is concerned, or the nature of the sin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a question; and you will find that though the church of England gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable ceremonies and human devices, yet in the matter of holiness you will be tied to very great service, but such a service as is perfect freedom, that is, the service of God and the love of the holy Jesus, and a very strict religious life: for we do not promise heaven, but upon the same terms it is promised us, that is "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus:" and as in faith we make no more to be necessary than what is made so in Holy Scripture, so in the matter of repentance we give you no easy devices, and suffer no lessening definitions of it, but oblige you to that strictness which is the con-

dition of being saved, and so expressed to be by the infallible word of God; but such as in the church of Rome they do not so much stand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my journey, and although I did purpose to have spoken many things more, yet I desire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my weariness; all that I shall add to the main business is this.

4. Read the Scripture diligently, and with an humble spirit, and in it observe what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not yourself with what is difficult, for in that your duty is not described.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers should be often than long. It was well said of Petrarch, "Magno verborum fræno uti decet, cum superiore colloquentem:" "When you speak to your superior, you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue;" much more when you speak to God. I speak of what is decent in respect of ourselves and our infinite distances from God: but if love makes you speak, speak on, so shall your prayers be full of charity and devotion: "Nullus est amore superior; ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium;" love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may say to God, "The same love which made me speak, will also move thee to hear and pardon:" love and devotion may enlarge your litanies, but nothing else can, unless authority does interpose.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true sons of the church of England, lest if you follow them that were amongst us, but are gone out from us, (because they were not of us,) you be offended, and tempted to impute their follies to the church of England.

7. Trouble yourself with no controversies willingly but how you may best please God by a strict and severe conversation.

8. If any protestant live loosely, remember that he dishonours an excellent religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our church, than the ill lives of most christians may upon the whole religion.

9. Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and scaring words of "heretic," and "damnation," and "changeable;" for these words may be spoken against them that return to light, as well as to those that go to darkness; and that which men of all sides can say, it can be of effect to no side upon its own strength or pretension.

THREE LETTERS

WRITTEN TO

A GENTLEMAN THAT WAS TEMPTED TO THE COMMUNION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

LETTER I.

Sir,

You needed not to make the preface of an excuse for writing so friendly and so necessary a letter of inquiry. It was your kindness to my person which directed your addresses hither; and your duty which engaged you to inquire somewhere.

I do not doubt but you, and very many other ingenious and conscientious persons, do every day meet with the tempters of the Roman church, who, like the pharisees, compass sea and land to get a proselyte; at this I wonder not; for as Demetrius said, "by this craft they get their living:" but I wonder that any ingenious person, and such as I perceive you to be, can be shaken by their weak assaults: for their batteries are made up with impossible propositions, and weak and violent prejudices respectively; and when they talk of their own infallibility, they prove it with false mediums, say we with fallible mediums, as themselves confess; and when they argue us of an uncertain faith, because we pretend to no infallibility, they are themselves much more uncertain, because they build their pretence of infallibility upon that which not only can, but will deceive them: and since they can pretend no higher for their infallibility than prudential motives, they break in pieces the staff upon which they lean, and with which they strike us.

But, Sir, you are pleased to ask two questions. 1. Whether the apostles of our blessed Lord did not orally deliver many things necessary to salvation which were not committed to writing? To which you add this "assumentum," in which because you desire to be answered, I suppose you meant it for another question: viz. whether in those things which the church of Rome retains, and we

take no notice of, she be an innovator, or a conserver of tradition; and whether any thing which she so retains, was or was not esteemed necessary?

The answer to the first part, will conclude the second. I therefore answer, that whatsoever the apostles did deliver as necessary to salvation, all that was written in the Scriptures: and that to them who believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, there needs no other magazine of Divine truths but the Scripture. And this the fathers of the first and divers succeeding ages do unanimously affirm. I will set down two or three so plain, that either you must conclude them to be deceivers, or that you will need no more but their testimony.

The words of St. Basil are these; Δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς,[a] &c. "Every word and every thing ought to be made credible, or believed by the testimony of the divinely-inspired Scripture; both for the confirmation of good things, and also for the reproof of the evil."

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "catech. 12. Illuminat." saith, "Attend not to my inventions, for you may possibly be deceived: but trust no word unless thou dost learn it from the Divine Scriptures: and in "catech. 4. Illum." Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, &c. "For it behoves us not to deliver so much as the least thing μηδὲ τὸ τύχον, of the Divine and holy mysteries of faith without the Divine Scriptures, nor to be moved with probable discourses: neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the Holy Scriptures. For that is the security of our faith, σωτηρία τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, which is derived not from witty inventions, but from the demonstration of Divine Scriptures."

"Omne quod loquimur, debemus affirmare de Scripturis Sanctis:" so St. Jerome in Psalm lxxxix. And again: "Hoc quia de Scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur;" in Matt. xxiii.

"Si quid dicitur absque Scripturâ, auditorum cogitatio claudicat." So St. Chrysostom in Psal. xcv. Homil.

Theodoret (dial. 1. cap. 6.) brings in the orthodox christian saying to Eranistes, "Bring not to me your logisms and syllogisms, Ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνῃ πείθομαι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, I rely only upon Scriptures."—I could reckon very, very many more, both elder and later: and if there be a universal tradition consigned to us by the universal testimony of antiquity, it is this, that the Scriptures are a perfect repository of all the will of God, of all the faith of Christ: and this I will engage myself to make very apparent to you, and certain against any opposer.

Upon the supposition of which it follows, that whatever the church of Rome obtrudes as necessary to salvation, and an article of faith that is not in Scripture, is an innovation in matter of faith, and a tyranny over consciences: which whosoever submits to, prevaricates the rule of the apostle, commanding us, that we "stand fast in the liberty, with which Christ hath set us free."

[a] Ethic. Definit. 26.

To the other question, whether an ecclesiastical tradition be of equal authority with Divine, I answer negatively; and I believe I shall have no adversary in it, except peradventure some of the Jesuited bigots. An ecclesiastical tradition, viz. a positive constitution of the church delivered from hand to hand, is in the power of the church to alter, but a Divine is not. Ecclesiastical traditions in matters of faith there are none, but what are also Divine; as for rituals ecclesiastical descending by tradition, they are confessedly alterable: but till they be altered by abrogation, or desuetude, or contrary custom, or a contrary reason, or the like, they do oblige by virtue of that authority whatsoever it is that hath power over you. I know not what Mr. G. did say, but I am confident they who reported it of him, were mistaken: he could not say or mean what is charged upon him.

I have but two things more to speak to. One is, you desire me to recite what else might impede your compliance with the Roman church. I answer, truth and piety hinder you. For you must profess the belief of many false propositions, and certainly believe many uncertain things, and be uncharitable to all the world but your own party, and make christianity a faction, and you must yield your reason a servant to man, and you must plainly prevaricate an institution of Christ, and you must make an apparent departure from the church in which you received your baptism and the Spirit of God, if you go over to Rome. But, Sir, I refer you to the two letters I have lately published at the end of my "Discourse of Friendship;" and I desire you to read my treatise of the "Real Presence:" and if you can believe the doctrine of transubstantiation, you can put off your reason, and your sense, and your religion, and all the instruments of credibility, when you please: and these are not little things; in these you may perish; an error in these things is practical; but our way is safe, as being upon the defence, and entirely resting upon Scripture, and the apostolical churches.

The other thing I am to speak to is, the report you have heard of my inclinations to go over to Rome. Sir, that party which needs such lying stories for the support of their cause, proclaim their cause to be very weak, or themselves to be very evil advocates. Sir, be confident, they dare not tempt me to do so, and it is not the first time they have endeavoured to serve their ends by saying such things of me. But I bless God for it; it is perfectly a slander, and it shall, I hope, for ever prove so. Sir, if I may speak with you, I shall say very many things more for your confirmation. Pray to God to guide you; and make no change suddenly: for if their way be true to-day, it will be so to-morrow; and you need not make haste to undo yourself. Sir, I wish you a settled mind and a holy conscience; and that I could serve you in the capacity of

Your very loving Friend and Servant
In our blessed Lord,

Monday, Jan. 11, 1657. JER. TAYLOR.

LETTER II.

SIR,

I PERCEIVE that you are very much troubled; and I see also that you are in great danger; but that also troubles me, because I see they are little things, and very weak and fallacious, that move you. You propound many things in your letter in the same disorder as they are in your conscience: to all which I can best give answers when I speak with you; to which because you desire, I invite you, and promise you a hearty endeavour to give you satisfaction in all your material inquiries. Sir, I desire you to make no haste to change, in case you be so miserable as to have it in your thoughts; for to go over to the church of Rome is like death, there is no recovery from thence without a miracle; because unwary souls (such are they who change from us to them) are, with all the arts of wit and violence, strangely entangled and insured, when they once get the prey. Sir, I thank you for the paper you enclosed. The men are at a loss, they would fain say something against that book, but know not what. Sir, I will endeavour if you come to me, to restore you to peace and quiet; and if I cannot effect it, yet I will pray for it; and I am sure God can. To his mercy I commend you: and rest

Your very affectionate Friend
In our blessed Lord,

Feb. 1, 1657—8. JER. TAYLOR.

LETTER III.

SIR,

THE first letter which you mention in this latter, of the 10th of March, I received not; I had not else failed to give you an answer; I was so wholly unknowing of it, that I did not understand your servant's meaning when he came to require an answer. But to your question which you now propound, I answer,

Quest. Whether, without all danger of superstition or idolatry, we may not render Divine worship to our blessed Saviour, as present in the blessed sacrament, or host, according to his human nature in that host?

Answ. We may not render Divine worship to him (as present in the blessed sacrament according to his human nature) without danger of idolatry, because he is not there according to his human nature, and therefore, you give Divine worship to a "non ens," which must needs be idolatry. For "Idolum nihil est in mundo," saith St. Paul; and Christ as present by his human nature in the sacrament, is a "non ens;" for it is not true, there is no such thing. He is present there by his Divine power, and his Divine blessing, and the fruits of his body, the real effective consequents of his passion: but for any other presence, it is "idolum," it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven; for the heavens must contain him till the time of restitution of all things. And if you in the reception of the holy sacrament worship him whom you know to be in heaven; you cannot be concerned in duty to worship him in the host, (as you call it,) any more than to worship him in the host at Nôtre Dame when you are at St. Peter's in Rome; for you see him no more in one place than in another: and if to believe him to be there in the host at Nôtre Dame be sufficient to cause you to worship him there, then you are to do so to him at Rome, though you be not present; for you believe him there; you know as much of him by faith in both places, and as little by sense in either. But however, this is a thing of infinite danger. God is a jealous God: he spake it in the matter of external worship and of idolatry; and therefore do nothing that is like worshipping a mere creature, nothing that is like worshipping that which you are not sure is God: and if you can believe the bread when it is blessed by the priest, is God Almighty, you can if you please believe any thing else.

To the other parts of your question, viz. Whether the same body be present really and substantially? because we believe it to be there; or whether do we believe it to be there because God hath manifestly revealed it to be so, and therefore we revere and adore it accordingly?

I answer, 1. I do not know whether or no you do believe him to be there really and substantially. 2. If you do believe it so, I do not know what you mean by really and substantially. 3. Whatsoever you do mean by it, if you do believe it to be there really and substantially in any sense, I cannot tell why you believe it to be so; you best know your own reasons and motives of belief: for my part, I believe it to be there really in the sense I have explicated in my book; and for those reasons which I have there alleged; but that we are to adore it upon that account, I no way understand. If it be transubstantiated, and you are sure of it, then you may pray to it, and put your trust in it; and believe the Holy bread to be coeternal with the Father and with the Holy Ghost. But it is strange that the bread, being consecrated by the power of the Holy Ghost, should be turned into the substance and nature of God, and of the Son of God: if so, does not the Son at that time proceed from the Holy Ghost, and not the Holy Ghost from the Son? But I am ashamed of the horrible proposition. Sir, I pray God keep you from these extremest dangers. I love and value you, and will pray for you, and be, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate Friend to serve you,

March 13, 1657—8. JER. TAYLOR.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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